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TO THE MEMORY OF
EDWIN GREENLAW, PH.D., LL.D., D.LITT.
1874-1931

WILLIAM OSLER PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE
IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, 1925-1931

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES, 1926-1927

*"Truth, which only doth judge itself, teacheth
that the inquiry of truth, which is the love-making
or wooing of it, the knowledge of truth, which is the
presence of it, and the belief of truth, which is the
enjoying of it, is the sovereign good of human
nature."*—BACON.

EDWIN GREENLAW

1874-1931

The Board of Editors of MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES offer the present volume as a memorial to EDWIN GREENLAW, whose sudden death in September brought to an end a career of unusual distinction in Anglistic scholarship. Greenlaw was born on April 6, 1874, in Flora, Illinois. His father was a teacher of note, and he was reared in an atmosphere of scholarship which, combined with his own natural bent, made inevitable the choice of some scholarly pursuit. After a period of hesitation between history and philology, he finally decided to devote himself to the latter. He got his training at Northwestern University, the University of Chicago and Harvard University; his bachelor's degree was awarded him at Northwestern in 1897, his doctorate at Harvard in 1904. He also held the honorary degrees of LL. D. (University of North Carolina, 1926) and D. Litt. (Northwestern University, 1927). Among his teachers special mention should be made of Frederic Ives Carpenter, George Lyman Kittredge, and John Matthews Manly, all of whom influenced him profoundly.

His first university post was an instructorship in English at his *alma mater*, Northwestern University, to which he was appointed in 1898. His connection with Northwestern was maintained until 1905 (though broken by periods of study at Harvard and Chicago), when he became Professor of English in Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y. He gave up his Adelphi professorship in 1913 to accept a call to the University of North Carolina, where he remained until 1925. His activities at North Carolina were epoch-making in the history of that institution, and contributed notably to the development of higher education in America. Under his leadership the English Department and the Graduate School of the University of North Carolina achieved international eminence, and his work as editor of *Studies in Philology* made secure for that journal a distinguished place among research periodicals in the philological field.

In 1925 he came to the Johns Hopkins University as the first holder of the newly founded William Osler Professorship of

English. In January, 1926, he succeeded James Wilson Bright as editor-in-chief of MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES, and acted in that capacity for two years. After his retirement from this post he continued to serve the journal as an Advisory Editor. He founded the series of Johns Hopkins Monographs in Literary History, the first volume of which, "The Province of Literary History," was a product of his own pen; a second volume, also written by him, was practically done when he died. His chief scholarly interest, however, in his latter years, lay in the field of Spenserian research. His studies in Spenser lead him to plan, in conjunction with several other scholars, a variorum edition of Spenser's works. He was successful in launching the enterprise, and at the time of his death the first two volumes of the great edition were nearly ready for publication. He died on September 10, 1931, in his old home at Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Greenlaw's was an extraordinarily fertile and stimulating mind. He took philology in its broadest sense, as the study of human culture, and in his chosen field, the English Renaissance, all knowledge became his province. Like Sir Walter Raleigh, he could toil terribly, and habitual overwork was at bottom the cause of his untimely death. His students found him a brilliant and sympathetic teacher; his associates, an inspiring example and a helpful friend. His former colleagues on the editorial staff of MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES feel his loss more than most, and in the dedication to him of this volume they pay him inadequate but sincere and sorrowful tribute.

K. M.

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SOME LINGUISTIC STUDIES OF 1929 AND 1930¹

The great linguistic event of 1928 was the completion of the *New English Dictionary*. The output of 1929 and the earlier months of 1930 (to which the present survey is confined) includes nothing of importance comparable to the *NED*. But much valuable work has been going on during the past year and a half. In the lexical field I will mention, first, the second edition of the *Concise Oxford* (or *Little Oxford*, as we call it in academic circles).² The completion of the "big Oxford" naturally led to a new edition of the "little," which now could be based wholly on the work of which it is an abridgement. This new edition is a masterpiece of condensation. The editor and the Clarendon Press are to be congratulated on having produced what is, on the whole, the best abridged dictionary of the English language. The etymological department in particular is to be praised for its accuracy and its sound terminology (the latter in shining contrast to our American dictionaries, which on this count are still in the pre-scientific stage). Even here, though, errors are not wholly wanting. In going through the words beginning with *ch*, I noted that the American *chore* is derived from OE *cerr*; in fact, of course, it comes from OE *cyrr* (by way of ME *chur*). Again, the Arthurian connections of *Charles's Wain* are highly doubtful. On the other hand, I was pleased to see that *chic* is not derived from a French adjective (one of the howlers of the *Winston Simplified* of 1928). *Charleston* as the name of a dance, though not in the *Winston*, duly appears in the *Little Oxford*, which thereby shows how up-to-

¹ The present survey includes books sent for review to this journal.

² H. W. and F. G. Fowler, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, New Edition, revised by H. W. Fowler. Pp. xv + 1444, Oxford, 1929.

date it is. I failed to find *chip* 'counter at cards' and *chipper* 'lively'; both are in the *Winston*. Mr. Fowler is not always up-to-date when he deals with American usage: *chaw up* 'utterly defeat' and *check* 'counter at cards' can hardly be described as current. But he exhibits actual weakness only in his indication of pronunciation, which deplorably departs from the scientific standards of the *Big Oxford*. Unluckily our American dictionaries, with the honorable exception of the *Standard*, are likewise sinners in this department.

In 1926 Mr. Bense gave us the first part of his *Dictionary of the Low-Dutch Element in the English Vocabulary*. Part II has now appeared.³ Prefixed to it is a four-page "First Additional List of Books Referred to." Mr. Bense is doing a careful piece of work, which promises to be of some value to scholarship. To his collection of locutions under *Dutch* let me add *Dutch treat* 'party at which each member pays for his own drinks etc.' The invitation to such a party can also be put in other forms, as *let us go Dutch* or *let us Dutch it*. I cannot agree that *elope* is of Dutch origin; for one thing, it goes back to the thirteenth century in Anglo-French. The point was taken up in the last number of this journal. Nor can I see that *grapse* is anything but a meta-thetic form of *grasp*.—The editors of the great Danish dictionary have got out another annual volume.⁴ The nicely measured progress of this admirable work is not the least admirable feature of it. It is greatly to be hoped that the three lexical undertakings in America, the dictionaries of American English, of Tudor English and of Middle English, when once they begin to see print, will proceed with as much regularity and assurance.

The publications of the *English Place-Name Society* are dictionaries of a sort—dictionaries of place names—even though the names are not listed alphabetically. The latest, and, I think, the most important so far, of the series is the two-volume work on Sussex.⁵ The authors have in this work made a notable contribu-

³ J. F. Bense, *Dict. etc.*, Part II, Doxy-Keeler. Pp 81-160, The Hague, 1930.

⁴ *Ordbog over det Danske Sprog*, Ellevte Bind, Konisk-Købsvend. Pp. 607, Copenhagen, 1929.

⁵ A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Sussex*. Part I, pp. xli + 249, Cambridge, 1929; Part II, pp. vii + 363, Cambridge, 1930.

tion to knowledge. In the following I present a few matters of detail on which, with all respect, I differ with them. *Iseburna* (p. 17) and *Isiwirde* (146) need not be AFR misspellings; the *i* may reflect the OE sound-shift $\bar{e} > i$ (see *Jespersen Miscellany* 45 ff.). The explanation of the *o* of *Todham* (18) is made unlikely by the thirteenth-century *o*-spelling. The *e* of *Henley* (19) need not be a corruption, but may go back to a feminine form of the element *hund*. The form *Cognor* (25) can be got from the earlier *Crokener* on the supposition that the first *r* was lost by dissimilation (cf. *Binderton*) and that *k* before *n* was voiced (cf. *Bignor*). The *u* of *Dumpford* (44) need not be so irregular as the authors think. With the stress on the second part of the name (cf. p. xxix) the vowel of the first part would be slurred and would tend to be labialized by the labial sounds which follow it. The "late and curious metathesis" in *Hylters* (49) reminds me of *Stilton* in Yorkshire (cf. *MLN.*, XLIV, 503). Spellings like *Hlydi* (63), *Cyppi* (72), *Bryni* (74), *Crym* (94), *Ecce* (165, 390, 456) have an Icelandic, not an English, look. Why not *-e*? *Burton* (100), *Barkfold* (103) and *Lurgashall* (111) show a sound-shift $d > r$ before a velar consonant. *Duncton* (101) is a *-tun*, not an *-ingtun* compound; the 1191 form goes back to OE **Dunnecantun*. The *d* of *Idolsfold* (105) strikes me as a case of dissimilation rather than corruption. The vowel of *Tillington* (121) is better explained on the assumption of doublets: *Tulling-/Tylling-*, i. e., forms with and without umlaut. Such doublets are common enough, of course. The sound-shift $nd > mb$ in *Kimbers* (122) is not properly called an assimilation. The first element of *Bedham* (126) may be OE *Beoda*; likewise that of *Tedfold* (150) may go back to OE *Eoda*. For the variation *-lawe / -lowe* in *Cudlow* (139), see *Mod. Phil.* xx 189 ff. In *Ilsham* (139) the dissimilation (which gave *d* in *Idolsfold*) gave nil. *Amberley* (146) possibly contains a tribal name in the gen. pl. (cf. *Widsith* 32 and *ZfdA* LXII, 135). On *Peppering* (167) see *Stud. Neophil.* II 64 f. In view of OE *stiem* 'steam' *Rickfield* (231) may well be explained as containing a thirteenth-century *rycke* for OE *hreac*. I see no reason to think that *Buncton* (244) contains the element *-ing*. *Buttock* (251) is not a diminutive (see F. A. Wood, *Parallel Formations*, I, 130). The postulated loss of *m* and *r* in *Hapstead* and *Hickpots* (253) is interesting; it ought to be supported by

parallels, since dissimilation cannot be assumed. In *Tillinghurst* (254), on the other hand, we have a plain case of dissimilation; two dental stops become a stop and a liquid. With the *Glar-* form of *Clayton* (259) compare *Govers* (507) and *glaye* in *Gammer Gurton's Needle* (I, II, 4). The earliest form of *Barnsnape* (262) is hardly corrupt; we have to do rather with a dissimilation which did not maintain itself against its historical rival. I see no cause for saying that the later forms of *Hanlye* (262) exhibit a "curious confusion." We have a plain case of dissimilation, which in the 1592 form changed the first *l* to *n*; in the 1607 form, got rid of the first *l* altogether. The spelling *Warningore* (298) seems to be only another way of writing *Wanningore*; the pronunciation would be much the same for either spelling. The [r] now used for the older [n] seems to be another example of dissimilation: the two nasals were resolved into a liquid and a nasal. *Balmer* (308) can be derived phonetically from the earlier *Bormer* by dissimilation; the apparent change in vowel is not genuine, but merely a change in spelling. The first element in *Houndean* (320) has another parallel in the *Hungar* (i. e. *Hundgar*) of *Widsith* 117, a name which I discuss at length in *AJPh* XLVII 345. The *r* of *Towser* (379) comes from the earlier *l* by dissimilation. ME *yord* (445) comes from OE *geārd*. The *ow*-form of *Priesthaus* (448) has some interest for the history of the *au*-diphthong. It is unhappily put to explain *Pickforde* (453) as showing "assimilation of *gf* to *kf*"; it would be better to say "unvoicing of *g* before *f*." The *o*-form of *Quedley* (453) need not be called corrupt; we may have rounding after [kw]. Unferth's sword *Hrunting* (466) evidently had a name meaning 'the sword that originally belonged to Hrunta (or Hrunt).' The form *Warbleton* (468) and the alternative *Walburton* are excellent examples of dissimilation; AFr influence need not be assumed. The -*ll*- for older -*n*- in *Willingford* (473) is not a "wanton corruption" but a case of dissimilation. The *Nivene-* (*Newene-*) forms of *Ninfield* (487) can be explained phonetically as a dissimilation: *m* > *v* (*w*) to reduce the number of nasal sounds in the first element of the word. The *l* of *Bulverhythe* (535) shows the familiar dissimilation. The authors do not explain the *f* of the 1478 form; their explanation of the *w*-forms is wrong, and the *v*-forms are not convincingly derived from the *w*-forms, since confusion between *v* and *w* occurs

otherwise only in initial position. The *w*-forms go back to OE *Burgwara-* (not *Burhwara-*); the *f*- and *v*-forms belong together, I think, and go back to an alternative OE *Burfara-*, itself from an earlier OE *Burhwara-* (with the soundshift *hw* > *f*; see *PMLA* XLV 626 ff.).

Another valuable study in this field is the inaugural dissertation of Mr. Blomé.⁶ I have space here for no more than a couple of notes on Mr. Blomé's monograph. Both the *e*- and the *i*-forms of *Iddesleigh* (39), *Iddlecott* (62) and *Ivedon* (85) possibly go back to OE times. The first element of *Bibbear* (37) is perhaps OE *Bybba* rather than *Bubba*; the over-rounded fourteenth century form may well be due to the strongly labial flanking sounds. A more general treatise in the place-name field is the fascinating course of lectures recently given at King's College, London, by Professor Mawer.⁷ The distinguished Director of the Survey of English Place-Names in his three lectures takes up the three problems of Racial Settlement, The Vocabulary of our Forefathers, and Lines of Interpretation. His graceful and urbane discussion makes interesting reading for the layman as well as for the place-name student, and brings out some of the wider aspects of place-name study. Those who seek an introduction to this important branch of linguistics would do well to read Mr. Mawer's thoughtful and stimulating volume. Some of his points will of course not win general agreement. Thus, I cannot see why poetic usage may not be brought to bear in the study of place-names (8). Poetical as well as prosaic place-names are surely possible, and, apart from such considerations, it is a truism to say that poetic usage not infrequently represents a survival of something which in earlier times belonged to the speech of everyday life. Again, I am sceptical about the animal-lore involved in *catsbrain* (49), which almost certainly has nothing to do with cats. The explanation of the *-ing-* in names like *Werbungingwic* (116) would have been strengthened had the parallel meaning of the *-ing* of sword-names been cited.

⁶ B. Blomé, *The Place-Names of North Devonshire*, pp. xx + 189. Uppsala, 1929. See the discussions of Zachrisson and Wallenberg in *Stud. Neophil.*, II, 60-63, 84-100.

⁷ A. Mawer, *Problems of Place-Name Study*, pp. xii + 140. Cambridge, 1929.

The *Linguistic Society of America* continues its activity as sponsor of linguistic publications. In 1929 it published Nos. iv, v and vi of its series of Language Dissertations, and No. iv of its series of Language Monographs.^{*} Of the dissertations, I will here consider only that of Miss Frary, which, as the author explains, has "special reference to the use of *wesan* and *weorðan*." Miss Frary, approaching her subject from the "stylistic" angle, makes it clear that the "difference in the use of the two auxiliaries . . . is based primarily on the difference in the meaning of the two words themselves. . . . *weorðan* is found frequently in moments of action; *wesan*, in moments of rest. Sometimes the choice of the one or the other auxiliary is a matter of style; . . . poetry, in general, finds *wesan* more suited to its purpose, while narrative prose is full of instances of *weorðan*." The author's conclusions are based on a careful study of the monuments, from which she quotes numerous examples, systematically arranged. An exhaustive statistical statement of the facts, however, is wanting, and differences in usage as between different MSS. of the same monument are not duly considered and evaluated. The author attributes to Old-Norse influence the loss of the passive construction with *weorðan*. She does not develop the point, which must be taken as no more than a suggestion, interesting but hard to prove. It is to be regretted that she tries to support her theory by citing W. Keller's arguments in the Hoops *Festschrift*; *Jiriczek* (*Eng. Stud.*, lx, 217 ff.) has effectually disposed of Keller's hypothesis. The Language Monograph of Professor Small gives us an account of the case of comparison in all the Germanic dialects, "with a special study of English." In a previous monograph, *The Comparison of Inequality*, Mr. Small has already provided us with a systematic and thorough study of the particle of comparison. He now does the same thing for the case of comparison, and promises a third and concluding monograph on the mode of the clause of comparison. We shall therefore soon have a complete survey of this important and hitherto neglected branch of grammar, complete, that is, for English of the older periods, together with an

* M. W. Smith, *Studies in the Syntax of the Gathas of Zarathushtra*, pp. 160; L. G. Frary, *Studies in the Syntax of the OE Passive*, pp. 80; A. J. Zieglschmid, *Zur Entwicklung der Perfektschreibung im Deutschen*, nn. 75; G. W. Small, *The Germanic Case of Comparison*, pp. 121.

account of the state of things in the other dialects which ought to serve us reasonably well, for Mr. Small has gone about his task with its historical and comparative aspects continually in mind. The importance and permanent value of undertakings like this of Mr. Small's can hardly be overestimated. Only through such monographs as his can syntactical studies be put on a sound scientific basis, and it is to be hoped that many others will follow the road which he has so well laid out. The Icelandic expression *ytri þessu* which the author quotes (28) does not sound right to me; I have also noted a couple of misprints (91, 96).

Our American pioneer in English syntax is, of course, not Mr. Small but Mr. Morgan Callaway, Jr., to whom Mr. Small pays tribute in his monograph. Mrs. Irvine has recently done a useful study of the participle in Wyclif under Professor Callaway's competent direction.⁹ The study, though limited in scope, is complete within its limits, and can with assurance be used by the future historian of the English participial constructions. Wholly different, in scope and method, is the syntactical study of Mr. Glunz.¹⁰ The author's examination of the OE subjunctive is very German, and very good, combining as it does mastery of the material with thoughtful and enlightening generalizations. Mr. Glunz does not fail, however, to have the defects of his qualities. He is chiefly concerned to show that the use of the subjunctive (1) is governed by fluid and personal considerations of style more than by grammatical automatism, and (2) plays always between the poles of interest and conditionality. He works out this double thesis convincingly enough, but now and then, in his details, he pushes things too hard and drives his argument perilously close to nonsense. Thus, we are told (116) that the modern English change from subjunctive to indicative in conditional statements like *if all the year was summertime* means that in the seventeenth century conditions were taken soberly: "sie sind nicht mehr gewollt, befohlen, gewünscht, erbeten, erwartet, herbeigesehnt, sondern als wirklich gesetzt, in die Aussenwelt übertragen, objektiv und leidenschaftslos betrachtet." Such an explanation hardly

⁹ A. S. Irvine, *The Participle in Wycliffe*, [Texas] Studies in English, No. 9, pp. 5-68. Univ. of Texas Bulletin No. 2926, Austin, 1929.

¹⁰ H. Glunz, *Die Verwendung des Konjunktivs im Altenglischen*. Förster Beiträge, Heft XI. Pp. xvi + 144. Leipzig, 1930.

deserves to be taken seriously. When our forefathers began to use the indicative in unreal conditions, they did not thereby stop sighing for the unattainable. The conditions remained, for them as for us, as contrary to fact as ever, and the emotional content did not change a particle. But this content was no longer dependent on a subjunctive form for its evocation. It had become associated, grammatically, with the tense rather than with the mode of the verb, and a special modal form for it had thus become needless. Here then, and elsewhere, Mr. Glunz falls victim to his endless and instructive pursuit of the soul (*Wesen*) of a grammatical form. He will have his mystery and pluck out the heart of it. I would not have him otherwise (for the qualities go with the defects), but the reader must be on his guard!

Miss Frary, Mr. Small, Mrs. Irvine and Mr. Glunz undertook the study of a particular grammatical phenomenon. It is possible, however, to take a writer instead, and study his speech as a whole. This Mr. Wiencke has done for Caxton.¹¹ The dissertation of Römstedt on the same subject was faulty in various ways, and Mr. Wiencke was justified in doing the job afresh. He has carried through his task carefully and intelligently, and his monograph will hardly in its turn be superseded any time soon. Particularly to be commended is the author's care to stress everywhere what he calls *das entwicklungsgeschichtliche Moment*. Caxton's importance for the English language lies chiefly in the part which he played in the standardization of our *schriftsprache*, and in the witness which his works bear to the process of standardization. Mr. Wiencke throughout his study has put the stress where it belongs, and this is all to the good. As regards details, I will comment on only one point. The occasional alternation of *w* and *v* in the spelling (frequent in *answer*) hardly means a confusion of [w] and [v] in Caxton's pronunciation, caught from the Scotch or Northerners (64). I take it to be purely orthographical, and suspect the influence of the Continent, where *w* meant a spirant, not a semivowel, while [w] was represented by means of the vowel-symbol *u* (in French, *ou*). Mr. Steuerwald's dissertation differs in type from Mr. Wiencke's in that it describes not Thackeray's own speech but his notions of Cockney speech, as set down in the

¹¹ H. Wiencke, *Die Sprache Caxtons*, Kölner Anglistische Arbeiten, 11. Band. Pp. 226. Leipzig, 1930.

Yellowplush Papers.¹² We might indeed say that Mr. Steuerwald studies Thackeray the amateur grammarian of Cockney English; Thackeray's "grammar" in this case would consist wholly of a longish specimen of the dialect in question. Mr. Steuerwald's thesis is that Thackeray knew *recht genau* the Cockney English of his day. To prove this thesis, Mr. Steuerwald goes through the material thoroughly and systematically, weighing each piece of evidence with the utmost care. In the numerous cases where the text can be taken more ways than one, he presents the alternatives and decides what Thackeray was most likely to have meant by what he wrote. The study is a conscientious one, but impresses me as too serious. Unluckily for Mr. Steuerwald, Thackeray was a humorist, and the words which he puts into Yellowplush's mouth often have no evidential value whatever when it comes to finding out how the true Cockney talked. Thus, when Yellowplush says, *I sitt pen to paper*, we are not justified in concluding that *sit* and *set* had undergone *Zusammenfall* (20) in Cockney speech. The humorist's method is rather to make his victim say everything wrong: *sit* for *set* and *set* for *sit*; *air* for *hair* and *hair* for *air*; etc., etc. Mr. Steuerwald is of course on his guard against arbitrary distortions of Cockney English, particularly when questions of spelling are involved, but I am afraid he does not realize the thoroughgoing artificial character of Yellowplush's language, a language which belongs to literature rather than to life.

Richard Hodges, unlike Thackeray, was a true grammarian. Mr. Kauter in his doctor's dissertation (Horn *Beiträge*, vi. 1) gave us a study of Hodges' pronunciation of English as recorded in the *English Primrose* of 1644. He now prints the *Primrose*¹³ itself, together with an exhaustive index. It would be hard to praise too highly the publisher (Carl Winter) for printing so difficult a text or the editor for preparing the copy and reading the proofs. With a good text at last before us, we can read Mr. Kauter's dissertation with more intelligence, and can come to our own conclusions about Hodges' witness on seventeenth century English. Mr. Cardin has studied a group of Portuguese-English

¹² K. Steuerwald, *Die Londoner Vulgarsprache in Thackerays Yellowplush Papers*, Forster Beiträge, Heft xiv. Pp. 63. Leipzig, 1930.

¹³ Richard Hodges, *The English Primrose*, ed. H. Kauter. Pp. x + 118 + 61. Heidelberg, 1930.

grammatical works and essays of the eighteenth century, with results not without interest.¹⁴ The chief writers discussed are Castro 1751, Menezes 1762, Lima 1762 and Neri 1779. Of these, Lima is of special interest because he was the first to record the present pronunciation of *father* (36). Castro has been of interest to Anglicists ever since Jespersen pointed out that he transcribed with *éi* the *a* of *nature*. Professor Cardim agrees with Professor Horn that this transcription "may simply be either a slip or a misprint, as in his many other parallel cases he always renders *Engl. a* by *Port. é* or *e*" (46).

The Latin element in English is the subject of the first of a series of volumes to be written by Mr. Crouzet and Mr. Fournier.¹⁵ Other volumes are promised on the Latin element in German, Spanish and Italian. In the volume before us, we are given first a historical sketch of England and the English language, then a sketch of English grammar, and finally an analysis of the English vocabulary, all, of course, with particular reference to the influence of Latin. The idea is a good one, but the performance is poor, and the present volume, at least, cannot be commended. As a sample of its quality I will quote part of the Lord's Prayer as given by the authors (16): "Our quotidian loaf give us today, and remit us our debts, as we remit to our debtors."

The first volume of Professor Huchon's history of the English language appeared in 1923. The second volume, devoted to the Middle English period, has now come out.¹⁶ Mr. Huchon says in his *avant-propos* (v): *Le but de ce nouveau volume est de passer en revue la période moyen-anglaise . . . mais il ne s'agit plus ici d'essayer de donner une vue d'ensemble du sujet.* And in fact the volume is not so much a historical grammar as a historical sketch or survey. But if the author makes no effort to be exhaustive he does try to be inclusive; indeed, he dwells on aspects, like style and vocabulary, which the orthodox grammarian hurries over or even ignores. He divides his work into three parts, devoted to the Norman period (which he prefers to call the epoch of transition),

¹⁴ L. Cardim, *Portuguese-English Grammarians and Eighteenth-Century Spoken English*. Pp. 51. Porto (Portugal), 1930.

¹⁵ P. Crouzet and A. Fournier, *Les Ponts Romains, I, Du Latin à L'Anglais*. Pp. xxvi + 246. Toulouse and Paris, 1929.

¹⁶ R. Huchon, *Histoire de la Langue Anglaise*, Tome II. Pp. vii + 392. Paris, 1930.

the thirteenth century, and the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The inclusion of the fifteenth century in a history of Middle English can hardly nowadays be looked upon as sound practice; if this century is to be touched upon, it ought to be by way of appendix only. Otherwise, Mr. Huchon's divisions are obviously well enough. His first part falls into two chapters, devoted respectively to Anglo-French and early Middle English. The latter is described in the course of an examination, one by one, of the literary monuments of the period. The same procedure is followed in the other parts of the book, which not unfairly might be described as a chronological linguistic survey of Middle English writings. The volume reads well, is neatly put together, and strikes me as distinctly better than its predecessor—largely because it is more modest in its aims and claims.

Very different is the latest instalment of Professor Luick's monumental *Grammatik*.¹⁷ This instalment covers the history of English vowel-changes from A. D. 1400 to the present, and completes the first chapter (*Die Entwicklung der Sonanten*) of the grammar's first *Hauptteil* (*Die Entwicklung der Laute*). Succeeding chapters will doubtless deal with the history of the consonants, and of the various kinds of sound-groups, thus completing the first volume of this huge work, the fruit of a lifetime of grammatical research. On the phonological side, at least, Mr. Luick knows the history of the English language with an intimacy not approached by any other scholar, living or dead. Along with this mastery of the subject goes a genius for putting two and two together which leads to brilliant and seductive generalizations. In the present instalment of his grammar Mr. Luick has given us so beautiful and symmetrical a scheme that the reader must more than ever be on his guard against its fascinations. For modern English sound-changes are abominably recorded and the uncertainties of the record make almost every inference more or less hasardous. Orthodox spelling having become traditional, we are forced to rely on misspellings, vague and at best unscientific descriptions and comparisons, and rules set up by orthoepists who follow the written rather than the spoken word, and teach spelling rather than pronunciation. Mr. Luick's history has thus grown

¹⁷ K. Luick, *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, Erster Band, Lieferungen 6¹¹⁻⁹ (Seite 549-796). Leipzig, 1929.

out of a mass of evidence the doubtful quality of which is rarely reflected in the rather dogmatic style of the great *Grammatik*. It must be added that the author's phonetics are fundamentally the phonetics of Henry Sweet, whose terms and distinctions, outmoded and even discredited though they long have been, Mr. Luick clings to throughout. In spite of such defects, however, the *Grammatik* remains a great achievement of the human mind, and the present instalment lives fully up to the standard set by its predecessors. I will add a few comments on points of detail. In § 505 (p. 610) there is no mention of words like *Mary*, *glory*; cf. p. 732. The pronunciation given for *mourn* (614) is wrong, and the pronunciation of *your* has been influenced, not so much by its spelling as by its association with *you*. The explanation given for *boor* (615) can hardly be right; we have here a literary word, the pronunciation of which is dictated by its spelling. The proper name *Moore* is usually pronounced with *o*, not *u*, in America. For a better explanation of *shan't*, *can't* (605, 645, 647), see *Phil. Quart.*, III, 215. Mr. Luick's theory is shattered on *ain't*, which he fails to account for. The short vowel in *stone* and the like is not *weit verbreitet* (651) in America; it is practically confined to the New England states. The derivation from *rath* of the long *a* of *rather* (675) is highly improbable (not to say impossible). The references to Buchanan and Sharp (676) are wrong; see p. 719 for the correct interpretation of Buchanan, and for Sharp see *Phil. Quart.*, III, 214 f. To words like *bran* (678) should be added *sack* (Fr *sec*). In America *syrup* (703) goes rather with *stirrup* than *spirit*. I use a long vowel in *bastard*, *catastrophe*, *moss*, *boss*, *coffin* (706). The author's far-fetched explanation of the spelling *Hawghmann* (708) is a good example of *systemzwang*. The modern pronunciation of *quoth* no doubt derives from the spelling (cf. *loth*, *both*, etc.). That the vowel was long in ME seems unlikely. The length of the American vowel in *grass*, etc. (718) is not due to British influence. The same may be said of *dance*, etc. "Buchanan 1766" (719) must yield precedence to Lima 1762, as I pointed out above. The explanation of *father*, *rather* (720) is very feeble (not to say fantastic). It is unsound to assume that America must not move with South England, as against North England and Scotland (720). For other examples of community between America and

South England, see §§ 569, 572. There is no *zuspitzung* in my pronunciation of *tale* (741). The notion that *leetle* is a mixture of *little* and *wee* (748) strikes me as utterly fantastic. *Hawker* (757) is probably from MLG *haker* (see Bense s. v.). The vowel in *boss* (758) is still long, and *dramma* can still be heard (though not written) in America. The change *peruke* > *perwick* (759) seems to be a metathesis: *iu* > *ui* (*wi*). I am not familiar with the use of the velar *n* (760) in imitating French nasal vowels. *Concord* (776) as a place-name has [ə] in the ultima; likewise *record* in American pronunciation at least. Along with the words in *-ace* should be cited *crevice*. ME syncope (780) before *-ry* is exemplified in *Canterbury* (Chaucer, *Prol.*, 16, 22).

Mrs. Aiken in her latest volume¹⁸ has sought to give us a textbook to put in the hands of beginners in the scientific study of our speech. "It is hoped," she says, "that there may be found in this volume something of a fresh treatment of old facts, an approach which will enlist the interest of students as well as provide material for their study." Certainly Mrs. Aiken has given us an interesting and stimulating book. She has a keen and fertile mind, and writes with freshness of thought as well as method. Her book falls into four parts: (1) a general view of the English language, (2) words, (3) sounds and (4) inflections and syntax. Throughout she is concerned to set up and make clear fundamental principles, and to bring out the main lines of change in our language. Especially interesting are the 15 characteristics of English worked out in the second chapter. Mrs. Aiken also shows a healthy sense of the value of good terms. For instance, she rejects the term *loan-word* because the words to which it is applied are not loans, but are ours for keeps. It is all the more unfortunate, then, to find her clinging to pre-scientific and misleading terms like *guttural* (25) and *Anglo-Saxon* (passim). Bad terms make trouble everywhere, but in a work intended for beginners they are particularly dangerous: the man of learning, when he encounters an ambiguous term, is usually able to figure out what the author means by it, but the novice is left in a perpetual state of bewilderment or misunderstanding. See my discussions, *Amer. Speech*, I, 371 ff., v, 105 f., *Rev. of Engl. Stud.*, v,

¹⁸ J. R. Aiken, *English Present and Past*, pp. xii + 287. Ronald Press, New York, 1930.

173 ff. I have also a few criticisms to offer in matters of detail. Mrs. Aiken is not quite fair to the grammarians (3, 27), for some of them at least (men like Jespersen, for instance) would never dream of saying the things she puts in their mouths. Reform from above (13) has been much tried in English; to it is due the huge Latin and French element in our vocabulary, for instance. The flaws in our tongue (14) go deep. Vocabulary (17) is far from being the most useful test in determining the family relationship of languages. It was sentence rhythm, not word stress (41), that caused the loss of the final *e* (see Luick, § 473, Anm. 3). The introduction of gift words (45) reflects mental sluggishness, not mental activity. The distinction between learned and popular words is the most important distinction in our vocabulary (see Jespersen, *Growth*, §§ 128 ff.). English was never German (94). The influence of the Norman Conquest is not properly evaluated; see *JEGPh.*, xxvi, 413 ff. English and French priests alike used Latin (100). The influence of euphemism and tabu on changes in vocabulary is not taken properly into account (119). The stop (145) is confused with the shift that follows it; a stop is a perfectly good continuant. *Glottal catch* (148) is an unhappy term for the smooth breathing. The esthetic objection to [æ] is fanciful (155). The OE symbol æ was dropped in ME times (169) because it had become superfluous by virtue of the ME sound-change [æ > a]. Ablaut is still a living factor in our speech: witness *dive*, *dove* and *thrive*, *throve* (217). The term *germ* (250) is neat, but implies (wrongly) that hypotaxis came before parataxis. Low German (276) includes Franconian as well as Saxon dialects.

Mrs. Aiken has also recently given us a volume in the field of phonetic theory.¹⁹ She shows here the same freshness of outlook, boldness in making combinations and generalizations, and interest in terminology, which we found in her other volume. Some of her terms are distinctly happy, as *accord*. A valuable discussion of the evils that flow from bad terms is that on pp. 19 ff. Her enthusiasm often makes her too sure of the validity of her conclusions, but even when one cannot agree with her one finds her ideas stimulating and suggestive. My own phonetic theories, set forth in Part I of my *Phonology of Modern Icelandic*, are far from

¹⁹ J. R. Aiken, *Why English Sounds Change*, pp. vii + 146. Ronald Press, New York, 1929.

conformity with Mrs. Aiken's, but this is not the place to go into matters so difficult and so controversial.

Another recent work on English phonetics is that of Miss Ward.²⁰ On the blurb is printed the judgment of Professor Daniel Jones that it is "the best elementary book on English phonetics in existence." This praise is not so high as it sounds, since no really good book, elementary or advanced, is to be had in this field. But it must be said that Miss Ward's book is well done, and ought to be useful to those for whom it was written, viz., teachers "expected to deal with indistinct or dialectal speech." The weakness of the book lies, not in its execution but in the system of "cardinal vowels" which the author accepts as a working basis. This system has so little relation to the facts of vowel articulation as shown by X-ray photography that a manual of phonetics based upon it cannot be taken seriously as a scientific treatise. Mr. Wendell Johnson's autobiographical volume²¹ was written chiefly for the benefit of a particular group of speech defectives, the stutterers. The book does not lack interest as a story. Phoneticians will find the last chapter, on the mechanics of stuttering, the most valuable.

Sir Richard Paget has just published in a handsome volume the results of a decade of experimental work and study in the phonetic field.²² His experiments were chiefly directed toward making artificial resonators which could be "played" or sounded so as to produce the effects familiar to us in human speech. He thereby came to certain conclusions as to the nature of speech-sounds. This part of his book belongs primarily to physics, of course. It is preceded by a historical sketch of previous work in the field, and by some account of the organs of speech, phonetic notation and the like. The author, after telling of his experiments, goes into larger questions (such as the origin and development of speech, vowel and consonant symbolism, and the development of a multiplicity of languages), and also into practical problems like voice production, improvement of languages, artificial languages and spelling reform. The author believes that speech origi-

²⁰ I. C. Ward, *The Phonetics of English*. Pp. xi + 176. Appleton, New York, 1929.

²¹ W. Johnson, *Because I Stutter*. Pp. xv + 127. Appleton, New York, 1930.

²² Sir Richard Paget, Bart., *Human Speech*, pp. xiv + 360. Harcourt, Brace, New York, 1930.

nated as gesticulation by the tongue. Lingual gestures which are still with us, like thrusting out the tongue in sign of contempt, would thus be presumably the kind of thing out of which human speech grew. These speculations make interesting reading, and stimulate the imagination, but cannot solve the problem, which is too hard for the human animal in his present stage. On the other hand, the author's experiments with resonators have given important results. I quote a conclusion of especially great consequence (p. 60): "By this time the principle of vowel formation was becoming clear: there must be in effect two resonating cavities, each producing a separate resonance; provided these resonances are correct, neither the exact shape, cross section or length of the cavities are material." This conclusion is confirmed by X-ray photography, which shows that a given sound can be and is produced with the tongue in positions not provided for in phonetic treatises like that of Miss Ward. The author is greatly puzzled (p. 108) at the outcome of his experiments with consonantal resonance. But the great variation in the resonances of a given consonant indicates merely that the consonant varies with its environment. The attribution of resonances to the voiceless stops is of course an absurdity, since these "sounds" cannot be heard at all; one hears only the shifts which precede and follow them. On matters of detail I will limit myself to a couple of comments. Among the pioneers the author mentions Kempelen (13) but not Mical. Liquids and nasals are not "commonly classified as semi-vowels" (99), and the term "plosive" is thoroughly bad. The author shows (183) a curious prejudice against voiceless articulations, and in his pessimistic forecast of the future of English (193) he reveals himself as a convinced primitivist!

If Sir Richard Paget's book deals largely with physics, that of Mr. Negus deals chiefly with anatomy.²³ The author traces the evolution of the larynx "throughout the animal kingdom." He is not so much concerned with the anatomical details in themselves as in the functions which they serve. He has carried through a magnificent piece of research, and his book becomes the authoritative treatise on its subject. Although Mr. Negus is emphatic in disclaiming any particular interest in the human larynx, or in the

²³ V. E. Negus, *The Mechanism of the Larynx*, pp. xxx + 528. Mosby, St. Louis, 1929.

larynx as an organ of phonation, yet he gives us by far the best study of these matters that has yet been made. Indeed, the publication of his book must be heralded as a major event in the field of phonetics. His volume is crammed with new and important things, and the student of language who neglects it is making a grave mistake. I would call special attention to one item. The excellent vowels produced by a certain almost tongueless individual lead Mr. Negus to the conclusion that in the differentiation of vowels "it must be by action of the constrictors of the pharynx that most effect is produced, aided to a lesser degree by the tongue" (418).

The history of linguistic studies and linguistic philosophy has long engaged the attention of Professor S. A. Leonard and Professor Otto Funke. Mr. Leonard now gives us a valuable survey of eighteenth-century views on good English.²⁴ After pointing out that the century took great interest in linguistic theory, he examines the various theories then current, sketches the linguistic controversies of the period, and records with some approach to fulness the practical application of theory to specific locutions in the grammars of the day. A handy part of the book is the "topical glossary of dicta," which covers more than 50 pages. There is also a useful list of eighteenth century publications germane to the subject, arranged chronologically. Mr. Leonard shows that the linguistic thought of the century was dominated by a purism based on dogma rather than by a discipline based on the facts of usage. He also tells the story of an extraordinary and persistent effort, on the part of the puristic grammarians, to make the language over in terms of the body of linguistic dogma then orthodox, and brings out neatly the bad effects of this effort on English style. It is to be hoped that the author will give us a sequel to his fascinating book, in the form of a history of nineteenth-century purism. Mr. Funke in his latest volume goes back to seventeenth-century England.²⁵ His book falls into two parts. The first part begins with a clear summary of Bacon's linguistic ideas and their influence on

²⁴ S. A. Leonard, *The Doctrine of Correctness in English Usage, 1700-1800* Pp. 361. Univ. of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, No. 25. Madison, 1929.

²⁵ Otto Funke, *Zum Weltsprachenproblem in England im 17. Jahrhundert*, pp. v + 163. Anglistische Forschungen, Heft 69. Carl Winter, Heidelberg, 1929.

English linguistic philosophy of the period. There follows a sketch of the lives of Dalgarno and Wilkins, some account of their schemes for a universal language, and an enquiry into the immediate sources of their linguistic ideas. Wilkins is justly reproached for failing to mention the work of Dalgarno, to which he owed something of his inspiration at least. Finally, Mr. Funke examines in detail the phonetic systems of Dalgarno and Wilkins; he reserves for another volume a similarly detailed account of the other aspects of their linguistic philosophy. The second part consists of three groups of texts, taken from the *Ars Signorum* and the *Discourse* of Dalgarno, the *Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language* of Wilkins, and the *Logopandekteision* of Urquhart. The whole makes a worthy and welcome contribution to our knowledge of seventeenth-century linguistic thought.

It is a far cry from the philosophical artificial languages of the seventeenth century to the utilitarian interlanguages of the twentieth, but the two types of constructed languages none the less have much in common. In 1928 Professor Jespersen published the grammar of *Novial*, the new language which he had worked out to serve as a medium of international communication. He now gives us a dictionary of the same tongue.²⁶ All interlinguists will find the new interlanguage worthy of close study, and those who so far have paid little attention to the interlingual movement would do well to look into this latest and best product of a significant and intellectually stimulating type of linguistic thought. The leading part which nowadays the Anglo-Saxon nations play in the world's affairs has, however, convinced many (and these not all Anglo-Saxons) that English, could it only be somewhat simplified, would, by its universal adoption as an auxiliary tongue, meet the pressing modern need for an international medium of communication. Among the advocates of what we may call an inter-English, Professor Zachrisson is perhaps the most prominent and the most active. He has recently printed two tracts on the subject, of which the second is a revised edition of the first.²⁷ Mr. Zachrisson makes English easier by simplifying its spelling and its grammar. He keeps the tradi-

²⁶ Otto Jespersen, *Novial Lexike*, pp. 251. Allen and Unwin, London, 1930.

²⁷ R. E. Zachrisson, *English in Easy Spelling*, pp. 12, Uppsala, 1929; *World English in Easy Spelling*, pp. 35, Uppsala, 1930.

tional main lines, and accomplishes the simplification by getting rid of anomalies and irregularities. The result is an English much easier for the foreigner and without appreciable difficulties for the native speaker. The experiment was well worth making; whether it will take with the public remains to be seen.

I will conclude this survey by mentioning three recent *Festschriften*, got out in honor of Professors Klaeber, Collitz and Jespersen respectively.²⁸ Of these, the last two are almost wholly linguistic, while the first includes many linguistic papers.

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THE ETYMOLOGY OF THE PHRASE *BY ROTE*

According to the New English Dictionary, the phrase *by rote*, meaning "to perform in a mechanical manner", is of obscure origin, there being "no evidence to confirm the suggestions that it is from the Latin *rota* (wheel)". I wish here to present evidence which seems to me to establish a definite connection between the phrase and the Latin word.

Even in Present English this phrase is generally used with the verbs "to say", "to play", and "to sing." That this usage was general in Middle English is too obvious to require a list of quotations. Hence, in order to trace the phrase to its source, it seems logical to go to the early treatises on music, of which there are several dating back to the tenth century. It is in one of the Latin treatises that the clue is to be found.

Before 942 one Odo of Cluny wrote a Latin dissertation called *Quomodo Organistrum Construat*, in which, as the title points out, he gave definite instructions for the building of an Organistrum, a mediaeval musical instrument which retained its popularity for several centuries. In the course of time its name was altered, but the principle by which it was operated is found even today in the lowly Hurdy-Gurdy. I shall attempt, by a series of

²⁸ *Studies in English Philology in Honor of Frederick Klaeber*, pp. x + 486, Minneapolis, 1929; *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz*, pp. xii + 331, Baltimore, 1930; *A Grammatical Miscellany Offered to Otto Jespersen*, pp. 464, Copenhagen, 1930.

comparisons to modern instruments, to describe the ancient Organistrum.

Imagine a modern bass viol, some five feet long, lying on its back on a table. Substitute for the bridge of the modern instrument a solid wheel some six inches in diameter, and to that wheel attach a crank, extending through the foot of the instrument. The older Organistrum had only three strings, one on each side of the wheel, and one across the top. The wheel was treated with resin, in order to increase the friction on the strings. Thus when the operator turned the wheel, the strings were scraped, and sound was forthcoming.

But this was only a half of the complicated mechanism. Instead of the fingerboard of the modern viol, imagine a keyboard, vaguely like that of the modern piano, although very much shorter. Along the side of the strings, levers were arranged at regular intervals, and connected with this keyboard. When the musician pushed a key, the strings were borne down upon by a wooden bar; thus the vibrating length of the string, and accordingly the pitch, was changed. By pressing down upon the keys one after another, the operator was able to play a scale; just as a similar pressing down upon the white keys of a piano will produce a scale. This huge instrument required two operators, one to turn the wheel (*rota* or *rotulum*), and one to operate the keys (*plectra*). In the fourteenth century this same instrument, greatly reduced in size and played by only one musician, appears under the name of "Symphony".

This long description shows clearly, I believe, the origin of the phrase "by rote". The player whose business it was to turn the *rota* needed only sufficient musical ability to stop cranking when the tune was finished. He was quite as necessary as the boy who pumped the bellows of the pipe organ, and he required about the same degree of intelligence. In the earlier appearances of the instrument, the laymen no doubt considered the *rotator* to be a musician of equal ability with the operator of the *plectra*, but as the principle involved became generally familiar, we can even imagine jokes springing up at the expense of the poor grind who turned the *rota*: jokes analogous to our own "victrola lesson" variety. In any case, the *rotator* was only a part of the machine; his work was certainly "performed in a mechanical manner".

Moreover, that class of instruments which used the *rota* prin-

ciple (and the Organistrum and Symphony were built in many sizes and shapes) must have seemed to the laity to be extremely simple of operation when compared to the *fithale* and *rebec*, precursors of the modern violin. While these latter instruments required, to some degree, the same precision of fingering as do their modern counterparts, the instruments which were played by a *rota* must have seemed entirely mechanical—merely a matter of pressing keys and turning a wheel.

It seems reasonable to suggest, then, that the phrase "by rote" came in time to be figuratively applied to any operation which was highly mechanical in nature, or which entailed mere memory divorced from reasoning power or skill. Although I have been unable to discover any other prepositional phrase brought over from the musical vocabulary into the vernacular, the two verbs "to harp", meaning "to dwell upon at length", and "to fiddle", meaning "to make aimless or idle motions with the fingers", prove conclusively that such a transfer of meaning is possible.

It is with complete humility that I submit this suggested etymology. I realize that the evidence is not conclusive, but it seems to me that this is the most logical connection yet found between the Latin *rota* and the phrase "by rote".

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CHAUCER'S 'BERNARD THE MONK'

At the beginning of the *Legend of Good Women* Chaucer would have us believe that a thing may be true, God wot, though everyone cannot see it with his eyes;

Bernard the monk ne saugh nat al, parde.

Several MSS., probably following the poet's own copy, add the gloss, 'Bernardus Monachus non vidit omnia', an adage of small currency. As to the person meant, Skeat, followed by Dr. John Koch,¹ assumes St. Bernard of Clairvaux. This is natural as a first guess, and may be correct. But it is only to a modern that he is the inevitable Monk Bernard. There is no evidence in the *non sequitur* of Skeat's German lexicographer of 1677, to the effect

¹ *Chaucer's kleinere Dichtungen*, Heidelberg, 1928.

that, since Bernard is reported as saying that he had learned amongst the oaks and beeches,² hence the proverb, 'Neque enim Bernardus vidit omnia'. Whether the adage is a slurring tribute to learning or to perception, 'Bernard the monk' seems a too off-hand designation for the great abbot and saint, nor was the preacher and mystic remarkable for his power of observation, rather the contrary; or even celebrated for his learning. The *vidit* suggests a monk who devoted himself to seeing things.

Such a 'Bernardus monachus' was the plucky Frenchman who not far from 870 made a journey to the Holy Land with two other monks, 'volentes videre loca sanctorum', and is known through his brief *Itinerarium*,³ on the regions and churches which he saw. His vogue in the twelfth century and later was especially due to his account (the earliest known) of the Holy Fire on Easter Even in the Church of the Sepulchre at Jerusalem. This miracle excited vivid interest among those who had been in Palestine during the first crusade and after,⁴ and writers at home, it seems, dug out this old account of it. William of Malmesbury had read of it here,—'Legi ego in scripto Bernardi monachi'.⁵ Three later writers quote the monk (using William's wording): the early thirteenth-century Helinandus,—'Legitur in libro Bernardi monachi', etc.;⁶ somewhat later Vincent of Beauvais,—'Legitur in libro bernhardi monachi';⁷ and Albricus 'Trium Fontium', who cites 'quidam Bernardus monachus'.⁸ Later this man disappears from sight, till Mabillon unearthed him again about 1672. More ways than one can be fancied in which the adage might have originated from his book.

² See *Acta SS.*, xxxviii, 105, and 226. The lexicographer gets it wrong: 'Nullo habuit praeceptores praeter quercus et fagos. Hinc proverb. Neque,' etc. (J. J. Hofmann, *Lexicon universale*, Leyden, 1698, p. 520.)

³ T. Tobler. *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae* (Leipzig, 1874), 85-99, 393 ff. Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, cxxi, 569-74. MSS. are fairly numerous. He is sometimes called Bernardus Sapiens. Much the best list of references is in Chevalier's *Répertoire, Bio-bibliographie*, I, 555, and A. Molinier, *Sources*, II, 271-2. There are certain difficulties in the account by T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, I, 520 (Rolls Ser., 1862).

⁴ See *Ignis sacer*, etc., in the indices of vols. III, IV, V, of the *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Hist. occid.* (Paris, 1844—).

⁵ *Gesta regum*, IV, 367 (Rolls Ser., II, 423).

⁶ *Chronicon*, bk. XLVII, yr. 1099 (P. L., cccxii, 995).

⁷ *Spec. hist.*, xxvi, 103. ⁸ *Chronica*, in *Mon. Germ. hist.*, xxiii, 770.

Many monks named Bernard are known and many more forgotten. The adventurous pilgrim, if originally meant, may have been no more in Chaucer's mind than in that of the seventeenth-century German; Chaucer may have thought of no individual, or even of him of Clairvaux. But there is no ground, without earlier cases of the adage, for a positive assertion as to its origin.

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THE BOY CALLED AMBROSIUS

In the earliest appearance we have of the Merlin legend, in Nennius's *Historia Britonum*, no mention is made of Merlin himself; there is merely related an episode that forms one of the integral parts of that legend. This incident is the building of Vortigern's tower, which, said his wise men, would not stand until sprinkled with the blood of a child that had never had a father. One such fatherless boy was found in Gleguissing, but he saved himself by disclosing that the difficulty in building was caused by a subterranean pool and dragons whose combat symbolized the wars of the Britons and Saxons. Vortigern, marvelling, questioned the youth as to his name and family, and he replied, as the Latin goes, "*Ambrosius vocor, id est, Embreis Guletic ipse videbatur.*" Then he added, "My father was a consul of the Roman race."¹

This contradiction is puzzling. From the identity of names and the mention of Roman descent it has been asserted—perhaps with justice—that here is a confusion with Aurelius Ambrosius. An ingenious interpretation has been offered by Professor Maynadier.²

And just as wonders were connected at this time with Arthur, so [he assumes] they were with Ambrosius. Thus he was able to appear before Vortigern in a form not his own, apparently a boy without a father . . . But when it suited his pleasure, "*Embreis Guletic ipse videbatur.*" Here we not here that well-known attribute of change of shape, which is seen in Geoffrey's Merlin and still more in the Merlin of the later romances?

This is amazingly clever, but seems to be stretching the sense

¹ Giles, *Six Old English Chronicles*, 1882, p. 401 ff.

² "Merlin and Ambrosius," in *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, 1913, p. 123 ff.

more than it will bear. Neither Geoffrey nor apparently anyone else has ever before so understood the passage. It seems improbable that with the rest of the story given in such detail, thus, the climax and point of it all, would be compressed virtually to the point of extinction; the story is not clumsily told elsewhere. And why should Nennius, who everywhere else calls the king Ambrosius, substitute the Welsh term³ at this essential point? Why should the elaborate details of setting, family, and friends be given if they were merely assumed for the occasion? In the later romances Merlin alters form and clothing, and once his disguise is amplified by a drove of cattle;⁴ but no other author has attempted any scenic effect so complicated as this theory would imply. And why, if the popular development of Aurelius had reached such a romantic height so early, should he so soon sink into insignificance? The centripetal force commonly observable in tradition would make it more likely that Aurelius should absorb and supplant the figure of Merlin than that Merlin should supplant him.

On the whole, pretty as Maynadier's theory is, it seems less simple than the one here presented by the present writer: that the parenthetical "*id est. Embreis Guletic ipse videbatur*" is merely a gloss which has slipped into the text, a gloss by some mystified scribe to the effect that "this was apparently Embreis Guletic himself."

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A NOTE ON THOMAS CHESTRE

In ll. 421-432 of Thomas Chestre's Middle English translation of *Lanval*,¹ which correspond to ll. 209-216 of the version of Marie de France,² his original, there is a somewhat puzzling departure

³ Ambrosius is the Latin equivalent for the British Embreis. *Guletic* (*wledig*) means leader, *dux bellorum*. Maynadier translates it *high king*.

⁴ Lovelich *Merlin*, EETS., Ex. Ser., nos. 93 and 112, l. 3250; Prose *Merlin*, EETS., no. 10, p. 44.

¹ Chestre, Thomas, *Launfal*. Ritson, *Ancient English Romances*, London, 1802, Vol. I, p. 170.

² Hoepffner, E., Marie de France. *Les Lais*. Bib. Rom., Strasbourg, Heitz, 1921. or Warnke, K., *Die Lais der Marie de France*, Halle, 1925.

from the model. In the *Lanval* of Marie de France, when the fairy lady endows the hero with an inexhaustible source of wealth,³ he distributes presents to various groups of people as follows:

Lanval donnoit les riches dons,	
Lanval aquitoit les prisons.	210
Lanval vestoit les juleors,	
Lanval fesoit les granz honnors,	
Lanval despendoit largement,	
Lanval donnoit or et argent.	
N'i ot estiauge ne privé	215
A cui Lanval n'eust donné.	

Hoepffner⁴ has already pointed out that ll. 213-214 are to be found only in the MS. known as S, a MS. which has a tendency to expand descriptions.

Chestre rendered the passage as follows:

Launfal helde ryche festes,	
Fyfty fedde povere gestes,	
That in myschef wer;	
Fyfty boughte stronge stedes,	
Fyfty yaf ryche wedes,	425
To knyghtes and squyere,	
Fyfty rewardede relygyons.	
Fyfty delyverede prysouns,	
And made ham quyt and schere;	
Fyfty clodede gestours,	430
To many men he dede honours,	
In countrys fer and nere.	

He probably had before him a MS. in the family of the MS. S, for his list corresponds to the list found in the MS. S more nearly than it does to the shorter list contained in the other three MSS. But how can we explain the radical change? The translator was apparently using a MS. which contained the abbreviation *L.* for *Lanval* in ll. 210-214 and he mistook this *L.* for *.L.* meaning fifty.⁵

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³ ll. 135 ss.

⁴ *Neophilologus*, xii, p. 6.

⁵ The abbreviation is used in none of the four known MSS.

NOTES DE JOHN ADAMS SUR VOLTAIRE ET ROUSSEAU

Parmi les 3019 volumes qui, après avoir été légués par John Adams à la Bibliothèque de Quincy, ont été déposés dans la "Boston Public Library," un nombre assez considérable porte des annotations quelquefois assez longues de la main de John Adams lui-même. Quelques-unes de ces notes ont déjà été publiées par M. Zoltán Haraszti le savant éditeur de *More Books*.¹ Les notes de John Adams sur Condorcet, Davila et Priestley, paraîtront prochainement dans la même collection. Un hasard heureux m'a permis de retrouver dans cette "Bibliothèque" trois volumes dont les notes de la main de John Adams présentent un intérêt réel. Je tiens ici à exprimer tous mes remerciements à M. Charles F. D. Belden, directeur de la Boston Public Library et à M. Haraszti, qui m'ont fort aimablement permis d'en prendre copie. Je me propose de donner bientôt une étude détaillée sur l'attitude de John Adams à l'égard des philosophes français, et de publier les annotations de John Adams sur plusieurs autres auteurs. On ne trouvera donc ici que les documents eux-mêmes.

Le premier ouvrage étudié porte pour titre: *La Philosophie de l'Histoire par feu M. l'Abbé Bazin*. A Genève aux dépens de l'auteur. MDCCLXV. Dédié à "Très-Haute et Très-Auguste Princesse Catherine Seconde Impératrice de Toutes les Russies Protectrice des Arts et des Sciences." C'est la première édition de l'opuscule qui devait devenir en 1769 le *Discours préliminaire de l'Essai sur les Mœurs*. Dans le même volume qui forme un recueil factice se trouve reliée la première édition du *Traité de la Tolérance*, s. l. (Genève) MDCCLXIII. Une note manuscrite qui se trouve à la page 29 de ce second ouvrage indique que c'est en 1801 qu'Adams, après une campagne électorale dont la violence n'a jamais été égalée, chercha un refuge, une consolation et une justification dans sa "librarie"; et que tout meurtri encore de ses expériences récentes, il annota le traité de Voltaire. Il est permis de croire que c'est approximativement à la même date qu'il annota

¹ *The Bulletin of the Boston Public Library*; voir en particulier "John Adams' comments on Rousseau's Inequality among Mankind." *More Books*, March, 1926; "John Adams' Opinion of Madame de Stael's Influence of the Passions upon Happiness," et "The Golden Verses of Pythagoras," *More Books*, April, 1926.

la *Nouvelle Héloïse* dont il possédait l'édition illustrée en 4 volumes, publiée à Neuchâtel en 1764. Les annotations sont brèves, mais piquantes; les passages soulignés, et de nombreuses corrections typographiques qui n'ont pas été relevées montrent avec quelle attention le Sage de Quincy a lu le philosophe de Genève et d'une façon assez inattendue a tiré un profit moral des "lettres de deux amans habitans d'une petite ville au pieds des Aîpes."

VOLTAIRE LA PHILOSOPHIE DE L'HISTOIRE

Chapitre XI, 80. Des Babiloniens devenus Persans.

Simple rappels en marge: *Zerdust—Persians and Caldeans—Zend—Sadder—Baptism—Persepolis—Herodote—Dion Cassius—Sextus Empiricus—Strabo—Catulle.*

Chapitre XV, 102. De l'Arabie.

Ce vaste pays de l'Yemen est si beau, ses ports sont si heureusement situés sur l'Océan Indien, qu'on prétend qu'Alexandre voulut conquérir l'Yemen pour en faire le siège de son empire.

En marge: "*Did Bonaparte take from this the hint of his Expedition into Egypt?*"

Chapitre LIII, 377. Des Législateurs qui ont parlé au nom des Dieux.

Il y a deux sortes de loix, les unes naturelles, communes à tous, et utiles à tous. "Tu ne tueras ni ne voleras ton prochain; tu auras un soin respectueux de ceux qui t'ont donné le jour."

En marge: "*These Commandments of Voltaire are not acknowledged by more modern Philosophers, Godwin and others.*"

Tel fut le Sénat Romain qui donna des loix à l'Europe, à la petite Asie et à l'Afrique, sans les tromper; et tel de nos jours a été Pierre le Grand.

En marge: "*This fellow's flattery of Catherine is intollerable. This was tromper pour son profit. It was a breach of one of his commandments, it was tromper pour nuire, mentir pour nuire. Ask the K. of Prussia what this Pierre le grand was.*"

TRAITÉ DE LA TOLÉRANCE

Chapitre IV, 26.

Le Gouvernement s'est fortifié partout, tandis que les moeurs se sont adoucies. La police générale soutenue d'armées nombreuses toujours existantes, ne permet pas d'ailleurs de craindre le retour de ces temps anarchiques, où des Paysans Calvinistes combattoient des Paysans Catholiques, enrégimentés à la hâte entre les semailles et les moissons.

En marge: "*Voltaire would have been guillotined for Aristocracy in the last ten years of the 18th century.*"

Chapitre IV, 29.

La Philosophie, la seule Philosophie, cette soeur de la Religion, a désarmé des mains que la superstition avoit si longtemps ensanglantées; et l'esprit humain, au réveil de son ivresse, s'est étonné des excès où l'avoit emporté le fanatisme.

En marge: "*Is it possible to read this with patience in 1801?*"

Chapitre VIII, 52. Note e.

Tacite dit: "Quos per flagitios invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat."

En marge: "*There are several profound Observations in this note.*"

Mais Néron n'avoit ni excuse, ni prétexte, ni intérêt Ces rumeurs insensées peuvent être en tout pays le partage du peuple; nous (1) en avons entendu de nos jours d'aussi folles et d'aussi injustes."

(1) Nous souligné. En marge: "*Et nous aussi.*"

Tacite, qui connaissait si bien le naturel des Princes, devait connoître aussi celui du Peuple, toujours vain, toujours outré dans ses opinions violentes et passagères, incapable de rien voir, et capable de tout dire, de tout croire, et de tout oublier.

En marge: "*V. was no democrat.*"

. . . Octave, Tibère, et leurs successeurs avaient été odieux parce qu'ils régnaient sur un peuple qui devait être libre, les Historiens se plaisaient à les diffamer, et on croyait ses Histoires sur leur parole, parce qu'alors on manquait de mémoires, de journaux du temps, de documents.

En marge: "*This should be kept in mind in reading those historians.*"

Chapitre IX, 55.

Il y eut dans la suite des Martyrs Chrétiens, il est bien difficile de savoir pour quelles raisons ces Martyrs furent condamnés; mais j'ose croire qu'aucun ne le fut sous les premiers Césars (1) pour sa seule religion; on les tolérât toutes.

(1) Césars souligné. En marge: "*Were not Alcibiades and Cesar prosecuted for profanation of Saint Mysteries?*"

Idem.

Considérons le martyre de St. Polyeucte. Le condamna-t-on pour sa religion seule? . . . Le Chrétien qui déchira publiquement l'Edit de l'Empereur Dioclétien, et qui attira sur ses frères la grande persécution, dans les deux dernières années du règne de ce Prince, n'avait pas un zèle selon la science.

En marge: "*The Executions of the Quakers in America, was no Persecution according to this reasoning of Voltaire*"

Chapitre XII, 102, note.

Il paraît que dans ce traité Tacite songe plus à faire la satire des Romains, que l'éloge des Germains qu'il ne connaissait pas.

Passage souligné. En marge: "*The praise of the Germans by Tacitus is like t^e. of the Chinese by Voltaire.*"

Idem.

Disons ici en passant que Tacite (1) aimait encore mieux la satire que la vérité. Il veut rendre tout odieux jusqu'aux actions indifférentes; et sa malignité nous plaît presque autant que son style, parce que nous aimons la médisance et l'esprit.

(1) Tacite souligné. En marge: "*Wt. shall we say to this?*"

Idem.

On ne trouve dans toute l'Histoire de ce Peuple aucun trait de générosité, de magnanimité, de bienfaisance.

En marge: "*Wt. say you of Joseph?*"

Chapitre XIII, 121, note.

Tout le système de la fatalité est contenu dans ce vers d'Anneus Sénèque: Ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt.

En marge: "*lead y^e willing dragg the backward on.*"

ROUSSEAU: LA NOUVELLE HÉLOÏSE

Vol. I, 189. Lettre XXIV.

Je distingue dans ce que l'on appelle honneur, celui qui se tire de l'opinion publique, et celui qui dérive de l'estime de soi-même.

En marge: "*honneur.*"

Vol. II, 14. Lettre II.

Que le rang se règle par le mérite, et l'union des cœurs par leur choix; voilà le véritable ordre social: (1) ceux qui le règlent par la naissance ou par les richesses (2) sont les vrais perturbateurs de cet ordre; et ce sont ceux-là qu'il faut décrier ou punir. (3)

(1) *Sing-Song.*

(2) *ou par Beauté de visage ou figure.*

(3) *Peoples, Nations not Individuals are guilty of this!—Riches and fame are Chimæras too.*

Vol. II, 217. Lettre XXI.

Les livres n'ont de prix, les auteurs n'ont d'estime qu'autant qu'il plaît aux femmes de leur en accorder.

Souligné à l'encre.

Vol. II, 377. Lettre XLVI.

. . . ; je serais à lui si l'ordre humain n'eût troublé les rapports de la nature, et s'il étoit permis à quelqu'un d'être heureux, nous aurions dû l'être ensemble.

En marge: "*It is not a human order it is inevitable . to me an order of Nature!*"

Vol. III, 5. Lettre I.

Cette objection si peu solide, ils la retournent de mille manières. Ils regardent l'homme vivant sur la terre comme un soldat mis en faction. . . .

Tout le paragraphe souligné. En marge au crayon: "*Excellent sophistry if the word "excellent" may be used.*"

Idem., p. 11.

On supporte longtemps une vie pénible et douloureuse, avant de se résoudre à la question, mais quand une fois l'ennui de vivre l'emporte sur l'horreur de mourir, alors la vie est évidemment un grand mal, et l'on ne peut s'en délivrer trop tôt.

Paragraphe souligné. En marge: "*rather better.*"

Idem., p. 12.

Qu'Arrie Eponine, Lucrece soient dans le nombre, elles étoient femmes Mais Brutus . . .

Paragraphe souligné. En marge: "*the best.*"

Vol. III, 204. Lettre XVI.

C'est une grande erreur dans l'économie domestique, ainsi que dans la civile, de vouloir combattre un vice par un autre, ou former entre eux une sorte d'équilibre, comme si ce qui sappe les fondemens de l'ordre, pouvoit jamais servir à l'établir.

Passage souligné. En marge: "*This requires Explication, Limitation, Restriction.*"

Vol. III, 278. Lettre XVIII.

. . . on ne voit rien quand on se contente de regarder; qu'il faut agir soi-même pour voir agir les hommes, et je me fis acteur pour être spectateur.

Passage souligné.

Vol. III, 386. Lettre xxv.

Celui qui sent sa faiblesse appelle à son secours le manège et la brigue,
que l'autre plus sûr de lui dédaigne.

Passage souligné.

Vol. III, 475. Lettre xxvi.

. . . car la vanité de l'homme est la source de ses plus grandes peines.

Passage souligné.

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A PASSAGE IN CALDERÓN'S *MÁGICO PRODIGIOSO*

A little more than half way through the first act of this play begins a *relación* (ed. Keil, III, 402B; ed. Hartzenbusch, II, 174B; ed. Morel-Fatio, vv. 763 ff.) in which Lisandro, in a conversation with Justina, sketches the story of the first part of his life. "I am a native," says Lisandro, in substance, after a brief digression, "of the city of seven hills;

De aquella que es silla oy
Del romano ymperio, alvergue
Del cristiano: á serlo pues
Roma sola lo merece."

Such is the reading of these four lines (vv. 13-16 of the *relación*) in the Morel-Fatio edition. So far as may be judged from Morel-Fatio's footnotes, it is also the reading of the princeps (*Parte XX* of the so-called "Escogidas" collection), but with "solo" for "sola" in the last line, and presumably with certain orthographical differences. The reading of the princeps has been adopted, with modernized orthography, by Keil, Krenkel, Wurzbach, and perhaps others.

Vera Tassis and Hartzenbusch, however, were aware that there was something wrong with the text of this passage. The former, in republishing the play from the princeps, changed "á serlo" in the third line to "asylo," and instead of "Roma solo" in the last line printed "solo Roma." Hartzenbusch attempted to emend Vera Tassis' text by substituting "digno" for "asylo."

Either with or without these various changes, the passage remains

obscure, if not unintelligible. In the first place, the prominence of "hoy" at the end of the first line, particularly in view of the antithetical relation of "romano imperio" in the second line to "cristiano [imperio]" in the third line (for it is hardly possible to take "cristiano" as a generic noun, as Keil, Krenkel and perhaps others seem to do), plainly points to a contrast to be drawn between the Rome of the time of the action of the play and what Calderón knew she was to be later, namely the head of the Christian world. But this antithesis is not actually or fully expressed in the text as printed in all the editions.

In the second place, it does not seem possible, with such a text, to explain "a serlo" syntactically. This infinitival phrase can not be the complement of "merece" in the next line: "merecer" does not take "a" before a following infinitive, and moreover in the present case this verb already has a complement, namely "lo." Nor can "a serlo" be taken as the equivalent of a conditional clause, for the apodosis of such a condition can not be expressed by a present indicative ("merece" in the present case).

Consideration of these two points led me, several months ago, to suspect that the real difficulty with the passage lay in the noun "albergue" at the end of the second line. Krenkel's note on the word as here used ("weil die Christen sich nur als Pilger auf Erden betrachten") is far from satisfying; for would Calderón speak of Rome, even in a metaphorical sense, as being a place of pilgrimage for the Christians at the time when they were being persecuted by the Romans? Obviously, then, it became necessary to consult the manuscript in Madrid on this one word.

As my friend Dr. Pedro Bach-y-Rita was at that time about to go to Spain, I requested him to investigate the reading of the manuscript on this point. He found, as did also Sr. Domínguez Bordona of the staff of the Biblioteca Nacional, that instead of "albergue" the manuscript clearly shows "o llegeue."

The substitution of this hortatory subjunctive, at the beginning of a parenthetical remark, causes all difficulties with the passage to disappear. The infinitival phrase "a serlo" (*i. e.*, "a ser la silla [del cristiano imperio]") becomes the complement of "llegeue," and the above-mentioned antithesis remains fully expressed. Apparently, then, in a modern edition the four lines should be printed as follows:

De aquélla que es silla hoy
Del romano imperio (¡oh llegue
Del cristiano a serlo, pues
Roma sola lo merece!).

It seems as if Morel-Fatio, who apparently worked with the princeps constantly at hand, must have failed to scrutinize the manuscript carefully at this point and, not sensing any difficulty with the passage, must have let himself be guided by the printed text.

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APPLES OF HESPERIDES AGAIN

In a note which appeared recently in this publication (XLV, 314) attention was called to the fact that Andrés de Claramonte made an error in regard to the Apples of Hesperides similar to that found in the *Estrella de Sevilla*.

Don Arias: Solo te auenturas?

Rey:

Pues,

por que espumosos remolcos
por manganas passo a Colcos?

Estrella, II. 933-36.

From this it was argued that Claramonte had a hand in the composition of the scene.

But Claramonte was not the only one who confused the location of the famous apples. Lope de Vega himself made the same mistake more than once:

Frondoso: Corrió [Atalanta] esta tarde con el bello Hipómenes;
Pero valióse de una industria el Príncipe,
Que tres manzanas, más que las Hespérides
Que Medea guardó con arte mágica,
Le fué arrojando entre las plantas ágiles . . .

Adonis y Venus, ed. Acad., VI, 22, cols. 1 and 2.

Fineo: Viene Jasón.

Antiopia: ¿Es Jasón?

Fineo: El que robó las manzanas
Y el vellocino de oro . . .

Las mujeres sin hombres,

Ibid., VI, 46, col. 1.

Lucindo: Iré á cumplir en todo tu deseo;
 Pero no sé si en la batalla aciertas,
 Porque en Atenas cuentan de Teseo
 Grandes hazañas.

Oranteo: Todas son inciertas:
 La que cuenta con Hércules no creo,
 Ni que rompió las infernales puertas;
El v a Colcos sí, pues ya se sabe
Lo de Jasón y la primera nave.
En fin, se halló en el robo de Medea,
El vellocino y las manzanas de oro . . .
El laberinto de Creta,
Ibid., vi, 132, col. 2.

Alejandro: ¡Ojalá, como á Jasón,
 Me mandáredes traer
 Las hespéridas manzanas
 Venciendo toros de fuego!
La prueba de los ingenios,
Ibid., xiv, 205, col. 2.¹

Still, the identity of the one responsible for the lines quoted from the *Estrella de Sevilla* is not left in doubt, because the peculiar rhymes are characteristic of Claramonte and not of Lope.

Ursino: Seguirete a la muerte,
 pasare el mar nabegando,
 como otro Jason a *Colcos*,
 por espumosos remolcos
 y por bentanas nadando . . .
El secreto en la muger, Act II, fol. 8

Tu, mar, que atreuidos sorbes
 en espumosos remolcos,
 no con gigantes estorbes
 que llegue al eterno *Colcos*,
 sulcando esfericos orbes.

Letani a Moral, p. 455.

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¹ G. I. Dale (*Hispania*, xi, 289-90) cites other examples of the same sort.

DER ZUSCHAUER, 1739-1743

Among the German translations of *The Spectator*¹ was one printed in Leipzig, 1739-43. It bears no translator's name. The title page of each of the eight parts says simply: *Der Zuschauer. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt.*² Diesch³ attributes the translation to "[Joh. Chr.] Gottsched und den Seinigen." Goedeke's *Grundriss*⁴ ascribes it to "der Gottschedin."

The last paragraph of the Vorrede (in Part Eight), reveals this concerning the translation:

So viel wollen wir ihnen entdecken· dass, wie die Verfertigung des Zuschauers ein gemeinschaftliches Werk gewesen, also auch diese Uebersetzung desselben eines ist. Es haben zusammen drey Personen Theil an derselben, und kommen diejenigen Stucke, welche das Zeichen † haben, der einen, welche ein Sternchen * haben, der andern, und welche nur den blossen Buchstaben fuhren oder gar nicht bezeichnet sind, der dritten davon zu.

A count of the 635 articles composing the *Zuschauer* shows that 324 bear an asterisk, 195 are left blank, or are signed with the plain letter of the original, and 62 are keyed by a dagger, while three have both a dagger and an asterisk.

These three which are doubly marked occur early in the series; they are numbers 71, 95, and 139. No explanation is given, but the alternatives present themselves that Dagger may have encountered a passage too difficult for him (though his work appears correct), or that he was slow. Dagger seems not to have carried his share of the burden after the first three or four parts, for he appears only twice in Part Five, twice in Part Six, once in Part Seven, and not at all in Part Eight.

A close examination of a representative number⁵ of the articles

¹ Text used: *The Spectator*. A new edition, reproducing the original text, both as first issued and as corrected by its authors. By Henry Morley. London: George Routledge & Sons, Limited. No date.

² *Der Zuschauer*. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt. Erster bis achter Theil. Leipzig, bey Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf. 1739-1743.

³ Carl Diesch: *Bibliographie der Germanistischen Zeitschriften*. Leipzig, 1927. No. 490, I.

⁴ Goedeke's *Grundriss*. II. Auflage, 1887, 3. Band, Seite 362*

⁵ Articles examined: bearing asterisk, 5, 329, 332, 475, 476, 481, 482, 513, 547, 550; unsigned, 323, 327, 420, 483, 489, 495, 499, 507, 511, 519, 528; with dagger, 18, 80, 484; with dagger and asterisk, 71, 95, 139.

does not reveal any noticeable stylistic differences. The fact that the English articles are from different pens has also to be taken into consideration while looking for stylistic variations in the German translation. It is possible that the three translators were living so intimately in the same household, and that they had learned their English from the same source, so that they would express the thought from the English passage in practically the same German idiom. Then, too, it is quite possible that the whole system of signs was meant as a ruse—such as Gottsched had used previously in his *Vernunfftige Tadelrinnen*.

A careful comparison of the German translation with the English reveals surprisingly slight variations and mistakes. Of the deviations noted in the numbers studied, the following are perhaps the most striking:

In Number 323, paragraph 4:

TUESDAY *Night* Could not go to sleep till one in the Morning for thinking of my Journal.

Dienstag, des Abends. Konnte ich vor ein Uhr nicht zu Bette gehen, weil ich immer an mein Tageregister dachte.

Ibid., par. 8:

From One till Half an Hour after Two.

Von eins bis halb zwey Nachmittage.

Ibid., par. 35:

Kitty repeated without the Book the Eight best Lines in the Play. Went in our Mobbs to the dumb Man, according to Appointment. Told me that my Lover's Name began with a G. *Mem.* The Conjuror was within a Letter of Mr. *Froth's* Name, &c.

Käthe wusste die acht schönsten Stellen dieses Stücks aus dem Kopfe herzusagen. Erzählte mir, dass meines Liebsten Name mit einem G. anfieng. NB. Der Beschwörer war in einem Buchstaben von Herren Meerschams Namen u.

(The letter G does not fit in the translation, since the name Froth is given as beginning with an M, more than one letter removed from the G.)

In Number 475, paragraph 1:

The Privy-Counsellor of one in Love must observe the same Conduct.
Der geheime Rath eines verliebten Prinzen, muss es eben so machen.

Ibid., Paragraph 2:

. . . whether they would advise her to take *Tom Townly*, that made his addresses to her with an Estate of Five Thousand a Year?

. . . ob sie es ihr wohl rathen, den *Thomas Townly* zu nehmen, welcher funzig tausen Pfunde besitzt?

In Number 481, paragraph 6 (German, paragraph 7):

. . he would oblige the French King to burn his Gallies . . before he would Sheath his Sword.

. . . und diess ohne dass man einmal den Degen zoge.

In Number 482, paragraph 2:

. . . that he may not grow musty, and unfit for Conversation.

. . . damit er nur nicht gar verschimmele, und sich nicht wieder sehen lassen könne.

Ibid., paragraph 4:

. . . and was making Paper-Boats with his sisters.

. . . wie er denn auch bessere Pfefferkuchen backen konnte, als seine Schwestern.

In Number 483, paragraph 3:

. . . where the Historians were actually inspired.

. . . wo die Geschichtschreiber wirklich begeistert waren.

In Number 499, paragraph 4:

. . . I found it was filled with China-Ware.

. . . fand ich, dass er mit chinesischer Waare angefullet war.

In Number 547, paragraph 3:

. . . throughout the Kingdom.

. . . in und ausserhalb diesem Königreiche.

In Number 550, paragraph 1:

. . . he has one and twenty Shares in the *African* Company, and offers to bribe me with the odd one . . .

. . . dass er ein und zwanzig Antheile an der africanischen Compagnie habe, und erklärt sich, mir den schlechtesten davon abzutreten.

In the introduction to Part One, the reader's attention is called to the fact that the translation is an independent one:

Wir erachteten es nicht für rathsam, diese Blätter aus der französischen Übersetzung zu verdutschen, wie unser Vorgänger vor zwanzig Jahren

gethan hat. . . . Wir haben uns allenthalben an das englische Original gehalten, auch das französische nicht einmal dagegen gehalten.

The French⁶ version here mentioned omits a large number of the original articles, and does not stick as closely to the English text as does the German. Examining the French text in the cases cited above, the following observations may be made:

Number 323 is omitted in the French.

Number 475, which is French Tome V, XIX. Discours, has an addition in the past part of paragraph 1 (cited above), which then reads as follows:

Lors qu'elle a fait son choix, elle envoie à Amies, pour la seule formalité, la permission de choisir pour elle, à peu près de même que nos Rois permettent au Doien & au Chapitre d'une Cathedrale de proceder à la nomination d'un Evêque.

In all of the other cases cited above, the French interprets the English sense correctly, while the German deviates.

From this study it would seem that the translation was the work of one person, or possibly three intimately associated; that on the whole it reproduced the English original very satisfactorily; and that it was done independently of other translations.

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HORS DE PAGE AND HORS DE PAIR

The success of Wyndham Lewis' *King Spider* makes it worth while to point out a misleading translation of one of his quotations, the more so as he does not give his sources. On page 17 we read: "Louis XI . . . has put, said his successor Francis I, all other kings out of the running (*hors de page*)."⁷ This seems to imply that Francis esteemed Louis as the greatest of monarchs. Possibly he did, but the phrase *hors de page* never has, as far as I can

⁶ *Le Spectateur, ou le Scorate moderne. Où l'on voit un Portrait naïf des Moeurs de ce Siècle Traduit de l'anglois. Tomes I à VI. A Amsterdam, chez les Frères Wetstein (in various editions dated between 1724 and 1733).*

discover, this meaning. Brantôme, *Vie de grands capitaines*, I, 50, edition of 1666, says:

J'ay ouï dire à une dame notable que le roy François le louoit (Louis XI) extrêmement fort: qu'il estoit un peu trop cruel et sanguinaire, et que c'estoit luy qui avoit mis les roys de France *hors de page*, car devant luy, disoit-il, les rois n'estoient que des demy rois, et n'avoient encore gagné l'autorité et la preeminence sur leur royaume.

I quote from La Curne de Sainte Palaye, *Dictionnaire de l'Antienne Langage Français*. s. v. *page*.

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WALSINGHAM AND THE ELIZABETHAN STAGE

Sir John Harington, in the *Preface* to his translation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1591), says:

. . . to speake of a London Comedie, how much good matter, yea and matter of state, is there in that Comedie called the play of the Cards? In which it is shewed how foure Parasiticall knaues robbe the foure principall vocations of the Realme, *videl*, the vocation of Souldiers, Schollers, Merchants, and Husbandmen. Of which Comedie I cannot forget the saying of a notable wise counsellor that is now dead, who when some (to sing *Placeto*) aduised that it should be forbidden, because it was somewhat too plaine, and indeed as the old saying is, *sooth boord is no boord*, yet he would haue it allowed, adding it was fit that *they which do that they should not, should heare that they would not*.¹

"One would gladly know," says Chambers, "who was the 'notable wise counsellor' . . . I should not be surprised if this were Walsingham."²

Sir Edmund's shrewd guess is substantiated by the second (1607) and third (1634) editions of Harington's work, for on the margin is 'Sir Frances Walsingham.'³

¹ Cf. Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, IV, 237 f. Harington's italics.

² *Ibid.*, I, 268.

³ Harington makes some other pertinent observations in his *Preface*. Referring to a stage performance of *Richard III* at Cambridge, he says: ". . . *Richard* the third, would moue (I thinke) *Phalaris* the tyrant, and terrifie all tyrannous minded men, from following their foolish ambitious humors." And again, apropos of 'the play of the Cards' he remarks:

Conclusions of some moment are: (a) One high official, viz., the queen's trusted secretary, not only knew that matters of state were being criticized on the London stage, but heartily approved of the practice; (b) This councillor—the father-in-law of the Earl of Essex—was a member of Gray's Inn, a society Shakspeare had connections with by 1594. It seems hardly necessary to add that the Earl of Southhampton was a member of Gray's; (c) By 1590 a legal group close to the queen (Shakspeare was in their circle at least by 1593) was discussing the purpose of the contemporary stage. Obviously this criticism among persons of consequence must be taken into account in any discussion of the relation between politics and the theatre later in the decade. It should not be a matter of surprise, for example, if plays (including Shakspeare's) fell under suspicion; or, contrariwise, if dramatic material was chosen with an eye on the affairs of state. At all events, just as Shakspeare was on the threshold of his theatrical career, it was not thought absurd to have governmental matters receive dramatic treatment,—from the point of view of spectators, dramatists, and (highly significant), from officials of state themselves.⁴

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DRYDEN QUOTES BEN JONSON

The power of music to compel the attention of angels is a conceit obvious enough to have occurred independently to the numerous poets who have employed it. Dryden, however, is clearly indebted to Ben Jonson for one line which he repeats *verbatim*:

When to her Organ vocal breath was Giv'n,
An angel heard, and straight appear'd,
Mistaking earth for heav'n.¹

"... if Comedies may be so made as the beholders may be bettered by them, without all doubt all other sorts of Poetrie may bring their profite as they do bring delight."

⁴ One would like to know something more about the *Game of Cards* (Cf. Chambers, I, 268 and n.). Was this Tarleton's play with its jibe at Raleigh, viz., "See the knave commands the queen" (cf. Aikin, *Memoirs of Elizabeth*, II, 330)?

¹ Dryden, *A Song for St. Cecilia's Day*, 52-54.

O sing not you then, lest the best
 Of angels should be driven
 To fall again, at such a feast,
 Mistaking earth, for heaven *

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REVIEWS

La Pensée de Jean-Jacques Rousseau; Essai d'interprétation nouvelle. Par ALBERT SCHINZ. Smith College, Northampton, Mass., 1929. 2 vols. Pp. viii + 521.

The temper and general method of Professor Schinz's long-awaited work are as admirable as they are—in books on its subject—unusual. It is equally free from Rousseauophobia and Rousseauomania. The author has realized that the thing now needful for a genuine understanding of Rousseau's thought is to purge one's mind completely of the Rousseau (or Rousseaus) of tradition and return to an open-minded and searching analysis of the texts; and he is aware that such an analysis is an exacting business—that its first step must be a careful inductive determination of the (usually multiple) meaning of Rousseau's recurrent terms and formulas, and that it demands a constant alertness for ambiguities, for distinctions implicit yet crucial, for latent interconnections of ideas. Above all, he has realized that Rousseau—like most philosophers, but more than most—often writes under the pressure of diverse and conflicting ideas and preconceptions, and that the duty of the expositor is to discriminate and throw into relief *all* the strains in a given writing and exhibit their interplay in the writer's mind—not, by neglecting all but the most obvious, to impose upon this complex a specious unity and simplicity.

Since Schinz thus brings to his task so sound a conception of its nature and requirements, and also has an exceptional command of his material, I had hoped to find his "new interpretation" correspondingly convincing. This hope has not been wholly fulfilled. Much of the old nonsense about Rousseau is, indeed, effectively exploded, not a few current confusions are cleared up. But the principal distinctions employed seem to me insufficiently *précisées* and therefore insufficiently numerous, so that there is

* Jonson, *The Musical Strife: A Pastoral Dialogue, Works* (ed. Gifford, 1816), viii, 318.

still an over-simplification of Rousseau's many-sided and constantly fluctuating thought; and the thesis advanced as to the general direction in which his mind moved is not, I think, justified by the texts on which it is based. In all his principal writings, Schinz finds, Rousseau wavers between two opposite ethical tendencies. One of these, called the "romantic" view (this seems to me the most inappropriate possible use of that much-abused term) is simply egoistic hedonism; the only rational aim for the individual is his own happiness in this life, through the gratification of his "natural" desires. In the other—designated by a strange conjunction of adjectives, "classic," "Christian," "Roman," "Calvinistic"—"le bonheur naturel ne compte pas; . . . les jouissances naturelles (ou terrestres) sont déclarées mauvaises par elles-mêmes et la vertu consiste à y renoncer" (143). But at the outset the latter tendency, in the final outcome the former, is dominant. What I suggest is that these categories are quite inadequate to cover the actual range of Rousseau's moral ideas; that the second confuses, under a single label, a number of significantly different ethical doctrines; and that, in so far as the antithesis is pertinent, it was in precisely the opposite direction that Rousseau's moral reflection (as expressed in his writings) moved.

It is obviously impossible in a review to cite all the evidence in justification of this dissent. But since even a reviewer ought to give some reasons for his opinions, I shall briefly consider the case with respect to the two termini of the movement of thought with which the book deals—the *First Discourse* and the *Émile*.

The former, Schinz observes, with no great exaggeration, is "un hymne tout entier à la vertu"; but three distinct and incompatible conceptions of "virtue" are discernible in different passages. There is (a) "la conception grecque ou classique: La vertu est un moyen de bonheur, celui que Socrate et Platon, et tous les philosophes antiques après eux, prêchaient" (141); i. e., virtue consists in an intelligent pursuit of self-interest ("vertu-sagesse"), but this implies "l'ordonnance de la nature humaine dans l'état de civilisation" (145). There is (b) "the Christian or Roman conception" which identifies virtue with "le renoncement en soi." Finally (c) there is "la vertu-innocence." This also is at bottom hedonistic; virtue is a means to happiness, but this is to be gained neither by "denying nature, nor yet by wisely developing it," but by limiting oneself "à la seule jouissance résultant de la satisfaction des désirs de la nature, telle qu'elle est chez l'être primitif ou chez l'enfant" (144). While Rousseau in the course of his argument repeatedly shifts from one to another of these ideas, without conscious discrimination, Schinz concludes that he is "really" defending the second: a consistent interpretation of the *First Discourse* will see in it nothing but a plea for

the "Christian, Calvinist, or Roman" ideal of the repression of all "natural desires" and the absolute renunciation of all terrestrial goods.

Now this seems to me both confused and erroneous. (1) It is singularly misleading to describe "Socrates and Plato, and all the ancient philosophers after them," as preaching hedonism; and the author seems oblivious of the degree to which the otherworldly and ascetic temper in Christianity was due to one of the strains in Platonism. (2) To identify "la morale chrétienne ou calviniste," as Schinz defines it, with the "Roman," *i. e.*, the early Roman, virtues of which Rousseau has so much to say, is to confuse utterly disparate ideas. Both, of course, implied *some* "renunciation" and both required a discipline of the passions—as does, for that matter, even the hedonistic "vertu-sagesse." But the motives, the extent, and the emotional tone of the renunciation are quite different. The virtue of a Cato or a Fabricius, as depicted and extolled by Rousseau, had nothing otherworldly about it and it implied no wholesale condemnation of natural desires and satisfactions. Mr. Schinz is himself aware of this; but he implies, without justification, that Rousseau was not (173). Rousseau's "vertu romaine" was the virtue of the good citizen, not of the ascetic saint; it consisted in such social and civic qualities as "magnanimity, equity, temperance, humanity, courage"; and if, on occasion, it demanded of the individual an act of absolute self-sacrifice, it did so in "le doux nom de patrie." But (3) it was the virtue of the citizen in a rude and unsophisticated society; and this, of course, is Rousseau's main point. The Roman virtues and the virtues of the savage are here the same. True, Cato and Fabricius did not precisely live in a pure state of nature, but for Rousseau's immediate purpose the distinction is negligible; in any case, their "mœurs étaient rustiques, mais naturelles." The Romans, Spartans, Scythians, and American Indians all figure in the same rôle, as examples of the advantages of a life without luxury and without the arts and sciences which give rise to it. (4) The notion of "la morale chrétienne," in Schinz's sense, so far from being the "real" theme of the *Discourse*, is wholly foreign to it. Nowhere does Rousseau so much as raise the question whether *all* the "natural" propensities and susceptibilities ought to be suppressed. On the contrary, he throughout assumes that there are certain primary desires and sentiments inherent in human nature, and good; but that whatsoever is beyond these—and that alone—is evil. It is true that, as Schinz justly points out, Rousseau expressly denies man's *bonté naturelle*; even in the primitive age man was "pervers." But this obviously does not mean that all his natural inclinations are essentially bad; it means that he had latent weaknesses, and in particular that there

was in him from the first the germ of a malign passion from which civilization and all its evils were to develop. (5) What this passion was—for the most part—conceived by Rousseau to be, Schinz fails to note; here and in general he overlooks the great importance in Rousseau's thought of the idea of "pride" (under the various names of *orgueil*, *amour-propre*, *vanité*, *fureur de se distinguer*). It is this chiefly which has multiplied factitious desires and ambitions having no relation to man's "besoins naturels." (6) Wherever, in this *Discourse*, Rousseau deals at all definitely with the question of the relation of virtue to happiness his position is consistently (I think) that of benevolent utilitarianism. Egoistic hedonism is, indeed, implicitly rejected; but the general happiness is recognized as the rational end. The simple life is best because men are happiest when their desires are few; and the progress of knowledge and refinement is condemned because "il n'a rien ajouté à notre véritable félicité. But (7) often Rousseau is not thinking of this question at all; and it is an error in exegetical method to attempt to relate all or most of the *Discourse* to it. With Rousseau as with most men a moral enthusiasm is oftenest the expression of a quasi-aesthetic reaction. He extols the human qualities which, spontaneously, he most admires; and he is here exemplifying a phenomenon common enough in the history of moral ideas: the virtue which he preaches is framed largely out of the qualities which he lacks. Thus he admires "les vertus militaires," he admires discipline and restraint, he admires the austere dignity of the Roman Senator under the Republic, and above all, perhaps, he admires health—"l'homme sain et robuste" in body and mind. He has, also, an intense emotional craving for sincerity, candor and loyalty in personal relations. And it is, most of all, because he believes a luxurious and "polite" society to be unfavorable to all these qualities, that he maintains the so-called paradox of this *Discourse*.

It is in the *Émile* that the author finds "le grand effort de Rousseau pour systématiser sa pensée"; in it, and above all in the "Vicaire savoyard," one can best gather "the general orientation" of his reflection. And here he is "de plus en plus fondamentalement romantique"; "le but qu'il propose à la vie sera: le bonheur ici-bas, pas la vertu en soi, la vertu romaine, ou la vertu chrétienne de renoncement" (422). His hedonism at this stage rests largely upon the theory that genuinely disinterested action is for man a psychological impossibility. But it is a "rational" hedonism; it emphatically insists that the way to attain happiness, "c'est non de suivre la nature, mais de la contraindre" (430); "la vertu est prudence au point de vue du bonheur" (447). True there are still, even in the *Émile*, "réticences," "réminiscences vertueuses"; but these Schinz at first seeks to explain away, largely upon the odd

assumption that Rousseau habitually wrote—on these matters—the opposite of what he meant: one must “always remember in reading the *Émile* that *bien* does not mean *bien*, that *vertu* does not mean *vertu*, that *devoir* does not mean *devoir*” (435); where Rousseau speaks of acts performed purely “par amour du bien,” the author glosses: “il faut entendre *par sagesse égoïste*” (434). By such methods any author can, obviously, be made to “mean” anything you please. The truth about the *Émile* is precisely the opposite to all this; Rousseau’s ethics here becomes more and more fundamentally “*anti-romantic*” (in the author’s peculiar sense of that word). The supposed evidence to the contrary is drawn almost wholly from the first three books; but such evidence is irrelevant. Rousseau could not well make it clearer than he has done that in these books he is not setting forth his final ethical view. The pre-adolescent child is, he assumes, in the main a natural egoist, and must be treated as such; moreover, under Rousseau’s system of pedagogic isolation, he has few contacts with society. It is solely in Book IV, and chiefly in the “Profession de foi”—which Schinz recognizes as “la clef de voûte de la pensée de Rousseau”—that we find Rousseau’s essential doctrine; and in it the repudiation both of psychological and of ethical egoistic hedonism is plain and persistent.

Chacun, dit-on, concourt au bien public pour son intérêt; mais d’où vient que le juste y concourt à son préjudice? Qu’est-ce qu’aller à la mort pour son intérêt? Sans doute nul n’agit que pour son bien; mais, s’il n’est un bien moral dont il faut tenir compte, on n’expliquera jamais par l’intérêt propre que les actions des méchants. . . . Le bon s’ordonne par rapport au tout, le méchant ordonne tout par rapport à lui.

There is so much more of the same sort that Schinz in the end recognizes that in Bk. IV Rousseau constantly “speaks as if the fact that all social virtue is disinterested were beyond question” (448); the conclusion of the chapter on the *Émile* all but formally contradicts the thesis laid down at the beginning. What has been expounded as “la pensée de Rousseau” turns out to be only “la pensée qu’il *eût voulu* exprimer, qu’il *eût* exprimée s’il avait approfondi mieux ses principes” (450, italics mine). But they are not, in fact, the principles of Rousseau (in the *Émile*); they are the principles of Professor Schinz; and the real reason why they are ascribed to Rousseau, it is clear, is simply that his expositor does not find Rousseau’s explicit and repeated arguments *against* them convincing.

It is, of course, true that Rousseau often declares that “virtue” also brings happiness—a thing distinct from “jouissance”—on the ground that man is “by nature” a moral being and cannot in the long run become happy by doing violence to his nature. But there is no confusion in ethical reasoning worse than the supposition that this is equivalent to the doctrine that goodness *means*

the pursuit of happiness. or that the hedonic calculus should be the guide of life. Such a confusion would make hedonists of nearly all the moralists in history, barring the consistent pessimists. Rousseau, however, with respect to this life, is here so nearly a pessimist that his assurances of the terrestrial happiness of the virtuous are highly qualified and dubious. "Le bonheur ici-bas" is not at the command even of the good man; and the Vicar's discourse on morals concludes upon a note of pure otherworldliness.

The general curve of the movement of Rousseau's thought is therefore not that plotted by Schinz. There is in it at the beginning no strain of the so-called "vertu chrétienne"; there is in it at the end—if the *Émile* be taken as the end—no strain of simple egoistic hedonism, while there is a great deal of the ethics of renunciation—and renunciation not from prudential but from social and religious motives. First and last Rousseau was, in his own words, if not virtuous, "du moins enivré de la vertu"; and by this, whatever else he meant, he assuredly did not mean "intoxicated with *la saquesse égoïste*." But there was an intermediate phase in which the conception of man as a necessarily self-seeking and pleasure-seeking creature played an important part in his thought; and of this phase, represented by the two drafts of the *Contrat Social* and some of the shorter political writings, Schinz gives a very able and discriminating analysis, though some corrections in detail are needed. The chapter on the *Nouvelle Héloïse* seems to me extraordinarily acute and illuminating. Of much else that is noteworthy in the book I lack space to speak; and I have, I fear, insufficiently conveyed my sense of its value as a whole. Professor Schinz has not written the last word on Rousseau; but he has done much to bring back the study of that author to the ways of sanity and of careful and judicious scholarship, and he has made a contribution to that study which can be ignored by none who honestly seek to understand the thought of the man (in Seillhère's phrase) "à la fois le plus essentiel et le plus difficile à pénétrer des temps modernes."

I must add two complaints which do not relate to the substance of the book. The title suggests a more comprehensive survey than is given; the *Dialogues*, *Rêveries*, *Lettres de la Montagne*, and the *Gouvernement de Pologne*—in some respects the wisest and most original of Rousseau's political works—are not analyzed; and in the case of the writings examined, the author is so preoccupied with a single general problem that several historically important aspects of Rousseau are neglected. And there is no index. A French scholar might plead the force of a bad custom for this unscholarlike omission; in a work of such importance and magnitude published by an American college the omission is indefensible.

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- Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz.* Von K. JABERG und J. JUD. Die Mundartaufnahmen wurden durchgeführt von P. Scheuermeier, G. Rohlfis und M. L. Wagner. Verlagsanstalt Ringier & Co., Zofingen (Schweiz). Band I., I. Teil, Familie (maps 1-86), II. Teil, Menschlicher Körper 1928 (maps 87-198); Band II., I. Teil, Handwerk und Handwerkszeug-Handel-Zahlen (maps 199-308), II. Teil, Zeit und Raum-Himmelskörper-Wetter-Metalle, 1929 (maps 309-412).
- Der Sprachatlas als Forschungsinstrument*, Kritische Grundlegung und Einführung. Von K. JABERG und J. JUD. Halle, Niemeyer, 1928. 243 pp.

The *Atlante linguistico etnografico dell'Italia e della Svizzera meridionale* (abridged *AIS*.) is one of the most remarkable achievements of our time in any field of linguistic research. The volumes already published constitute a contribution of the first importance to Romance philology; when the entire eight volumes and the supplementary volume of illustrations have appeared it will be even clearer that a new era has begun in the study of Italian and Rhaetian.¹ This result has come about through the collaboration of an extraordinary group of men. The directors of the work unite qualities that are seldom found together, and supplement one another admirably. They have also enlisted a remarkable group of scholarly co-workers. It is not only among the learned that Jaberg and Jud have succeeded in finding helpers. They have also accomplished the feat of launching so enormous an enterprise without the assistance of any national government. In securing subventions and in circulating the published work they have been aided by other scholars; nevertheless the chief burden of the material as well as of the scientific part of the enormous task of

¹ The following selected list of reviews so far published indicates the importance of the *AIS*: A. Griera, *Bulleti de dialectologia catalana*, xvi (1928), 54-72; Mario Roques, *Romania*, lv (1929), 153-155; Bruno Migliorini, *La Cultura*, Nuova Serie, i (1929), 219-224; John Orr, *MLR*, xxiv (1929), 364-370; Oscar Bloch, *Revue critique*, lxxiii (1929), 408-411; Robert von Planta, *Litteris*, vi (1929), 135-153; Charles Bruneau, *Journal des savants*, 1929, 389-397; Al. Rosetti, *Grati sufler*, iv (1929), 175-181; E. Gamillscheg, *ZRP*, xlix (1929), 332-345; A. Debrunner, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, xlvii (1929), 87-89; Giulio Bertoni, *Archivum Romanicum*, xiii (1929), 400-401; Antonin Duraffour, *Revue de géographie alpine*, xvii (1929), 644-651; W. Meyer-Lübke, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1929, 408-412; Jorgu Jordan, *Arhiva (Jasi)*, xxxvii (1930), 72-80; E. Tappolet, *Literaturblatt*, li (1930), 45-49; Carlo Tagliavini, *Archivum Romanicum*, xiii (1929), 570-577; E. Schwyzler, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1929, 60-63; Friedrich Schurr, *ASNS*, clvi (1930), 126-131; A. Meillet, *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris*, xxx (1930), 119-123.

publishing so great a work has fallen upon Jud and Jaberg. It is probable that in no other case in the history of Romance philology have two men surmounted with such ease and rapidity obstacles so formidable.

One of the difficulties mentioned was the determination of the precise scope of the enterprise. It was ultimately decided to include Southern Switzerland and the whole of Italy, Scheuermeier going as far as Rome, Rohlfs taking in Southern Italy and Sicily, and Wagner Sardinia. The Atlas thus contains not only Italian material, but also Rhaetian, Franco-Provençal and Provençal from the Swiss cantons of Ticino and the Grisons, the Gallic dialects together with Greek and Albanian being represented also in southern Italy.

Another problem was the choice of a system of reproduction for the maps. The use of the off-set machine, which gives results similar but superior to those of lithography, permitted the adoption of a complicated and unusually exact system of phonetic symbols. The maps are printed in two parts, the upper part including the territory traversed by Scheuermeier and the lower that studied by Rohlfs and Wagner. The work has been most neatly and pleasingly executed, though it is regrettable that the name of the various provinces could not find a place on the maps.

In the arrangement and content of the maps several steps which represent an advance in comparison with the *Atlas linguistique de la France* of Gilliéron and Edmont (*ALF.*) have been taken. The words treated are not given in alphabetical order, but are grouped by subjects, the parts of the body being placed together, and so on. Although this arrangement presents certain difficulties until the work is complete and indexed, it is clearly a step forward, since it makes it much easier than it was to perceive relations between words closely related in sense.

The words and phrases studied are in large part those of the *ALF.* A wise and most helpful innovation is the addition on each map of references to other linguistic atlases—*ALF.*, Griera's *Atlas lingüístic de Catalunya*, the *Atlas linguistique de la Corse* which was partially completed by Gilliéron, and other works of a similar character. The questionnaire used, however, was not precisely the same as that of previous workers, but was modified to adapt it to different local conditions. The varied agricultural products of the districts included—such things as milk and its derivatives in the Alps, silk, chestnuts, olives in Italy, each restricted to a limited territory—caused difficulties that seem to have been wisely dealt with. The explorers generally used a questionnaire containing some 2,000 words and phrases. In their queries more attention was paid to morphology than in the *ALF.*; the varied and interesting Italian plural forms, for example, are represented with a fullness that furnishes a basis for much future research. As regards

syntax, it is of course difficult to secure satisfactory material under the conditions given.² Nevertheless the *AIS.*, with its larger number of phrases, represents a definite progress in the field of syntax as compared with the *ALF.*

Another change of great importance is the systematic use of illustrations. Although technical difficulties have caused most of them to be reserved for the final volume, some twelve maps in the second volume, dealing with tools, and a few elsewhere, such as *culla*, "cradle" (no. 61), have been illustrated, and most helpfully. The explorers took a great number of photographs; when these have been reproduced the *AIS.* will represent a step toward the realization of Schuchardt's dream of a Romance ethnographical museum.³ These photographs were taken in places carefully and systematically selected. Nearly one half of the localities investigated, for example, are represented by connected texts in works previously published. The editors thus facilitate the control of their work, and thereby set a fine example of scientific probity. They were of course obliged, particularly in Southern Italy, to deal with a considerable number of localities whose speech has not hitherto been investigated. It is interesting to note the method employed by Rohlfs in selecting places to be studied in this part of the country. He noted which villages best preserved their traditional costume, since conservatism in this direction usually goes with conservatism in speech. Another wise proceeding, already employed in the *Atlas linguistique de Catalogne*, is the inclusion of large cities in the places visited, or, occasionally, of villages near larger towns, these villages representing the former speech of the towns in question. Sometimes both town and village are included—an arrangement which is decidedly preferable. It is curious to find that such larger towns, with a population of about 10,000, are not infrequently more conservative, because more compact and capable of resistance, than small defenseless villages, and that villages in

² It may be mentioned in passing that, despite the fact that the work must be done rapidly, tests have shown that in most cases the positive data of the various atlases that have been made are quite reliable. Once in a while an error occurs. My student, Mr. R. H. Myers, has pointed out, for instance, that the word *Guernesiais* in the sense of "ass" on the Island of Guernsey (point 399 of map 41 of the *ALF.*) is hard to take seriously. M. Bourde de la Rogerie, rector of the French [Roman Catholic] Church of Guernsey has explained the matter as follows, at the kindly instance of Professor Oscar Bloch, of Paris: "Dans les Iles normandes il y a un dicton populaire. On appelle les Jersiais "les crapauds," les Guernesiais "les ânes." Là-dessus, des plaisanteries. Mais jamais un paysan, parlant sérieusement, n'appelle son âne un Guernesiais. Il l'appelle son âne, ou, s'il est anglicisé [*sic*], son Donkey" Such slips occasionally occur in the work of observers who spend a much longer time upon a dialect and prove nothing as to the usefulness of the method introduced by Gilliéron.

³ *ZRP.*, xxviii (1904), 324-5.

the lower part of the mountains are occasionally more archaic in speech than those higher up, either because the population of the latter has emigrated or because of the greater influx of strangers, tourists, etc., into the loftier settlements.

The quantity of places visited is evidently as important as their quality. In this respect the *AIS.* marks an advance over the *ALF.* as regards Switzerland and the greater part of Northern Italy. The meshes of the network of towns and villages investigated are there closer than in the French work. In Central and Southern Italy and the islands, however, the meshes are not so close as in the *ALF.* The fact that the latter region is less varied lexically and morphologically than Northern Italy—although very varied phonetically—makes this state of affairs somewhat less regrettable than it would otherwise be; the difference was due in part to material difficulties, such as climate, time and expense.

What are the results of the work just outlined? In the first place the *AIS.* makes evident the extraordinary variety of the Italian dialects with a vividness that impresses even those who have been handling Italian dialect dictionaries for years. Furthermore it brings out with emphasis the problem which Diez was the first to indicate in his *Romanische Wortschöpfung* (1875)—why have certain Latin words survived almost everywhere, and others been replaced by a throng of substitutes—why is *pelle* (91) in use in virtually all the territory embraced, while there are any number of names for such similar ideas as *chin* (115), the *uvula* (111), the nape of the neck (119), the Adam's apple (120)? What is the adequacy of Gilliéron's explanation that excessive brevity and *homonymie intolérable* are the principal causes of the disappearance of words?

Another factor in this struggle between words of which the importance has long been recognized, is the influence of dialects felt as socially superior, especially of the literary language. Here the *AIS.* repeats and emphasizes the lessons of the *ALF.* It furnishes an enormous mass of material for the study of the pervasive influence of Tuscan in Italy, an influence which probably went further and deeper than one would readily imagine. It is curious, for example, to see the Tuscan *vita* in the sense of "body" (map 87) used in a number of localities where it is clearly an importation. Allied with the problem of Tuscan influence are the varied and thorny questions raised by umlauting processes in various parts of Italy, which can now be approached on a broader and solidier basis.

Though the *AIS.* renders an inappreciable service in bringing up such problems, it will be of course in regard to matters of detailed word-history that it will be most frequently consulted. The most superficial examination reveals immediately what a mass of new and valuable information has been made accessible. To take but one example, Zauner in his useful study of the Romance names of the parts of the body, finds it "incomprehensible" that in Sardinia and in Trieste the ankle is called "the angry bone" (*ossu rajosu*, *osso rabioso*, etc.). The mystery is dissipated

* *Romanische Forschungen*, xiv (1903), 473.

by the remark of a subject (map 164, point 329), indicated at the side of the map, that when the ankle is struck one becomes angry.⁵ The *AIS* also, as one would expect, makes it evident that the word is used over a wider territory than Zauner indicates. Furthermore the explanation given also clears up the use of *osso passo* in various points in the provinces of Macerata, Perugia, and Caserta. It likewise makes plain that in the various forms such as *ossu matsillu* which are prevalent in Southern Italy there is an influence of *matto*. Further investigation and, if possible, the use of old texts will have to be made before the relationship of the terms just quoted and the common South Italian and Sicilian *osso pezzillo*, or *spezzillo*, etc., usually supposed to mean "pointed,"⁶ is cleared up.

The existence of *passiyu* in the province of Perugia (pt 576) and of *patsiyu* in that of Aquila (pt 615)—Zauner (*loc. laud.*) cites *passilla* from Ascoli—makes it certain that the two expressions have crossed. Related in idea is the name *l'ossu tignusu* (pt 749, in the province of Lecce), de Vincentis (*Voc del dial tarantino* [1872]) has an article *tignuso*: "chi patisce la tigna, al pl. tignosuri. Questa voce tignosiro, i si usa da poco in quà a significare cattivo, brutto."

Another interesting word on the same map is *gabolla*, *gavolla*, *gaolla*,⁷ found at various points in the provinces of Rome and Grosseto. This word, whatever its origin, is of very respectable antiquity. It occurs three times, written in Hebrew characters, in the Talmudic dictionary (completed in 1101) of Nathan b. Yehiel of Rome.⁸

The statements which precede will give some idea of the *AIS*. proper. The Introduction, *Der Sprachatlas als Forschungsinstrument*, is likewise worthy of attention. It is written in a spirited and interesting fashion, instinct with the enthusiasm of the editors, an enthusiasm controlled by complete devotion to the severest requirements of science. It is consequently readable as well as instructive. It contains a careful and detailed account of the plan and arrangement of the *AIS*. The larger portion of it deals with the informants who supplied the material. A paragraph of detail about each one of them, with occasional notes as to conditions in the locality, advantageously replaces the two or three words which are all that is given in the *Notice servant à l'intelligence des cartes* of the *ALF*.

The information about the places studied includes precise references to the literature bearing upon the speech of those localities. It serves in this way as a geographically arranged dialectal biblio-

⁵ Mrs. Freda M. Marks, a native of Trieste, informs me that in that city *osso rubioso* is also used to mean the part of the elbow called "crazy bone" and "funny-bone" in America.

⁶ Cf. Zauner, *loc. laud.*; Meyer-Lubke, *Rom. etym. Wb.* § 6545, wrongly renders "Pflock" (peg) the *caviglia*, "ankle," by which Merlo, *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, xxx (1906), 20, translates the Abruzzese *osse pettsil'e*. The forms in *sp-* in the *AIS*. attenuate Meyer-Lubke's objection to the derivation from Ger. *Spitze* of the group of words in the article mentioned.

⁷ It is pronounced *kopilla* by an informant at pt. 572 in the province of Grosseto; this informant, however, is described as "schriftsprachlich beeinflusst."

⁸ *Aruch completum*, ed. Kohut, 9 vols. (Vienna and New York, 1878-1892), I, 204b, IV, 184b, n. 11, VII, 209b, n. 5.

graphy, supplemented by a brief but most helpful selected bibliography of dialectal dictionaries covering more extensive territory, with references to fuller lists published elsewhere.⁹ The practical value of the bibliography would have been increased by the addition of places of publication and names of publishers.

It is inevitable, of course, that a few inaccuracies should slip into such a list. It is especially difficult to give correct bibliographical references to Italian dialect dictionaries, in view of the reprehensible habit of their publishers of getting up a changed title page for an edition otherwise unaltered. The following notes may be of some service in this connection. P. 140, for Pallioppi, Diz dels idioms romantschs, read romauntschs. P. 141, Casaccia, Voc. (genovese-italiano), 1876, should read Diz.; the first edition, of 1851, was called Voc. Boerio⁹ 1867 is identical with Diz.⁹ 1856, the title-page and preface alone having been changed. There should be added Ninni, A. P., *Giunte e correzioni al dizionario di Gius. Boerio* (Venice, Longhi & Montanari, 1890). P. 143, Mortillaro, Diz.⁹ 1862, should read Diz.⁹ 1881. The alleged third edition of 1862 is really the second ed. of 1853, with a changed title-page. Traina, Vocabolario, 1888, should read Vocabolario⁹ 1888, the first ed. appeared in 1877.

A feature of the introduction which will be as useful as the bibliographical material is the record of the experience of the explorers. They found, for example, that abstract questions fatigue the informants more than concrete ones, and that it is important to begin with easy questions, so that nervous persons may not immediately lose courage. Women make the best informants, as they do not migrate so much as men, but are difficult to secure, because they are too busy or for other reasons. The best age is from forty to sixty. It is interesting to learn that a peasant owning his own farm is a better informant than an employee, because he feels himself a free man and answers more confidently and clearly.

In discussing this general theme the authors make a distinction between culture and intelligence which is sometimes lost sight of. They point out that culture is dangerous to the persistence of dialects because its vehicle is literary speech; intelligence, on the other hand, can be expressed in dialect as well as in Tuscan. Nevertheless a really cultivated person who does not look down upon his dialect and is aware of its interest may be a good informant. A failure to bring out clearly this distinction between culture and intelligence was the cause of an amusing, though largely apparent, difference in opinion between two distinguished linguistic geographers at the Dijon congress in 1928. One, a Frenchman, stated that he carefully avoided "intelligent" peasants because they were too prolific of information; they were ready to supply dialectal expressions for any idea whatever, even for "philology"! Another scholar, a Catalan, later stated that he carefully sought for "intel-

⁹ Americans will miss a reference to Collins' *Attempt at a Catalogue of the Library of the late Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte* (London, Sotheran, 1894), the most extensive printed list of Italian dialect material, all the books treated in which are now housed in the Newberry Library, Chicago.

ligent" subjects! It is evident that the French *savant* meant "cultured" rather than "intelligent" informants. It is also true that the difference between him and his Catalan colleague was due in part to the difference between the French and the Catalan temperaments; the fatal facility of the half-educated Frenchman is not common in Catalonia.

The Introduction proper concludes with a careful comparison of the results of the *AIS*. with those of independent Italian scholars. This study has been supplemented and confirmed by two articles published elsewhere.¹⁰ The results are highly creditable to the completeness and accuracy of the *AIS*.

Before concluding, certain minor matters which need rectification may be mentioned. It is a disadvantage, as compared with the *ALF*., not to have the boundaries and particularly the names of the various provinces brought out more clearly. The maps are so crowded with dialectal material that the boundaries of the provinces do not stand out, and their names are not given at all. It would also have been of service if the numbers (and preferably also the titles) of the maps had been printed on the back of each map. One distinguished American Romance scholar himself took the trouble to write the titles on the back of over 1,400 maps of the *ALF*! A general index to the Introduction—or at least an alphabetical index of the localities studied—would likewise have been useful.

After completing a considerable portion of their task, the editors express, in a passage not devoid of eloquence (pp. 11-2), a doubt about the future of linguistic studies which has crossed the minds of students of language everywhere. The movement of the whole world toward technical subjects—the movement which made some men at the end of the nineteenth century, as Meyer-Lübke told the writer, anticipate that in the twentieth men would study applied science exclusively—plays some part in their minds, as also the utterances of certain thinkers more interested in phrases than in facts. Nevertheless civilized men will always have need of accurate and judicious dictionaries and grammars, and a subject which can inspire works such as the *AIS*. is a subject whose face is set toward the future, not toward the past.

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Lancelot and Guinevere. By TOM PEETE CROSS and WILLIAM A. NITZE. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1930. Pp. 104.

This is a book which students of Arthurian romance have been eagerly expecting. The learned authors of it could as well have

¹⁰ Jaberg and Jud, *ZRP*., XLVII (1927), 170-218, and Jud, *Revue de linguistique romane*, IV (1928), 251-289.

given us in this limited field an encyclopaedia comparable to that of Bruce in a larger, but they have contented themselves with a handsome volume of a hundred pages only, which makes the seventh of the *Modern Philology Monographs*.

Their object, as they state in their introduction, "is to outline the romance by Chrétien, to trace it to its origin, and lastly, to set forth in detail the evolution that the theme underwent at the hands of the French poet." This they have done in four chapters. The first in nineteen pages outlines the *Charrete* by numbered episodes; with succinct notes, and forms an excellent guide to the shapeless romance. The second chapter, the longest, concerns the *matière* supplied by Marie of Champagne to the poet, and it provides the fullest and most reliable display of pertinent analogues, especially Irish ones, to the tale of Guinevere's rape, abduction, or elopement as Professor Cross would prefer to call it; for in these stories of Irish women "whatever may have been the truth in real life, they are seldom or never abducted against their will" (p. 56). With erudition, fairness, and wealth of allusion to texts and to recent discussions it is impressed upon us how popular in Celtic literature were these abduction stories, and how extremely unlikely it is that Chrétien's material could have come from any other sufficient source available to him; and how fitted Arthur and Guinevere were by ancestry for husband and wife under the system of courtly love (p. 60). It remains for Professor Nitze in the remaining two chapters to discuss the *sens* of the romance, for Marie gave Chrétien that, as well as the *matière*. Starting from his previous study of the word in *Romania* XLIV, Nitze insists that it is to be taken in its technical, rhetorical, signification, as practically the equivalent of the Latin *interpretatio* or *expolitio* of a story, which consists "in general in saying the same things in as many different ways as possible." In so doing, of course, Chrétien may have added extraneous *matière*, in order to drive home the ideas Marie wished him to set forth" (p. 64). Marie's *matière*, then, was an abduction story of Celtic type—the *Tochmarc Etaine* for example; or, with Guinevere already as heroine, the *Vita Gildae* version. For *sens* Chrétien—or rather Marie—developed and embellished this with an extra-conjugal love affair, with a grand exposition of the *amour courtois* in its highest and strictest form, which makes the lover the humble, willing slave of his mistress.

In the nine pages where Nitze examines the *expolitio* in detail, seeking to distinguish it from the *matière*, it is sometimes difficult to follow him, and one at times fears that he has pressed the language of compliment too far, or is forcing the free matter into a rhetorical mould. For example, the opening sentence is: "The first clear example of *expolitio* is the Rash-Boon. It was part of the *matière*" (p. 69). And presently we read of certain early episodes that "here again the original *matière* dealing with the

otherworld journey is adapted to the *sens* by Chrétien's shaping hand" (p. 71); which is much like saying "was adapted to the *sens* by the *sens*." Nevertheless these pages abound in valuable suggestions about the development of this puzzling work and about the author's technique. They conclude thus:

To sum up, it is clear that Chrétien used the method of *expolitic* to elaborate the originally Celtic matière, that he repeated motifs from his earlier works, that the *Tristan* served him not only for incidents but also for contrast, and that he Christianized the setting (in part) and gave it the imprint of feudalism. His indebtedness to Ovid, also apparent above, will be considered in detail in the next chapter. (p. 78.)

This last chapter not only adds surprisingly to the evidence for Chrétien's indebtedness to Ovid, but it ends with an unusually exact and discerning glance at the influence of the troubadours on Chrétien and on courtly love:

There can be no doubt that *l'amour courtois* as it is presented to us in Chrétien's story of Lancelot owes its distinctive mark to the influence of the troubadours. There, and not in Ovid, nor in Geoffrey, nor in Wace, nor in the *Wheas*, is the idea developed of the *amis outers*: the lover who loves even when his passion appears unrequited and who is willing to sacrifice all for Love. On the other hand, all evidence is lacking to show that the early troubadours organized this idea into the compact system that we find in the *Charrete* and in Andreas' *De Amore*. That was the achievement of Mary of Champagne, of her chaplain Andreas. and of Chrétien de Troyes. Nor did Chrétien apparently take any details of imagery, for the *Charrete*, directly from the troubadours. . . . In short, Chrétien's imagery comes from other than Provençal sources. And, as we saw above, in this respect his great master was Ovid. (P. 96.)

The reviewer now proceeds to make a few diffident comments on details:

P. 2. "'The lovelorn' Lancelot was probably a traditional figure." "Lovelorn" is a poor equivalent for "wipsaelige." In the German *Lanzelet* is a devil-may-care fellow, with irresistible charm, winning and leaving sweetheart after sweetheart. Pp. 4, 54, 70. There is not much that is helpful here about the dwarf. A clue is to be found in the *Lanzelet*, ll. 420 f., 5416 f., 5641 f., 6229 f., the Pluris episode, where the dwarf's whip-stroke is probably the magic which irresistibly attracts the person struck to the fairy's castle.—cf. *Wrec*, l. 221. A cart might be the fated vehicle in Chrétien's source, or it might be an invention of Marie's; for in her sophisticated court the question could have arisen whether or not a knight in full panoply could without losing face ride in a cart. P. 5, l. 13. The knight is wounded, not dead. P. 9. "Tower" is rather better than "stockade" for "bretesche." Pp. 17, 77. Too much can be read into the three days' tournament. An elaborate one with the different colors is in *Lanzelet*, 2760 f. Chrétien's tourney owes some features also to the Whitsuntide festival in *Lanzelet*, ll. 5574 f. P. 26. One cannot say positively that it is Gawain who actually rescues the queen in Hartmann's *Iwein*, although the indications are that way. P. 45, n. 1. The new translation of the *Mabinogion* by T. P. Ellis and John Lloyd, Oxford, 1929, might be mentioned. Pp. 67, 69. To say that "in all of his romances, with the single exception of the *Charrete*, Chrétien upholds the

ideal of love in marriage," is to overlook his (lost) *Tristan*. It is dangerous to ascribe bourgeois ideas about marriage to Chrétien. Pp. 69 f. Instead of examining one by one the origins here suggested for many episodes used to embroider the tale of Guinevere's rape, let us see how far more fully than has been hitherto observed the *Lanzelet* (i. e. its French or Anglo-Norman source) explains them. There is no use in ransacking the whole field of romance for details that can be found in the one most obvious source.¹

Episode 4, the cart and dwarf. See above. Episode 6, 8, 9, the perilous bed, and tempting, testing, damsels. Some slight resemblance to *Lanzelet's* affair with Galagandreiz' daughter and her father in *Lanzelet*, 705 f. Episode 7. The water-bridge. Compare that to Malduk's castle in the lake, *Lanzelet*, ll. 5031 f., 6765 f.² There is a ford fight, too, in *Lanzelet*, 5137 f. Episode 10. There is allusion to the etiquette of escorting damsels in both poems. *Charrete*, 1313-1328; *Lanzelet*, 2326-2331. The fairy's messenger who comes to L. in the *Lanzelet*, l. 4684, may have something to do with the helpful damsels in Chrétien. Episode 11. The raising of the tomb lid is essentially a name-revealing motif. Chrétien betrays a state of affairs where Lancelot did not know his name, as is the case in the *Lanzelet* till the fairy's messenger told it to him. The cemetery, monk, tombs and observant damsels are in both poems. This is the central adventure, at Dodone, in *Lanzelet* 3826-4959. Episode 13. The sons who accompany L. may be suggested by Diepalt in *Lanzelet* 2780. Episode 14. The falling portcullis may be a feeble reflection of the effective enchantment of Lanzelet at the entrance of Mabuz' castle in *Lanzelet* 3550 f. And *Lanzelet* (l. 4940) has a magic ring too, although Nitze, p. 74, denies this—as others have. Episode 17. There is a lion fight in *Lanzelet* 1735. Episode 24. The three days tourney—see above. Episode 24, 25. Both the imprisonments of Lancelot in the *Charrete* have their prototypes in the *Lanzelet*. The mild imprisonment, by a lady who loves him and who releases him to go to a jousting on promise of returning, is the Pluris episode, for which see above. The severe imprisonment, from which he is delivered by a damsel, a relative of his captor's, who restores him to health so that he can afterward slay his captor, is that at Limors in *Lanzelet* 1363 f.

Finally, the *Charrete*, in spite of Chrétien's efforts, shows traces of all four of Lanzelet's love affairs.³ The seneschal's wife, and the puzzling damsel of the second night in Chrétien, correspond to the Queen of Pluris and to Galagandreiz' daughter, as already suggested; Maleagant's sister takes the place of Ade; and Guinevere only replaces Lanzelet's original otherworld mistress, Iblis. It was no great promotion of Lancelot to make him the lover of Guinevere.

More resemblances might be found, and interesting comparison of the two rapes might be made, but the above is, I believe, enough to show that Chrétien was an arrant modernizer, who

¹ There is no room in this review for anything but a bare assertive list, but I hope to publish the evidence presently. Since Chrétien is not likely to have taken the story of the queen's rape from a mere episode in the biographical romance of Lancelot, little is made here of the resemblances between the *Lanzelet* and the *Charrete* in this matter. I use Cross' numbering of the episodes.

² I expect soon to print a short article on the water-bridge, suggesting its descent from the submerged causeway to a lake-dweller's crannog, such as can be found in the *Lanzelet*.

knew an elaborate biographical romance of Lancelot and more than one version of the rape of Guinevere. A vast background of developed romance underlies his work. The Prose Lancelot utilized the same material. Paris was right.

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Cambridge, Mass.

Goethe and Faust, an Interpretation. With passages newly translated into English verse. By F. MELLAN STAWELL and G. LOWES DICKINSON. N. Y. Dial Press, 1929. Pp. 291. \$4.00.

This is a notable work, which does not belie the promise implied in the collaborative association of two such scholars as Miss Stawell (herself an authoress and lecturer) and Mr. Dickinson. It performs both for Goethe and for the English-speaking world a service which has long been overdue, and does so in a spirit which is wholly admirable, and with a competence that commands respect and even admiration.

There is no need to labor the timeliness of its publication. The approaching Goethe centenary may help to focus attention upon all phases of Goethe's work and so increase the effectiveness of any message dealing with the great poet's contribution to the life and letters of our world. But both Goethe and *Faust* are of such perennial and indeed timeless interest that the achievement which this book represents requires no special occasion for its full appreciation. Every lover of Goethe will wish to press this volume into the hands of those whom he desires to see brought into closer *rapprochement* with the work and thought of the poet, confident that no one who reads its pages with attention can fail to obtain a clearer view of Goethe's ultimate essence than he had before. And in so doing he will at the same time gain a deeper insight into the essence of the Germanic spirit; for quite aside from its merits as a poetic and imaginative creation, Goethe's *Faust* has gripped the German mind as no other single work has done precisely because it touches the profoundest depths of the German soul and expresses its highest aspirations and ideals.

An idea of the general plan of the book is obtained from the headings of its 16 chapters: 1. Introductory; 2. Nature and Man; 3. The Labyrinth of Love; 4. Prelude and Prologue to *Faust*; 5. Faust's Despair, 6. The Pact with Mephistopheles; 7. Gretchen; 8. The Walpurgis-Night and the Prison; 9. The Opening Scene of the Second Part; 10. The Emperor's Court; 11. The First Vision of Helen; 12. The Making of the Homunculus; 13. The Classical Walpurgisnacht; 14. The Helena; 15. Faust and the Empire; 16. The Close. There is further a lengthy appen-

dix "On the Dates for the Composition of *Faust*," a selective Bibliography, and a rather brief Index.

Strictly speaking, then, the book deals chiefly with *Faust*, and the words of the title might well have been reversed if their order indicated importance; on the other hand, it is equally clear that *Faust* is interpreted through Goethe the man—as the man Goethe becomes clearer for us through a study of *Faust*—and so the title justifies itself in its present form.

It is not my intention to take issue with the authors touching their interpretations of mooted points, nor with respect to their analyses and judgments of Goethe's aims and achievements. Whoever knows the critical literature surrounding Goethe and *Faust* need not be told that the amount of disagreement among the Doctors, the extent to which diametrically opposite conclusions are arrived at on the basis of the most meticulous examination of all available evidence, is calculated to shake one's faith in the power of the mind to draw universally valid inferences from any sort of premises. There is probably not a single judgment set forth by these authors to which exceptions could not be taken on the ground that some noted scholar has espoused a divergent or contrary view.

Granting this at the outset, however, the reviewer confesses himself struck throughout the book by what seemed to him a broad-minded sanity of approach to all difficult or disputed questions, such as Goethe's own love-life (Chapter III), or the issue of the Pact (Chapters VI and XVI). The authors show a laudable tendency to let plain words have plain meanings, and to allow common sense to speak when other evidence is lacking. At the same time, there is proof on almost every page of their thorough study and digestion of the literature of commentary and criticism, giving the reader the feeling that their final judgments are really final, i. e. based on mature deductions from all available sources. These two outstanding qualities of the interpretative matter in the book—scholarly thoroughness guided by sanity of outlook—are my justification for saying that whatever one may think on individual points, we shall not only be safe in recommending it to any intelligent reader, but we ought to do so.

A very considerable amount of the book is taken up with the translations, largely from *Faust* but also comprising bits of Goethe's other poetry, which go along with and re-enforce the text both as to its esthetic effect and its expression of ideas. A rough estimate indicates that upwards of 3,100 lines of *Faust* are given in translation, making up nearly one-fourth of the volume. The authors were undoubtedly correct in feeling that their interpretation would be immeasurably strengthened if the English reader could obtain, side by side with their exposition, the direct impression that only pertinent passages of the work itself could afford. They were also

correct in doubting whether any of the existing translations would exactly serve their purpose; or at any rate in the feeling that none of these translations was so good that it could not be improved on by them. The general effect of the translations, as one reads along, is excellent. The authors know what English poetry sounds like, and both of them, it may be presumed, know how to write it; they are also keenly aware of Goethe's meaning, and one will not find many points at which they depart from the exact sense of his lines. On the other hand, it must be admitted that they have gone rather far in metrical and rhymic liberties, farther, I should feel, than would be conceded as justifiable for one who should attempt a rendering of the entire work. These liberties are of three kinds: (1) lines are shortened or lengthened (sometimes unnecessarily, it seems to me); (2) feminine endings and particularly feminine rhymes are greatly reduced in number; (3) there is much omission of rhyme generally. These freedoms have a certain justification in the present instance, since interpretation is to the fore, and the authors wished to avoid anything that might lead to a misapprehension of Goethe's meaning. Let me cite one or two passages that will show what I have in mind. Take first the celebrated utterance of the Earth-Spirit (ll. 501 seq.):

In Lebensfluten, im Tatensturm

Wall' ich auf und ab,
Webe hin und her!
Geburt und Grab,
Ein ewiges Meer,
Ein wechselnd Weben,
Ein glühend Leben,
So schaff' ich am sausen den Web-
stuhl der Zeit
Und wirke der Gottheit lebendiges
Kleid.

In the storms of action, the floods
of life,

I surge and sway
Above and below,
Hither, thither, to and fro.
Birth and death, an infinite sea,
A web that changes eternally,
A living fire!
I work at the loom of time, I smite
with the weaver's rod,
In the whirr and the roar I fashion
the living garment of God.

The dactylic swing of the last two lines is abandoned. Or take the famous lines of the Pact (1692 seq.):

Werd' ich beruhigt je mich auf ein
Faulbett legen,
So sei es gleich um mich getan!
Kannst du mich schmeichelnd je
belügen,
Dass ich mir selbst gefallen mag,
Kannst du mich mit Genuss
betrügen;
Das sei für mich der letzte Tag!
Die Wette biet' ich!

When I can rest upon your bed of
ease,
All's over with me then!
When you can gull me with your
flatteries
To dream myself contented with
myself,
When your delights make me forget
your lies—
Let that day be my last!
There is my wager!

Topp!
Und Schlag
auf Schlag!

Done!
And done again!

Werd' ich zum Augenblicke sagen:	If ever I can say
Verweile doch! du bist so schön!	To the bright moment as it flits away,
Dann magst du mich in Fesseln schlagen,	'Stay yet a little while, thou art so fair!'
Dann will ich gern zugrunde gehn!	Then let me wear your chain,
Dann mag die Totenglocke schallen,	Then sink, and willingly!
Dann bist du deines Dienstes frei,	Then toll my passing bell
Die Uhr mag stehn, der Zeiger fallen,	And you go free!
Es sei die Zeit für mich vorbei!	The clock may stop, the pointer drop,
	And time be done for me!

To the reader who has Goethe's lines in mind at all, this translation cannot but be disappointing: these last verses are too choppy, too light in weight, and consequently lack the solemn dignity and power of Goethe's.

Two other passages will show the translators' superior power.

A glorious pageant! Yet a pageant only!
Infinite Nature, mother-breasts unknown,
Where shall I find you, I who die of dearth?
Ye on whom hang the heavens and the earth,
Well-heads of life, to whom the dry lips strain,
Ye overflow, and I faint here, in vain!" (454-459.)

Over the noblest gift, the spirit's splendour,
There floods an alien, ever-alien stream;
When this world's wealth is won, our souls surrender
The larger hope we call a lying dream.
Our life of life, the visions grave and glorious,
Fade, and the earthly welter is victorious.
Imagination once, wide-winged with hope,
Filled all eternity and soared to heaven,
But now it dwindles to a narrow scope
While joy on joy drops round us, wrecked and riven.
Deep in the heart Care comes to build her nest,
And there she rears her secret brood of sorrows,
She rocks herself and wails, she will not rest,
Killing all peace, and every day she borrows
New masks and fresh disguises; she will come
As wife or child, hidden in hearth and home,
In fire, water, poison, or the sword;
And we shrink back, as men whom life abhorred,
Tremble when no blow falls, and, fever-tost,
Still weep and wail for what is never lost. (634-651.)

The proof-reading appears to be excellent, and only a very few slips struck the reviewer's eye.

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Deutsche Arbeit in Amerika, Erinnerungen von KUNO FRANCKE.
Leipzig, Felix Meiner, 1930. VII, 92 Seiten, 5 Bildbeigaben,
M. 4.

Kuno Franckes Lebenserinnerungen sind in mehrfacher Hinsicht bedeutsam. Zuerst vermitteln sie uns eine einzigartige menschliche Persönlichkeit von einem gewissen niederdeutschen und zwar altdeutschen Gepräge: herb und spröde, abgeschlossen und sogar abweisend, dabei zart und warm und idealistisch bis zur Schwärmerei, lyrisch beschwingt und gefühlvoll; eine Wesensverbindung, die leicht unpraktisch wirkt, aber immer tiefen Eindrucks auf ähnlich Begeisterungsfähige sicher ist. Man muss viel zwischen den Zeilen lesen, um zu verstehen, wie aus diesem widerspruchsvollen Menschengut eine in sich geschlossene, sich selber treue und in ihrer Lebensarbeit höchst erfolgreiche Persönlichkeit wird. Wie Kuno Francke nach Amerika verpflanzt wird, hier seine Mission erkennt, der erste deutsche Kulturprofessor und Begründer des Germanischen Museums an Harvard wird, das ist der weitere tiefe Eindruck der *Erinnerungen*. Kuno Francke hat im ganzen, leider ohne sich geeignete Nachfolger zu schaffen, grossartige und unvergängliche deutsche Arbeit in Amerika geleistet. Er hat wie keiner vor ihm das Beste der deutschen Literatur und Kultur an das Anglo-amerikanertum heranzubringen verstanden, durch seine ganze, gebildete Lebensart, seinen feinen Frohsinn und nicht zuletzt seinen ansprechenden englischen Stil. Dass er mit diesem Wirken nur vereinzelt Dank in der deutschen Heimat, wie auch in einem gewissen Deutschamerika geerntet hat, gehört zum Schicksal eines grosszügigen *amerikanischen Germanisten, wird aber noch durch die Verständnislosigkeit, ja Feindseligkeit erklärt, die seine politische Haltung während des Weltkrieges begleitete. Seine Lebenserinnerungen können auch zu einer gerechten Beurteilung der umstrittenen politischen Seite an seiner Lebensarbeit führen. Kuno Francke behandelt in drei Kapiteln seine Harvard-Lehrjahre, das Germanische Museum und den Professorenaustausch und den Weltkrieg. Zu den Bekenntnissen und Erklärungen z. B. über die Zukunftsaufgaben Deutschamerikas und Proben eigener tiefempfundener Lyrik kommen interessante persönliche Erinnerungen an Hermann Grimm, Althoff, Kaiser Wilhelm, Präsident Ebert, an Dr. Charles W. Eliot, Carl Schurz, Andrew D. White, Präsident Roosevelt u. a. Den Text schmückten fünf Abbildungen aus dem Harvard- Germanischen Museum, Kuno Franckes bleibendem Lebenswerk.

F. SCHOENEMANN

Berlin

Drama and Liturgy. By OSCAR CARGILL. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. Pp. 151.

This study seeks to undermine the well-established theory that the mediaeval drama took its rise in the liturgy. Unfortunately, it rests upon so many fundamental omissions and misconceptions that its results are largely vitiated. To most students of the subject, the union of dialogue, impersonation, mimetic action and *mise en scène* in certain liturgical *officia* entitles them to the qualification "dramatic." C., however, who considers only the *Officium Sepulchri*, denies that this office became dramatic because "(1) it is derived from rites which are lyrical, and (2) in actual presentation, in so far as we are justified in making an assumption, it was primarily lyrical" (p. 33). No one, of course, has ever questioned the lyrical origin of the tropes, and if C. had studied Karl Young's basic investigations in this field,¹ especially those tracing the *Quem quaeritis* from its lyrical beginnings to its dramatic development, he would probably have modified his statements. C.'s conception of the "actual presentation" of the office may be deduced from his assumption (p. 20-1) that the *Responsio* "Jhesum Nazarenum crucifixum" was sung as a solo and not by those impersonating the *Maries*: reference to any one of numerous texts, for example, to the one he himself prints on p. 30, would have corrected this impression.

Without bothering to discuss the various theories that have been advanced regarding the origins of the metrical sequences, or, for that matter, of the Provençal lyric, C. remarks: "After examining a considerable number of the new or rime*d* tropes, I have come to the conclusion that a strong influence was exerted upon them by the verse forms of the troubadours" (p. 39). Similarly, the intricate questions of the origins, language, and versification of the *Sponsus* are disposed of in a few paragraphs (p. 39, 45-6), with no reference to the many investigations of the subject since the days of Monmerqué, Michel, and Coussemaker (for the most recent, see L. P. Thomas in *Romania* LV, 1929, p. 45). To substantiate C.'s belief that the liturgy was corrupted "by the mimetic practices of the minstrels" and that "the developed religious drama cannot have evolved from the liturgy" (p. 50), the old hypothesis of "loose secular performances in the market places" (p. 48) is revived, the *Sponsus* and Hilary's plays are discussed, but no mention is made in this connection of the evolution within the church of the *Magi*, *Prophets*, and *Rachel* plays, or of such a play as the *Ordo Joseph* (printed from a *Troparium-Hymnarium-Prosarium* of the

¹ C. refers to none of them, nor to any of the texts published since Lange's book was written, nor to any of the tropes and discussions of them in the later volumes of the *Analecta Hymnica*.

cathedral of Laon by Young, *MLN* xxvi, 1911, p. 33), or of such scenes as that of the mercator (cf. the text from an eleventh-century *Troparium-Prosarium* from the Abbey of Pripoll printed by Young, *PLMA* xxiv, 1909, p. 302).²

In chapter iv, C. flogs a wooden horse of his own fabrication by comparing the Easter trope with the late Resurrection scene in the Chester cycle and assuming that "this scene, according to those who hold the liturgical theory, is derived directly from the 'liturgical drama' of the church" (p. 52). Those who believe in the theory of liturgical origins would have welcomed instead a more pertinent comparison with the Shrewsbury or the Origny-Sainte-Benoîte *Quem quaeritis* or with the Chantilly *Nativité*. Chapters v and vi contain a superfluous attack upon Sepet's theory. Unknown to C., apparently, the first part of that theory has been substantially fortified by Young's study of the *Ordo Prophetarum* (*Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy*, xx, 1922), whereas the second part has been effectively modified by the researches of Wm. Meyer (*Fragmenta Burana*, p. 53-6) and of Hardin Craig (*MP.*, x, 1913, p. 473; cf. also Adeline Jenney, *MP.*, xiii, 1915, p. 59).³

The interpretation of the Prophets in the *Jeu d'Adam* as prophets of doom and not of Christ (p. 98 f.) rests upon a disregard of the text, lines 745-942, and upon the error of supposing that the *Dit des qumze signes du jugement* which follows the play in the manuscript forms its conclusion. This poem, to quote Studer's edition of the play (p. xix), "has been shown to belong to another work and is written in a different dialect." In fact twenty manuscripts of the poem, besides a Provençal version, are known.

C.'s contribution to the controversy regarding the authorship and relations of the Towneley plays is to revert to the theory of a single compiler and to reiterate his opinion that Gilbert Pilkington may have been the man. Miss Foster's objections to Pilkington for this rôle are known to C., though he does not satisfactorily answer the questions raised by her. The later discussion of the subject by Millicent Carey in her study, "The Wakefield Group in the Towneley Cycle," *Hesperia*, xi, 1930, probably appeared too recently to be noted. On the basis of the Towneley plays alone cyclical growth is denied to all the cycles (p. 105 f. and 131). Perhaps ac-

² C. says (p. 42): "It is significant that none of these pieces, examples of which I am about to offer, has been found in the regular choir books: they have been collected from dubious breviaries and miscellaneous manuscripts." This is misleading. What are "these pieces" and what is meant by "dubious breviaries"?

³ Had C. known Young's work and the eleventh century ms. therein mentioned (p. 4, n. 1), he could hardly have hazarded his curious suggestion that "the trope may have been created prior to the lectio" (p. 74-5), or dated the lectio in the thirteenth century (p. 91), or omitted all discussion of the Laon *Prophetæ* with its clearly indicated impersonation and dramatic action.

quaintance with Burton's lists, the manuscript of the York plays, and with the records of the guilds of York, Coventry, Norwich and Chester would have mitigated C.'s scepticism. The hypothesis that "early mysteries were created to attract pilgrims" (p. 137) is shakily supported by citations, not from plays, but from two religious poems (the first, p. 134, is not from the *Adam*, as C. indicates, but from the *Quinze signes*). The conjecture on the same page that the Anglo-Norman *Résurrection* is "a complete piece of mediaeval advertising" recited by a minstrel in order to arouse curiosity would be tempting, were it not for the fact that the tenses of the verbs in the prologue, dialogue, and narrative portions render it improbable.

In short, the patient and thorough work of scores of careful investigators is hardly to be undone by a series of surmises based for the most part on insufficient evidence, or by proofs consisting largely of vague generalizations and rhetorical questions.

Bryn Mawr College

GRACE FRANK

Wyclif, Select English Writings. Edited by HERBERT E. WINN, M.A., with a Preface by H. B. Workman, D.D., D.Lit. Oxford University Press, 1929. Pp. lx + 179.

This book will help in some ways to fill a vacancy that was becoming more and more apparent to students of Middle English literature. Chaucer exists in numerous editions and selections; Langland is available in Skeat's little edition of Ms. Laud. 581; *Pearl* and *Sir Gawain* lie open for the scholar in one or more editions and a steadily growing number of translations. Wyclif, however, though he has influenced English style more deeply than any of his literary contemporaries, and though he had moulded the life and thought of his day more deeply than any political contemporary, was not readily accessible to mature scholars, and little more than a name to undergraduate students of mediaeval history or literature.

Thanks to Mr. Winn, the reformer has now begun to come into his own. Particularly to be recommended is our editor's introductory essay. Its succinct and discriminating account of Wyclif's life and of the social and ecclesiastical conditions of the day should commend it to those who give undergraduate courses in the life and thought of mediaeval England.

The selections have been chosen from the large mass of Wyclif's writings. They illustrate the wide range of his theological and philosophical thought, and reflect his growing absorption in the political and social abuses of his day. Beyond the limits of morals and theology Wyclif's interest did not at first stray, but as years passed by, he, like John Ruskin, abandoned the life of scholastic

theory for busy and helpful activity in the world of men. Mr. Winn's notes to the extracts are informative and to the point.

Unfortunately the provenience of Mr. Winn's text is vague. The texts which he has printed have been previously printed either by T. Arnold (*Select English Works of Wyclif*, III, 1869) or by F. D. Matthew (*English Works of Wyclif*, E. E. T. S., No. 74, 1880). One gathers from Mr. Winn that in any given case he has used either the Ms. followed by Arnold or the Ms. followed by Matthew. Yet the most glaring discrepancies exist between a page of Winn's selections and a page of Arnold's or Matthew's extracts, even when both editors are printing from the same page of the same Ms.! One or two examples must serve for many. Thus on p. 107, line 1, where Winn prints *Poul biddiþ þe fadir*, Arnold inserts *þat* between *biddiþ* and *þe*, and no footnote marks *þat* as existing in the Ms. that Winn used. P. 107, line 11, between the words *bittir deþ* and the following paragraph Winn omits (without marks indicating an omission) some twenty-two printed lines which are to be found in Arnold. P. 107, line 22, Winn omits without comment the words *and þat* which follow *God*, though Arnold prints them. Mr. Winn is no less at variance with F. D. Matthew's text than he is with that of Arnold. On p. 83, line 18, Winn *to his castel*, Matthew *to holde his castel*; in the same line Winn *Crist durst*, Matthew *crist durste*; line 25, Winn *þei*, Matthew *þey*; line 29, Winn *comen*, Matthew *comun*. In line 25 Winn's habit of not noting variant readings has deprived him of the glory of correcting his predecessor, for he writes *Chirche* where the Ms. reads *chirge*. In line 27 after *Crist forfendide hem* Winn omits a whole phrase which Matthew prints.

Having now no access to the originals, the reviewer is uncertain whether to believe that the earlier reprints contain matter deliberately inserted by Messrs. Arnold and Matthew, or whether Mr. Winn has been most culpably careless in his editorial duties. The latter has nowhere informed his readers that he has made emendations or omitted variant readings, and would seem to be willing to leave us with the belief that his texts are faithful reproductions of original Mss. (apart from such changes in spelling, etc. as every editor is allowed). If it is Mr. Winn who is at fault, one is at a loss whether to blame him for inexcusable carelessness or a breach of editorial ethics.

A glossary to the texts is helpful, but could have been a great deal better done. The selection of words to be glossed is arbitrary. Such words as *dowe*, 'endow,' and *dronkelewe*, 'given to drunkenness,' rightly appear, but *traveiliþ* (p. 18, line 20), *departe in þei shulen departe zou* (p. 35, line 21), *private*, 'secluded' (p. 39, line 20), and *selle*, 'give' (p. 32, line 14) are equally worthy of definition. Sometimes Mr. Winn has mistaken the meaning of words and glossed them wrongly. Thus *rowte*, 'stir, move' (p. 18, line 21) is glossed 'snore,' though the phrase in which it occurs is given in *NED.* under *rout*, v. Is *leveþ* (p. 44, line 4, *Crist*

leveþ þis word) 'believe' or 'leave behind, give in charge'? The reference to *Introd.*, p. 68 found in note to p. 2, line 22 is wrong.

Despite the merits of its introduction and notes, the book cannot be recommended as safe. The beginner who picks it up to read the words of Wyclif cannot be sure how many of Wyclif's words are missing, and the scholar will distrust a text that differs so markedly from the two printings that preceded it.

Princeton University

HENRY L. SAVAGE

The Year's Work in English Studies, Volume IX, 1928. Edited for the English Association by F. S. BOAS and C. H. HERFORD. Oxford University Press, 1930. Pp. 390. \$3.50.

This important work continues to increase annually in size and importance. From the modest little volume of 140 pages in 1919-'20 it has expanded to one of 390 pages in the present issue, and now deals with the record number of 443 books and 423 articles. Even so, the editors still feel cramped for space, and are able to describe briefly only what they consider the more important works in each field. With one exception the editorial staff remains the same as in 1927: Daisy E. Martin Clarke having taken the place of Hilda M. R. Murray in Philology.

It is too much to expect the completeness in this work which we seek in annual bibliographies, but on the contrary we find proper emphasis and evaluation. Only one editor, Miss Morley, in the Eighteenth Century, goes so far as to round out a special period with a grand *et cetera*, narrowing her discussions, first, to a series of brief notes on articles, and then to mere bibliographical mention of several more articles, but even so, continuing to be selective and not exhaustive.

The editors in each field are scholars in whose judgment we can rely. Their criticisms are for the most part sound and always conservative and courteous, never vindictive and abusive. After reading a bit from certain modern critics, who seem to take their cues from the violent and blood-thirsty school of the early nineteenth century, one turns with relief to the work before us, which unostentatiously seeks the best and ignores the worst. The writer has found the three periods with which he is most familiar very ably covered, and a careful examination convinces him that the other periods are equally well reviewed. In this day of multiplying and indifferent reviews in a multitude of widely scattered periodicals, to all of which no one has access, a sane and conservative work of this kind, in which all of the most scholarly research of the year is weighed in the same balance, deserves a far wider circulation and more substantial support than it has yet received.

L. N. BROUGHTON

Cornell University

The "Effingham" Libels on Cooper. A Documentary History of the Libel Suits of James Fenimore Cooper Centering around the Three Mile Point Controversy and the Novel *Home As Found* 1837-1845. By ETHEL R. OUTLAND. University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, Number 28. Madison, Wisconsin, 1929. Pp. 272.

Of the several non-literary problems with which the student of Fenimore Cooper must come to terms none is more important than the "War with the Press." Professor Lounsbury some years ago outlined the main facts and pointed to the principal issues involved in this controversy, but the limits of his work prevented full documentation. This deficiency Miss Outland has supplied in the present work.

As Mr. Lounsbury clearly indicated, and as a study of Cooper's *Notions of the Americans*, *Gleanings in Europe*, and other works of a critical nature fully proves, Cooper deliberately undertook the task of defining the liberty of the press by resort to law. The immediate issue with which the series of suits was instituted was somewhat accidental and grew out of an argument with his neighbors at Cooperstown concerning the ownership of the Three Mile Point on Lake Otsego. If this issue had not brought matters to a focus, however, there is little doubt that some other printed attack upon his personality and principles would have served the same purpose. Cooper held that an editor, by reason of his position, could claim no immunity as regards libelous statements which was not equally enjoyed by others. Greeley, Weed, Webb, and others held that any restriction upon statements which could appear in the press constituted an effort to curb liberty of speech and as such was a threat to democracy.

Early in the course of these trials, Cooper's defeated opponents protested that they were not being allowed to present the "truth in justification." This was a secondary and minor point which Cooper admitted as obvious, and Mr. Lounsbury accepted his view. Miss Outland prefers, however, to focus her conclusions on this rather than upon the "liberty of the press" issue. Mr. Silliman, upon whom she depended for her interpretation of the legal aspects of the controversy, states correctly that the "truth in justification" is now the "accepted law of the state" of New York. Thus Cooper's influence upon legal practice, if any, is made to appear negative.

On the other hand, Cooper's definition of the law of libel is now the accepted rule of journalistic literary criticism, whether or not as a direct result of these suits remains to be established. It is neither ethical nor legal now to confuse criticism of a man's character, personality, and principles with criticism of his book as a book. But whether or not the Cooper trials contributed

materially to the opinion which has brought about this change we can only infer. The probability is that, however great their immediate effect, their ultimate influence has been slight.

However important her service in assembling the documents relating to this case, Miss Outland's book is, therefore, more misleading than helpful. Her conclusions, in terms of her premises, are sound; but her interpretation of the problem is basically unsound.

ROBERT E. SPILLER

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Pêcheur d'Islande de Pierre Loti. Par LOUIS BARTHOU. Paris, Mellottée, 1929.

Is *Pêcheur d'Islande* destined for immortality? Many French critics would agree with M. Barthou that it is; those who disagree may object that he doth protest too much. He is least convincing when he pleads the cause of his author as a psychologist. He can do no more than convince us, if we need conviction, that Loti portrays cunningly very simple characters close to nature. It is not without significance that an eloquent section on the sea is included in the chapter on *Personnages*; its absence would have left a distinct *lacuna*, but it damages the argument that Loti is a master of subtle psychology. M. Barthou's tendency to claim too much for his author, however, is easily pardonable in view of the contributions he has made to our knowledge of the background of the book. Himself a personal friend of Loti, he has shown that the entire novel is based either on Loti's own experience or on his direct observation of living people. Thus he easily attaches the whole art of the author to the principle of describing or relating only *choses vues*. Hence the simplicity of Loti's style, hence his sincerity and his gift of communicating to his audience the unspoiled impressions his trained senses received from actuality. And M. Barthou has caught the secret: he has transmitted to his readers, by judicious quotation and comment, much of the spell of Loti. He passes in review the principal critics—Brunetière, Bourget, Doumic, A. France, Giraud, and Lemaitre—quoting now in support of his own view, now to enrich his argument by discussion. He analyses subtly Loti's style, which he finds original and inimitable because of its intense subjectivity. In short, M. Barthou's book is not only a memorial to his friend, but a piece of criticism interesting alike to the scholar and to the general reader.

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AGATHA ET LE VŒU FATAL D'ATALA

Simple coïncidence ou réminiscence peut-être involontaire, voici une rencontre singulière qui mérite d'être signalée; elle peut servir à tout le moins à démontrer une fois de plus comment Chateaubriand a repris dans ses premiers ouvrages des thèmes à la mode et en plus d'un sens a su profiter des efforts de ses modestes devanciers.

Cette fois, par extraordinaire, il ne s'agit point d'un ouvrage exotique, mais d'un roman sentimental de la contre-révolution, d'abord publié à Londres en anglais sans nom d'auteur, et bientôt traduit en français. Le titre de l'édition anglaise est le suivant; *Agatha, or a Narrative of Recent Events*. Printed for the author, sold by C. Dilly. 3 vols. London 1796. Les bibliographies indiquent une première édition de la traduction en trois volumes, 1797; je n'ai pu la retrouver. Une seconde (?) édition, en quatre volumes, celle qui existe à la Bibliothèque Nationale et dont j'ai pu me procurer un exemplaire, a pour titre *Agatha, ou la Religieuse anglaise, traduit de l'anglais*. A Paris, chez Maradan, Libraire, rue du Cimetière-André-des-Arts, N° 9. An septième. 4 volumes avec gravures, portant en épigraphe: *Hoc legite, austeri*. Cette traduction est attribuée à Madame de Guibert, cette charmante Alexandrine-Louise Boutinon des Hays de Courcelles, pour qui le comte de Guibert avait abandonné Mademoiselle de Lespinasse en 1775.¹ Nous ne savons presque rien d'elle sinon qu'au moment de son mariage elle était "jeune, jolie, douce, sensible, faite pour être aimée,"² que Greuze avait peint son portrait et que longtemps après la mort de son mari elle publia non seulement les lettres que Mademoiselle de Lespinasse avait écrites

¹ *Lettres de Mademoiselle de Lespinasse*, publiées par Eugène Asse. Paris, 1913.

² Eugène Asse, p. 203.

au comte de Guibert, mais encore cet *Eloge d'Eliza* écrit par le comte au moment même où il venait d'apprendre la mort de son ancienne amante,⁸ "tribut," disait-elle, "payé par le génie, à l'amitié, à la vertu, au sentiment, et même aux grâces de l'esprit." Un tel désintéressement, une telle absence de jalousie posthume, bien dans le ton et les mœurs du dix-huitième siècle aurait dû, semble-t-il, attirer l'attention des historiens de la littérature. Il n'en a rien été cependant, et même un curieux d'âmes comme Sainte-Beuve n'a point songé à faire une place à Madame de Guibert dans sa galerie de *Portraits de femmes*. Plus énigmatique encore et plus mystérieux semble l'auteur anonyme du petit roman d'*Agatha*. Quel était cet Anglais, ou, plus probablement, cette Anglaise, imprégnée de Richardson, de Goldsmith, de Young et de Rousseau, qui semblait connaître également la France et l'Angleterre, chez qui l'on trouve des descriptions de châteaux anglais, de *cottages* habités par de pauvres et vertueux paysans, d'excentriques anglais, et qui est également chez elle quand elle décrit les campagnes d'Auvergne, la petite ville d'Issoire, la vie pieuse mais encore entachée de mondanité d'un couvent de dames nobles à la veille de la Révolution? Avons-nous affaire à une Anglaise élevée en France, ou à une Française qui aurait vécu en Angleterre? L'auteur ne serait-il autre que Madame de Guibert elle-même? Autant de questions auxquelles un chercheur plus heureux et plus habile pourra peut-être un jour trouver une réponse définitive. C'est à un autre titre cependant qu'*Agatha* mérite surtout de retenir notre attention. Un ouvrage qui dépeint de façon aussi pathétique les épreuves des religieuses françaises chassées de leur couvent, qui est rempli de sentiments pieux, de peintures de la vie du cloître a dû avoir quelque succès dans les milieux de l'émigration. Que l'on ajoute que l'on y trouve un éloge des vertus chrétiennes de renoncement et de sacrifice, que la malheureuse Agatha, liée par un vœu fait par sa mère, doit choisir entre le renoncement à son amour et ce qu'elle croit être son devoir filial, et l'on ne peut s'empêcher de se demander si Chateaubriand n'a point connu l'ouvrage soit dans le texte soit dans la traduction, pendant son séjour à Londres ou dès son retour en France, et s'il n'y a point trouvé un des thèmes principaux d'*Atala* et peut-être quelques scènes de *René*.

⁸ Paris, 1806. Le première édition des *Lettres* est de 1809.

L'histoire est assez bizarre, compliquée d'épisodes multiples, mais le thème qui nous intéresse se dégage assez nettement.

"Ladi Belmont," noble dame devenue anglaise par son mariage, mais née en France, de parents français, avait été dès son enfance "vouée, sans qu'on lui eût fait connoître les motifs, en offrande à Dieu." Elevée dans un couvent, elle allait prononcer ses vœux quand, au cours de la dernière visite qu'il lui était permis de faire à sa famille, elle rencontra un beau jeune homme qui sut lui persuader d'abandonner "sa mère, sa maison, son pays," et de renoncer "aux jouissances délicieuses d'une vie entièrement consacrée à la dévotion et à l'état d'épouse de Dieu."

Les heureux époux avaient déjà passé plusieurs années loin de la France quand la jeune femme fut appelée au lit de mort de sa mère. Celle-ci lui révéla que "née avec des passions violentes et terribles," elle avait vécu "également esclave de l'amour et de la haine." Dans un accès de jalousie elle avait payé des assassins pour épier et frapper son infidèle époux; mais le crime accompli, son mari ramené gravement blessé, elle eut horreur de son crime et consacra à Dieu l'enfant qu'elle portait: "je le lui vouai, si sa clémence épargnoit mon époux. Il vécut." "Ladi Belmont," coupable involontaire, a donc enfreint la promesse solennelle faite par sa mère: mais les derniers moments de celle-ci peuvent être adoucis, si, par une étrange compensation, la jeune femme promet de vouer au Seigneur le premier enfant auquel elle donnera le jour. Agatha est cette enfant. Elevée dans l'horreur du mariage dont sa mère ne cesse de lui montrer les imperfections, mais dans l'ignorance complète de la promesse qui, avant même qu'elle fût née, a disposé d'elle, Agatha grandit auprès de ses parents sans soupçonner la fatalité qui pèse sur sa vie, jusqu'au jour où elle est demandée en mariage par un jeune homme vers qui son cœur est attiré, Mr. Hammond. Pour expliquer le refus par lequel "ladi Belmont" répond à la demande de Hammond, celle-ci est forcée à révéler à Agatha le terrible secret. Bien que son cœur soit déchiré, Agatha, pour arracher sa mère à "une éternité de malheur," accepte d'entrer au couvent. Mais c'est un couvent français que "ladi Belmont" a choisi pour sa fille. Il est situé à Issoire, en Auvergne dans un admirable et "romantique" paysage. Peu à peu la jeune fille se laisse vaincre par cette atmosphère de paix et de religion; elle prononce ses vœux, elle s'adonne à des œuvres de charité, et devient bientôt "l'ange de l'Auvergne." Elle aurait ainsi passé ses jours dans le calme, heureuse entre les œuvres et la contemplation, si la Révolution n'avait éclaté. On ordonne aux religieuses de se disperser; elles vont obéir quand des "sauvages" donnent l'assaut au couvent et le mettent au pillage. Agatha, séparée de ses compagnes, échappe par miracle aux révolutionnaires; elle erre plusieurs jours dans la forêt d'Issoire, fait la malencontreuse rencontre de deux malandrins dont les intentions ne laissent aucun doute. Elle est sauvée par un second miracle. Hammond, qui depuis des mois errait autour des murs du monastère, arrive à point, nommé pour l'arracher aux mains de ses agresseurs. La

fuite dans la forêt reprend; les deux fugitifs se nourrissant de baies qu'ils dérobent aux oiseaux. Ils périssent presque dans un effroyable orage, mais rencontrent à propos un vieux prêtre, autrefois pasteur respecté d'un troupeau villageois, qui a dû chercher un refuge au fond des forêts pour échapper à la persécution. Il reçoit Agatha et Hammond avec bonté, et ce dernier peut croire que la jeune religieuse, rejetée dans le monde malgré elle, consentira à écouter la voix de l'amour. Mais c'est mal connaître ce cœur héroïque: non seulement elle repousse avec désespoir et horreur l'amour d'Hammond, mais encore, quelques mois plus tard, c'est elle qui conseillera au jeune homme de se marier. Elle ira même vivre auprès des jeunes époux, bercera leurs enfants sur ses genoux, et quand Hammond et sa femme sont frappés d'un mal qui ne pardonne pas, elle recueillera leur dernier soupir. "Le temps, l'amitié et la religion, portant le baume sur ses ailes" ont rendu la sérénité et la paix à la "religieuse anglaise"; se dévouant aux pauvres, aux enfants d'Hammond, à ses amis; "elle coulera ici-bas ses jours dans le calme d'une résignation parfaite, et dans l'espoir et la ferme confiance du bonheur éternel dans une autre vie."

Telle est, dans ses grandes lignes, cette étrange apologie des vertus chrétiennes qui à la fois semble une réponse à la *Religieuse* de Diderot (1796) et une annonce de ces "combats de la chair et de l'esprit" dont Chateaubriand entreprendra d'illustrer la beauté morale dans *Atala* et dans *René*. On ne peut cependant s'empêcher de remarquer que le sacrifice d'Agatha est au moins exagéré. Si l'intention de l'auteur n'était évidente, on pourrait considérer *Agatha* autant comme une attaque contre les égarements de la religion que comme une défense de la morale chrétienne. Il semble qu'à force de vivre dans le commerce des philosophes les défenseurs du christianisme aient quelquefois pris le fanatisme religieux pour la religion elle-même. Tel est précisément le reproche que l'on n'a pas manqué d'adresser à Chateaubriand.

Ce n'est pas d'aujourd'hui que les critiques ont signalé dans *Atala* ce que M. V. Giraud appelle "la juxtaposition de deux conceptions différentes et même contradictoires."⁴ Chateaubriand lui-même était allé au devant des critiques, en montrant par l'intermédiaire du père Aubry que la pauvre *Atala*, chrétienne peu éclairée, n'est pas liée comme elle le croit par le vœu prononcé par sa mère: "J'écrirai à l'évêque de Québec; il a les pouvoirs nécessaires pour vous relever de vos vœux, qui ne sont que des vœux simples, et vous achèverez vos jours près de moi avec Chactas votre époux." Seule, semblait-il, une demi-sauvagesse, encore sous l'em-

⁴ *Le Christianisme de Chateaubriand*, II, 102, Paris, 1928.

prise de la superstition pouvait commettre cette étrange erreur. Et cependant, voici que dans un roman publié à Londres, au moment où Chateaubriand est encore en Angleterre, nous trouvons un vœu analogue, le même problème, le même cas de conscience, les mêmes arguments, car de même que la mère d'Atala, "ladi Belmont" se croit condamnée à une éternité de tortures si sa fille ne rachète pas sa promesse imprudente :

Tombe sur moi le terrible châtiment que j'ai invoqué moi-même ! Soyez heureuse un moment dans ce monde, et qu'une éternité de malheur soit le partage de votre mère. Ainsi des millions et des millions d'âges se multipliant et se renouvelant sans cesse, la verront éternellement confondue parmi les enfans de perdition, rongée par le ver qui ne meurt jamais (*Agatha*, II, 65).

Dans *Agatha* cependant le thème du vœu fatal est d'autant moins admissible que ni la supérieure du couvent d'Issoire, ni l'évêque qui préside à la prise de voile ne se croient le droit d'intervenir pour libérer la fille de "ladi Belmont" de la promesse imprudente faite par sa mère. C'est tout au plus si le bon M. Albert estime qu'à la rigueur *Agatha* peut être considérée comme s'étant acquittée :

Vous ma fille vous avez été consacrée à Dieu par votre mère. Le vœu qu'elle avoit fait, vous l'avez rempli ; la parole qu'elle avoit donnée, vous l'avez acquittée dans le sens le plus rigoureux qu'elle y avoit attaché. Le sort vous a rendue au monde. Peut-être pourriez-vous sans crime vous consacrer au ciel dans un autre ; peut-être, par une vie qui vous rendroit utile à la société, et qui récompenseroit la fidèle affection d'un être qui mérite d'être heureux, rempliriez-vous dans un sens plus vrai la parole donnée (*Agatha*, III, 158).

Mais *Agatha* a une conscience qui ne transige point : un tel compromis ne saurait la satisfaire. Elle accomplira son sacrifice jusqu'au bout :

L'idée déchirante que j'ai violé un vœu, que j'ai commis un crime, seroit un supplice toujours renaissant pour votre cœur et pour votre âme, et empoisonneroit tous les délices que se peint votre imagination : quel fardeau que le crime de ceux que nous aimons ! Enfin, quel bien dans une vie, dont la plus longue durée est bornée à un petit nombre d'années qui se précipitent, est digne qu'on l'achète au hasard terrible d'offenser celui dont les punitions et les récompenses sont éternelles ? (*Agatha*, III, 161).

Si donc Chateaubriand a emprunté à *Agatha* cette invention peu orthodoxe, il s'est efforcé d'atténuer ce qu'elle avait d'improbable ;

quelles que soient les erreurs de dogme qu'il ait pu commettre, il était trop au courant des choses de la religion pour tomber dans la même faute qu'un auteur au total bien renseigné sur les formes extérieures du catholicisme, mais peu pénétré de son esprit. L'hypothèse d'un emprunt et d'un réminiscence volontaire ou involontaire paraît d'autant plus probable que les ressemblances de détail ne manquent point. Écoutons "lady Belmont" essayant de détourner sa fille du mariage :

L'amour, la plus pure peut-être des jouissances de ce monde, puisque, s'il est véritable, la bienveillance s'y associe, est une source de maux qui ne peuvent compenser ses charmes si vantés. S'il rencontre des obstacles, quel supplice. S'il n'en trouve point, ou s'il s'en crée, ou il languit satisfait, ou la jalousie, de toutes les souffrances humaines la plus cruelle devient sa compagne assidue.

Le mariage, quelque honorable que soit ce lien, quelques couleurs favorables qu'on lui donne, est rempli de peines. Pour deux personnes qui sont heureuses l'une par l'autre, comme il est arrivé à votre père et à moi, il y en a mille qui maudissent le jour où elles ont été unies. Si c'est l'amour qui nous a conduits à l'hymen, notre bonheur ne peut que diminuer; car ses plus passionnés sectateurs reconnoissent que l'amour est passager et qu'il s'affaiblit. Dans le mariage fait par des vues intéressées, il n'y a point de chances pour le bonheur. (*Agatha*, I, 12.)

Ce sont les arguments même que le père Aubry reprendra au lit de mort d'Atala, et c'est au même passage que font penser les paroles d'Agatha quand une seconde fois elle renonce à Hammond qui va épouser une de ses amies :

"Oui, mon Agnès," s'écria-t-elle, "qu'est-ce que cette vie fugitive? que sont les plaisirs périssables, que quelques années rapides entraînent dans leur cours, plaisirs qui, sans jamais nous satisfaire, s'évanouissent comme l'ombre; que sont-ils auprès des biens innombrables qui nous sont destinés au-delà de l'existence éphémère de ce monde? qu'est-ce qu'une heure de durée auprès de l'éternité, où, pour prix de chaque épreuve glorieusement soutenue nous attend une récompense immense?" (*Agatha*, IV, 131).

Les adieux d'Agatha et d'Hammond ont déjà, quelque chose de l'accent qui passera dans les dernières paroles d'Atala à Chactas :

Oui, nous nous retrouverons dans un monde où aucun devoir ne s'opposera à ce que je vous aime; où nous ne nous séparerons plus; où nous jouirons ensemble d'une éternité de bonheur.

O Agatha! ne te revoir que lorsque ces formes et ces traits qui composent ton être ne seront que poussière; quand ces yeux seront fermés à jamais, et cette voix . . . ô Agatha . . . (*Agatha*, II, 129).

La fuite d'Hammond et d'Agatha dans la forêt d'Auvergne est comme une pâle ébauche de la prodigieuse description de la tempête dans les marais de la Floride.

Ils n'étoient pas selon l'opinion d'Hammond, à plus d'un quart de lieue de la maison, quand l'orage, qui n'avoit fait que menacer la nuit précédente, éclata tout-à-coup avec une violence qui sembloit ébranler la terre jusques dans son centre. En un moment la lune eut disparu; les éclats du tonnerre se succédoient, en redoublant de violence et de fracas, avec une rapidité effrayante; la pluie tomboit par torrens, et la lumière éblouissante des éclairs, jetoit seule une Clarté passagère sur les objets dont ils étoient environnés, en même temps que la violence du vent, qui menaçoit presque de les renverser, et qui semoit autour d'eux les branches brisées des arbres, ajoutoit encore aux horreurs de la tempête. (*Agatha*, III, 150.)

Il n'est pas impossible que quelques traits du bon M. Albert aient passé dans le caractère du père Aubry dont les antécédents littéraires sont d'ailleurs fort mélangés. Il est en tout cas bien plus près du pieux missionnaire que le curé de *Mélanie*. Ce vieillard dont le visage porte l'empreinte de la bienfaisance, nous est d'abord présenté lisant à la lumière d'une lampe placée devant lui sur une table de pierre: "sa tête étoit appuyée sur une de ses mains, et l'autre étoit posée sur son livre ouvert." Il retrace de la vie qu'il menait dans son village un tableau attendrissant. Plus que le père Aubry il est avant tout un simple prêtre, conseillant ses paroissiens, prenant part à leurs divertissements, écoutant les longues histoires des personnages âgés, distribuant de petits cadeaux aux enfants. "Voici Monsieur le curé, étoit un mot qui les encourageoit tous, . . ."

C'est pour mémoire seulement que nous mentionnerons ici un thème qui devait reparaître dans *Atala* et dans le *Génie*: le thème de la patrie absente qui mériterait à *Agatha* une petite place parmi les ouvrages étudiés par M. Baldensperger: ⁵

Il y a dans le nom de patrie, de notre patrie, quelque chose d'infiniment attendrissant pour le cœur, et qui s'allie dans l'esprit à mille souvenirs attachans: autrement, pourquoi le bannissement seroit-il une peine si terrible? Tant d'autres contrées nous sont ouvertes; et d'autres peut-être qui offrent aux yeux des beautés sans nombre bien supérieurs, et qui produisent en plus grande abondance les nécessités et les superfluités de la vie; mais rien ne peut être mis en comparaison avec ce sol que foula le pied de notre enfance, cet air que le premier nous aspirâmes. (*Agatha*, II, 149.)

⁵ *Le mouvement des idées dans l'émigration française*, 2 vols., Paris, 1924.

En plus d'un endroit enfin, c'est à *René* et non plus à *Atala* que fait songer le roman d'*Agatha*. Hammond erre autour du couvent dont les murailles lui dérobent la vue d'*Agatha* comme René traîne sa détresse autour du "monastère bâti au bord de la mer."

Tous les jours qui se renouvelaient voyaient mes pas solitaires traverser le sentier qui mène au couvent; et les heures se succédant aux heures, m'ont vu assis sur l'herbe les yeux attachés au mur qui renfermoit tout ce qui étoit cher à mon cœur. Un jour je distinguai votre voix, qu'une guitare accompagnait. . . Il n'y a point d'expression pour rendre ce qui se passa en moi dans ce moment. Je saisissois, je retenois les sens plaintifs et fugitifs; et quand ils cessèrent, il me sembla que tout finissoit: pour qu'ils se prolongeassent j'aurois donné ma vie. Combien de fois depuis je vins à la même place, prêtant l'oreille; mais votre voix, je ne l'y retrouvai plus. . . . (*Agatha*, III, 119.)

Comme dans René nous avons le tableau d'une prise de voile, avec cette différence que l'auteur d'*Agatha* paraît mieux informé que Chateaubriand sur les détails du cérémonial dont il distingue avec le plus grand soin, les différentes parties qui se trouvent combinées et comme "télescopées" dans le récit de Chateaubriand. En voici la partie essentielle que nous abrégeons considérablement:

C'est un usage de revêtir la novice avec une magnificence recherchée, dans la cérémonie même où elle va prononcer son renoncement éternel aux parures et aux vanités du monde. . . . *Agatha*, soutenue d'un côté par lady Belmont et de l'autre par sir Charles, et suivie des deux religieuses les plus âgées, fut conduite dans la chapelle auprès de l'évêque qui commença par offrir le sacrifice de la messe. . . . Un prêtre, son confesseur, chanta une antienne, qui signifioit que l'épouse s'avançoit, et qu'on devoit allumer les lampes pour la recevoir; et, pendant qu'il chantoit, *Agatha* fut menée par les religieuses pour allumer son cierge à une lampe disposée pour cet effet. Le prêtre alors la présenta à l'évêque; et se mettant à genoux devant lui, elle prononça les vœux par lesquels elle renonçoit au monde, pour ne plus vivre que pour Dieu seul. L'évêque récapitula les devoirs de son état, et, la crosse dans la main, lui donna sa bénédiction solennelle, après laquelle elle se retira pour revêtir les habits de son état, accompagnée par les deux religieuses. Ses beaux cheveux furent coupés; et dépouillée de tous ses riches ornemens, et vêtue de ses nouveaux habits de religion, elle fut ramenée à la chapelle pour achever la cérémonie. Le chœur reprit ses chants quand elle entra: conduite de nouveau auprès de l'évêque, il lui mit l'anneau, symbole de son union mystique avec Jesus-Christ, la couronne virginale et le voile. Placée alors au milieu du chœur, et étendue sur la terre, on la couvrit d'un drap noir, et un cantique solennel de mort fut chanté par toutes les religieuses à genoux: pratique d'usage pour ex-

primer que l'âme vient de s'envoler mystiquement au céleste séjour. A ces mots du cantique:

"Dans ce tombeau nous enfermons ton corps"

un cri effrayant se fit entendre, et Agatha reconnut la voix de sa mère, qui, hors d'état de soutenir plus long-temps cette cérémonie solennelle, jeta un cri, s'évanouit, et fut amenée hors de l'église sans sentiment (*Agatha*, II, 187.)

Quant à la morale du roman elle est à peu de choses près celle que tirera le père Souël du récit de René. C'est après avoir vu une jeune paysanne se consoler d'avoir perdu son amant en se dévouant à ses vieux parents et en s'absorbant dans son dur labeur que la fille de "ladi Belmont" fait un retour sur elle-même:

Oh! disoit intérieurement Agatha, quelle leçon donne cette fille simple à ceux qui, avec un esprit plus cultivé et une raison en général plus forte, cèdent foiblement à leurs sentimens, au-lieu de travailler comme elle à les vaincre. Il en est peu, à la vérité, qui soient nés avec une aussi heureuse tranquillité de caractère, et nous n'avons pas dans ma patrie, cette légèreté de cœur commune, dit-on, chez les Français, qui pleurent un moment et chantent l'instant d'après. Mais il n'est *personne* qui ne puisse *travailler* à se vaincre; et avec une volonté sincère, il est rare qu'on n'arrive pas au but vers lequel on marche: enfin, le *sentiment* seul de l'effort fait sur soi pour penser et pour agir conformément à ce qu'on doit, suffit souvent pour nous récompenser dans les combats intérieurs que nous avons à livrer. (*Agatha*, III, 194.)

Quelle que soit la conclusion que l'on dégage de ces rapprochements, il n'en reste pas moins, et c'est là le fait essentiel, que la publication en France du roman anonyme d'*Agatha* était déjà un signe des temps nouveaux. On y trouvait une conception de la vie monastique bien différente de celle que l'on aurait pu trouver dans la *Marianne* de Marivaux, dans la *Mélanie* de La Harpe, et à plus forte raison dans les *Incas* de Marmontel ou la *Religieuse* de Diderot. Le roman traduit par Madame de Guibert a, comme thème principal, le conflit de l'amour et de la religion, la lutte de la chair et de l'esprit, et l'affabulation sinon le décor choisi par l'auteur ressemble singulièrement à celle d'*Atala*. La gloire de Chateaubriand ne s'en trouve en rien diminuée, mais il semble bien que nous puissions ajouter le nom d'*Agatha* à la liste assez longue des "sœurs aînées" d'*Atala* que nous connaissions déjà.

GILBERT CHINARD

THREE NEGLECTED MANUSCRIPTS OF THE
VOEUX DU PAON

In view of the interest which has led numerous investigators during the past fifty years to study the *Voeux du paon* by Jacques de Longuyon, it is remarkable that there should still be three manuscripts of this poem,—all of them preserved, moreover, in one and the same library,—which have until now remained unnoticed. The researches of Professor R. L. Graeme Ritchie, who is publishing the *Voeux du paon* to accompany the Scottish *Buik of Alexander*,¹ and of M. Antoine Thomas, who has treated the *Voeux* in the *Histoire littéraire*,² have ignored the existence of the manuscripts at Thirlestaine House in Cheltenham, England. Paul Meyer's extensive investigations of the *Roman d'Alexandre* and of related poems³ are well known; his published works have likewise left rich testimony of his numerous visits in Cheltenham to locate and study mediaeval French manuscripts: consequently, it is surprising that he should have failed to mention any of these *Voeux du paon* texts, one of which is actually labelled *Roman d'Alexandre* in the library catalogue.

The three manuscripts under discussion form part of the vast collection established by Sir Thomas Phillipps and now owned by his grandson, Mr. T. Fitzroy Fenwick. I studied these volumes during the summer of 1929.

Sir Thomas acquired all his copies of the *Voeux du paon* in England.⁴ The first which came into his possession was the manuscript numbered 2582 in his catalogue and described there as follows⁵: "Roman d'Alexandre le Grande (sic) vel." The error

¹ II (Edinburgh and London, The Scottish Text Society, 1921), xix-lxix.

² XXXVI, 1-35

³ For the *Voeux du paon*, see *Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature française du moyen âge*, I, 267-69.

⁴ I have not succeeded in identifying any of these manuscripts with any recorded in the inventories of older collections, such as the Librairie du Louvre, the Burgundian ducal library, etc.

⁵ *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum in bibliotheca D. Thomae Phillipps, Bart., A. D. 1837*; page 30 This notice is reproduced by G. Haenel (*Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum*, Leipzig, 1830· column 886) and in the *Dictionnaire des manuscrits* (p. 256) included by the abbé J. P. Migne in his *Nouvelle encyclopédie théologique* (vol. 41).

in the title had undoubtedly arisen prior to Sir Thomas's ownership of the manuscript. He purchased it, probably in 1825,⁶ from the Piccadilly bookseller, Thomas Thorpe. The erroneous title was allowed to persist even after the examination of the manuscript in 1888 by Durrieu.⁷

Ms. 2582, of the fourteenth century, is more elegantly written than either of the other two Philipps manuscripts of the *Voeux*. The volume measures 30.5 x 18.5 cms., and contains 131 vellum leaves on each page of which is a single column of 32 verses (except where miniatures occur). The binding is in eighteenth century calf, with gilt on the edges of the leaves. The manuscript is adorned with twenty moderately attractive miniatures.⁸ The language of ms. 2582 exhibits fewer regional traits than either of its two companions. The few indications of dialectal tendencies which do appear are suggestive of the north or east: e. g., *vremaus* by the side of *vermeil*, *aus* by the side of *euls*, *fiez* and *gentiez*, *gita*, *biau*, *yaue*.

Ms. 3638 was purchased for Sir Thomas November 28, 1828, in London at the auction of the library of Robert Lang.⁹ The only

⁶ The Philipps catalogue groups the manuscript with others purchased from Thorpe. Moreover, on the fly-leaf of the volume is pencilled the figure 16487, undoubtedly the number in a Thorpe catalogue. Mr. H. Idris Bell, Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum, informs me that he has "little doubt that the manuscript in question was in Part II of Thorpe's Catalogue of 1825, as Part I ends with no. 8695. Unfortunately there is no copy of Part II in the British Museum." I have had no success in locating this part of Thorpe's catalogue elsewhere.

⁷ *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*, I, 389. Observe that Durrieu assigns this and the other two manuscripts of the *Voeux du paon* to the thirteenth century, although the poem had not been even written until after 1312. Durrieu was interested in these volumes solely for the miniatures, which he found to be of but very ordinary value.

⁸ Folios 1ro, 6ro, 11vo, 26vo, 34ro, 38ro, 43vo, 50ro, 55ro, 61ro, 62ro, 63vo, 73ro, 98ro, 104vo, 108vo, 112ro, 114vo, 126ro, 130ro.

⁹ Cf. *A catalogue of the valuable library of the late Robert Lang, esq. of Portland Place, containing a most singular collection of rare and curious works in the French language . . . which will be sold by auction by Mr. Evans* . . . (London), 1828; page 116. According to an entry in ink in the copy possessed by the New York Public Library, the manuscript was sold for nineteen pounds. It is listed in the Lang catalogue under the number 2306, with the following description: "VIEUX DE PAON. A very old Manuscript, probably of the Fourteenth Century, upon Vellum,

subsequent notices of this manuscript are the summary mentions by Durrieu¹⁰ and in the catalogues of Philipppe, Haenel, and Migne.¹¹ The volume was executed in the fourteenth century¹² by a careful scribe, whose calligraphy, however, is rather inferior to that in the other two manuscripts under consideration. The 146 leaves of the poem, each containing pages of a single column of 28 verses (except where miniatures are present or where the copyist introduces in the margin lines which were previously omitted in the body of the text), are unfortunately¹³ not numbered. The manuscript is on vellum, and is bound in green velvet. It measures 22.4 x 14.2 cms. Despite the indication on the fly-leaf and also in the Lang catalogue,¹⁴ this volume contains thirteen miniatures,¹⁵ and not seventeen.

Ms. 3638 exhibits distinctly more dialectal traits than either 2582 or 8314. The copyist seems to write *c* for *ch* and conversely at pleasure. Other material which points to the north and east includes *le* (for the definite article *la*), *se* (= *sa*), *sanlant*, *assanlee*, *visaiblement*, *vaudrai*, *vaussissent*, *tourble*, *freme*, *tenrement*, *puig*, *boin*, *deveres* (= *devrez*), *houme*.

Sir Thomas acquired his third and last¹⁶ manuscript of the

with 17 Miniatures. It is a continuation of the Roman d'Ale Alexandre. In green velvet."

¹⁰ Cf. *supra*, note 7.

¹¹ Sir Thomas (p. 47) has written merely "3638. Do. des Voeux du Paon. 8vo. vel. saec. xiv." Haenel's entry (*op. cit.*, col 892) is as follows: "Roman des vœux du paon; saec. XV. membr. fol." Cf. Migne, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

¹² Numerous announcements of births have been recorded at the end of the volume, the earliest of which (f. 147ro) specifies that "lan mil ccc ^{xx}iiii le xxv^e jour de decembre fut nee jehane files de guillaume de rosay et de fillebende de merin."

¹³ This is particularly true in view of the confusion in the page order. The volume has been bound so that the leaves occur as follows: 1-80, 88-90, 93-95, 87, 81-83, 91-92, 84-86, 96-146.

¹⁴ Cf. *supra*, note 9.

¹⁵ Folios 1ro, 28ro, 32vo, 34vo, 38ro, 40ro, 42vo, 43vo, 49ro, 54vo, 68vo, 122ro, 144vo.

¹⁶ The Philipppe manuscript 21910 (entered by Sir Thomas as "Tournois de Lille, in 1453. ou, Voeux du Paon. f. red mor gt. V. s. xvi."), according to information given me by Mr. Fenwick, has nothing to do with the poem of Jacques de Longuyon.

Voeux du paon at the sale of the library of Richard Heber. The purchase was made February 19, 1836, in London, for the sum of forty pounds and nineteen shillings.¹⁷ The only other references to this manuscript which have come to my notice are those of Phillipps¹⁸ and Durrieu,¹⁹ together with a mention in Payne's Catalogue of 1793.²⁰

Ms. 8314 is an attractively written volume of the fourteenth century. Its present binding is a green morocco, provided by P. J. Bisiaux in the last quarter of the eighteenth century in Paris.²¹ The coat-of-arms on the cover is that of the Marquis de Hautefort,

¹⁷ Cf. *Bibliotheca Heberiana* (London, 1836), part 11, page 143, where ms. Phillipps 8314 is described as follows: "1395 Romans. LES VOEUX DU PAON—LE RESTOR DU PAON. Du XVI^eme Siecle sur Velin. This very valuable MS. forms two Branches of the Continuation of the Roman d'Alexandre, and contains 7213 Verses. The first page is ornamented with a richly painted miniature, in old blue morocco. From the Library of the Marquess d'Autefort."

¹⁸ Sir Thomas has inserted the following in his catalogue (p. 127):

"8314 1395 Roman; Les Voeux du Paon, 'Après ce que Alixandres ot de Desur conquis' illum. 138 leaves.

Le Restor du Paon. 8vo. v. s. xiv. gr. mor. Arms on cover, A Ship sailing, on a chief G. 3 Stars O. 'En statt hies Troye.'"

The manuscript does not contain the *Restor*; Sir Thomas's error is undoubtedly copied from the notice in the catalogue of the Heber sale (cf. *supra*, note 17). This manuscript is nowhere mentioned by Haenel or Migne.

¹⁹ Cf. *supra*, note 7.

²⁰ Observe the curious interpretation of the peacock in this notice: "10655 Les Veux du Paon, MS. (unique) sur Velin, du Commencement du 14 Siecle, contenant 138 Feuilles d'une brillante Conservation, Ecrit en Lettres de formes, enrichi d'une curieuse Miniature au Commencement, ou 6 Personnages semblent marcher processionnellement pour chauter la gloire du Paon que l'on compare au fameux Alexandre a la difference pres que Alexandre trouvoit sa gloire dans ses Conquestes & l'Autre dans sa queue, espee de moralité tres ingenieuse, pour corriger les conquerants glorieuse & superbe. Ce MS. original vient de la Bib. du Marquis d'Autefort, in 4to. m. dentelle." The publication in which this paragraph appears is *A Catalogue of Books, containing a considerable part of the . . . library of the late M. de la Moignon . . . and of many other collections. . .* It may be added that there is no mention of a *Voeux du paon* in Merigot's three-volume catalogue of the Lamoignon library (1791).

²¹ On the fly-leaf is pasted the label "Relié par Bisiaux Rue du Foin St. Jacques, No. 32." Cf. also E. Thoinan (*ps.* for A. E. Roquet), *Les relieurs français* (Paris, 1893), p. 207.

in whose library the manuscript was preserved during at least a part of the eighteenth century. The dimensions of the book are 24 x 16 cms.; it contains 138 leaves of vellum (the poem ends on 137r^o), and only the one miniature referred to in the Heber and Payne catalogues. Each page contains a single column of thirty verses. All the leaves are in order, except that folio 8 is bound between folios 1 and 2. The language of ms. 8314 is characterized by occasional northern and eastern tendencies, illustrated by such forms as *douna*, *hounour*, *otria*, *aus* (= *illos*), *vermaus*, *vaurroie*, *ju* (= *jeu*), *vo*.

The Cheltenham copies of the *Voeux du paon* offer accurate and intelligent redactions, all of which belong to essentially the same manuscript tradition. They are remarkably free from individual variations, either in readings or in the sequence of *laissez*.²² In order to attempt a classification of the Cheltenham manuscripts, I have collated them throughout the several passages which form the basis of Professor Ritchie's filiation²³ of the other redactions of the poem.

The most cursory examination of the last few *laissez* in the Cheltenham manuscripts shows that like N²N⁸N⁴ of the *n* group and like (M)P⁶RSS³S⁴ of the *s* group, they replace the final 25 *laissez* of W with a passage²⁴ of 47 lines. The Phillipps manu-

²² Ms. 3638 is rather more culpable than the other two texts with respect to individual readings, although its changes are not serious. With the exception of *laisse* 2 (vv. 1628) omitted by ms. 8314, and of *laisse* 165 (vv. 5035-53) omitted by mss. 2582 and 8314, the three manuscripts contain exactly the same 282 *laissez* with no differences in the order of their presentation.

²³ Professor Ritchie has kept Paul Meyer's lettering for those manuscripts of the *Voeux* which likewise contain the *Roman d'Alexandre*. For other manuscripts he employs letters with superscripts to suggest affinities with the redactions already labelled by Paul Meyer. He concludes (III, lxxv) by finding three large groups: *pq* (PP¹P²P³P⁴P⁵P⁶QQ¹), *n* (NN¹N²N³N⁴N⁵OU), *s* (P⁶RSS³S⁴S⁵S⁶S⁷S⁸). By the P family are meant manuscripts PP¹P²P³P⁴P⁵P⁶; by the N family, NN¹N²N³N⁴N⁵N⁶; by the S family, P⁶RSS³S⁴S⁵S⁶S⁷S⁸. The differences between the last two families are slight (cf. Ritchie, II, lvi; III, lxxvi). The peculiar status of M and of the basic manuscript W need not be considered in the present discussion.

²⁴ *Laissez* 281 and 282, labelled 7^a and 7^b by Ritchie (cf. III, liv-lv and lviii-lix). For future reference it may here be noted that of the last 25

scripts are thus seen to resemble the *n* group and the *s* group. Verses 2776-83 give testimony which justifies much more satisfactory precision, inasmuch as the Cheltenham redactions arrange these lines in an order found elsewhere only in the S family.²⁵ Various additional passages can be cited in which the Cheltenham manuscripts agree with the S family.²⁶

While it is not difficult to give the Philipps copies membership in the S family, the problem of their relations to individual manuscripts is far more delicate. It has in fact been impossible for me to associate ms. 2582 with any other one redaction of the *Voeux du paon*. Ms. 3638 has yielded slightly more information, but information of a sort to lead to doubt rather than precision: I have found a few evidences of connection with the N family, notably in vv. 2758-62²⁷ and in vv. 2809-10.²⁸ This testimony, however, is not altogether peremptory and it is scant indeed by contrast with the reasons for assigning ms. 3638 to the S family.

Ms. 8314 may perhaps be linked with S⁶, at least for portions of the poem. It is found in numerous instances²⁹ to be in accord with the group N⁵S⁵S⁶, while certain other instances³⁰ would even

laisses in W, N⁵ contains 5 and S⁵S⁶ contain 14. S⁵ omits laisses 7a and 7b, N⁵ has 7b. S⁶ contains both 7a and 7b.

²⁵ Cf. Ritchie, II, xcv.

²⁶ E. g., vv. 2822-23 which are reduced to a single line (*Ne prenez pas corroz vers moi si aigrement*), 2751, 2782, 2787, 2796, 2821, 2831, 2882. V. 2838 is noteworthy in that the Cheltenham manuscripts agree with the S family (and MQQ¹) on the reading *Adonc quant nous roasmes au roi qui pas ne ment* (in this note the Cheltenham readings are given with the orthography of ms. 2582). Cf. Ritchie's apparatus criticus, II, xcii-cviii.

²⁷ The first half of v. 2758 reads *Je ne sui pas du gen*; likewise vv. 2760 and 2762 (which are omitted by the S family and the other two Philipps manuscripts) are present, as in the N family. Note in passing that N⁵ omits v. 2760.

²⁸ Of the Cheltenham copies, ms. 3638 alone fails (like the N family, except N²) to reduce these two verses to a single line.

²⁹ In v. 7552 all four manuscripts omit *rois*. After v. 7579 they each add the same two verses (cf. Ritchie, III, xcii). In vv. 7489, 7562, 7568, the Philipps ms. 8314 adopts the same reading as N⁵S⁵S⁶. In several of the passages which Ritchie cites (III, xlviii-xlix) to justify the grouping N⁵S⁵S⁶, ms. 8314 preserves the reading of the majority of the manuscripts: it would therefore seem to be more reliable than N⁵S⁵S⁶.

³⁰ E. g., vv. 2771 (ms. 8314 reads *Et la pucele apres si a trant sans muser*), 2850 (*recousu sans aiguille daieue*), 3855 (*lauer for lyane*), 3863

suggest a sub-group containing only ms. 8314 and S⁶. Yet the contrast at the end of the poem ³¹ between N⁵S⁶S⁶ on the one hand and ms. 8314 on the other indicates how hesitant any hypothesis must be (at least for the present) concerning the relations between these redactions.

In conclusion, it may be considered as established with certainty that the Cheltenham manuscripts form part of the S family. In accordance with Professor Ritchie's system of nomenclature, they might properly be labelled S⁸, S⁹, and S¹⁰. There is little doubt, I believe, that each of the Phillipps manuscripts presents a version of Jacques de Longuyon's poem which is quite as important as any other S redaction.

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UNE SOURCE DU *LÉGATAIRE UNIVERSEL*

La scène où Gêronte connaît qu'il a dicté un testament dont sa l thargie lui aurait  t  la m moire (v, 7) semble avoir pour source l'aventure du Baron des *Empiriques* de Brueys (1698):

Un baron, malade imaginaire et dupe des charlatans, consent   recevoir un empirique que lui pr sente son fr re. Le nouveau praticien (c'est le valet du fianc  de la fille du baron) ordonne une drogue qui, abstraction faite des ingr dients invisibles, n'est que du vin de Champagne. D s que la g n reuse potion a fait perdre au malade son assiette habituelle on lui apprend qu'il a pay  une dette dont il se souvient avec l'argent d'une cr ance dont il ne se souvient pas, qu'il a chass  ses m decins ordinaires et r gl  le mariage de sa fille qu'il remettait jusqu'  sa gu rison; il aurait m me, en cette derni re occasion, prononc  une allocution fort spirituelle (III, 10, 11). A chaque  tonnement du bonhomme il est r pondu que son manque de m moire est un effet de sa potion.

Outre le caract re du but propos  et des circonstances attenantes, qui fait de l'une de ces intrigues une manigance quasi r voltante

(*couillons* for *chaillois*), 7497 (*de devant* for *doriant*), 7514 (*Gr riois* for *Paiens*), 7544 (with N⁶S⁶ in the second hemistich). It may well be that S⁷ is also very close to ms. 8314 in these passages (cf. Ritchie, III, lxvii).

³¹ Cf. *supra*, note 24.

et de l'autre une aimable bouffonnerie, il y a quelque différence de conduite entre le manège du *Légataire* et celui des *Empiriques*. Alors que chez Regnard c'est la victime du complot qui suggère l'échappatoire dont profitent les escrocs, chez Brueys l'explication fait partie du plan des "guérisseurs." On peut noter aussi que Brueys allège la contrariété de son malade en mêlant aux révélations déplaisantes des surprises flatteuses.

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MILTON AND PLATO

It is my intention here to suggest some footnotes and marginalia to Mr. Agar's stimulating study of Milton's obligations to Plato;¹ the result will be neither a formal review nor an independent essay, and must risk losing the advantages of both.

1. Mr. Agar's list of those works of Plato with which Milton was in some degree definitely familiar (p. 1), can be supplemented by the addition of six dialogues referred to unequivocally in Milton's Latin logic (*Artis Logicae Plenior Institutio ad Petri Rami Methodum Concinnata*). In this treatise Milton, although avowedly building upon Ramus' foundations, characteristically reserves the right of independent judgment,² and has patently made the material thoroughly his own. We are justified, therefore, in treating the work as a legitimate source for the study of Milton's thought. The six dialogues to which reference is made are the following:

a. *Cratylus*. Milton (*op. cit.*, Lib. I, cap. i) appeals to *Cratylus* 390 C for the identification of dialectic with the art of question and answer: Τὸν δὲ ἐρωτᾷν καὶ ἀποκρίνεσθαι ἐπιστάμενον ἄλλο τι σὺ καλεῖς ἢ διαλεκτικόν;

b. *Alcibiades I*. For the idea that dialectic and the use of reason are identical, Milton (*ibid.*) refers to *Alcibiades I*, 129 C: τὸ δὲ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ τὸ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι ταῦτόν ποιν καλεῖς;

c. *Philebus*. With Milton's "Et Plato in Philebo essentiam sive formam rei, generationis finem statuit . . . (Lib. I, cap. ix),

¹ *Milton and Plato*, by Herbert Agar, Princeton, 1928.

² "Nisi sicubi dissentio," Milton specifies, in the preface to the *Institutio*.

compare Philebus 54 C: ξύμπασαν δὲ γένεσιν οὐσίας ἕνεκα γίγνεσθαι ξυμπάσης. The same dialogue, 16 C, is quoted later (Lib. II, cap. xvii), to the effect that method is a gift of the Gods: ὁδός (methodus) . . . θεῶν μὲν εἰς ἀνθρώπους δόσεις.

d. *Politicus*. Milton (Lib. I, cap. xxv) has "Platonis itaque regula est oportet in quam proximum numerum³ dividere". This in its context is clearly a reference to the process of logical analysis and classification known as Platonic dichotomy, which proceeds by the method of continually dividing a genus into two contrary classes until at last the *infima species* is reached. This method is exemplified in the search for the Statesman in Plato's *Politicus*. An approximate formulation of Milton's "regula" occurs at 262 B ff., where the Eleatic stranger prescribes the principle that division must proceed gradually, descending from class to class progressively, until the concept sought is defined.

Milton also quotes (Lib. I, cap. xxvii), as from the *Politicus*, the principle that the genus is in a sense contained in the species. The principle in question is not stated in the *Politicus*. It may be conjectured that the quotation is based on a misinterpretation of *Politicus* 263 B, where it is asserted that a species (*εἶδος*) is a part (*μέρος*) but that a part is not necessarily a species; or upon a mistaken reference to the *Politicus*, of a passage occurring in the companion dialogue, the *Sophist*, where the Platonic doctrine of *κοινωνία*, or interpenetration of classes, is expounded.

e. *Theaetetus*. When Milton wrote (Preface to the *Institutio*), "Exempla . . . suntque ut scite Plato, quasi obsides sermonum . . .", he was latently quoting *Theaetetus* 202 E: ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁμήρουs ἔχομεν τοῦ λόγου τὰ παραδείγματα. In this instance Milton has generalized Plato's particular.

f. *Meno*. Milton refers to the *Meno* thus (Lib. I, cap. xxvii): ". . . sed quod cogitatione et ratione unum et idem est speciebus multis commune in quibus re et natura est singulatim, ut Plato in Menone". The reference is to such a passage as *Meno* 75 A: Οὐ μανθάνεις ὅτι ζητῶ τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῦτοις ταῦτόν;—which Jowett translates "Do you not understand that I am looking for that 'simile in multis'?"

In addition to these six dialogues the *Institutio* bespeaks an acquaintance with some of the dialogues included in Mr. Agar's

³ "Numerum" here = class or species.

list: Preface, "experientia artem peperit, imperitia fortunam" is *Gorgias* 448 C; Lib. I, cap. XXI, "ego, inquit, sermones qui ex similibus demonstrationes sumunt, probe novi ad ostentationem comparatos esse et nisi quis caveat ab iis, facile imponunt. . . ."—this is a slight misunderstanding of *Phaedo* 92 D, where *εἰκότων* should be rendered not by "similarities" but by "probabilities"; and finally (Lib. I, cap. II), "Plato in *Phaedro* dispositionem inventioni addidit" is a reference to *Phaedrus* 236 A: οὐ τὴν εὕρεσιν ἀλλὰ τὴν διάθεσιν ἐπαινετέον, where *εὕρεσις* = inventio and *διάθεσις* = dispositio. Of these, the reference to the *Phaedrus* makes certain Milton's acquaintance with the dialogue, which Mr. Agar's parallel passage (p. 42 n.) leaves as a remote possibility, though rendered considerably more probable by his footnote on p. 71.

2. That Milton knew Plato's *Critias* is affirmed by Agar on the basis of Osgood's parallel between *Comus* 18-21 and *Critias* 113 C and 114 C (*op. cit.*, 38). Whatever probability this inference may possess it would surely be better to cite the explicit allusion in *Smectymnuus* (*Prose Works*, Bohn ed., iii, 108), to "That grave and noble invention which the greatest and sublimest wits in sundry ages, Plato in *Critias*, and our two famous countrymen . . . chose, . . ."

3. *Gorgias* 524-5, is, I think, certainly not, as Mr. Agar thinks (p. 61), the source of Milton's citation from Plato in his *Reason of Church Government*: "And he that will not let these (admonition and reproof) pass into him, though he be the greatest king, as Plato affirmed, must be thought to remain impure within, and unknowing of those things wherein his pureness and his knowledge should most appear". The reference is to *Sophist* 230 D-E, where refutation (Milton's "admonition and reproof") is termed the greatest and most authoritative purification: " . . . he who has not been refuted, though he be the Great King himself, is in awful state of impurity; he is uninstructed and deformed in those things in which he who would be truly blessed ought to be fairest and purest" (Jowett). The *Gorgias* passage, be it noted, bears no reference to that purification through reproof to which Milton is alluding.

4. A possible echo of *Republic* 352 C: "For it is clear that among them (bands of evil doers) there is a kind of justice", is

heard in *Smectymnuus* (*Prose Works*, iii, 126): ". . . there is a kind of justice observed among them that do evil".

5. The distich from the *Elegia Quarta*,

Charior ille mihi quam tu doctissime Graium
Cliniadi, pronepos qui Telamonis erat,

which Mr. Agar thinks (p. 43) may possibly refer to Socrates, but regards as too vague an identification to justify a special entry, does, I think, demonstrably refer to Socrates. The immediate source would seem to be not Plato, but Plutarch's *Alcibiades*, where, in the opening chapter, the family of Alcibiades is said to go back to a certain son of Ajax. Hence Milton's "pronepos . . . Telamonis", i. e., descendent of the Telemonian Ajax. In chapter 4. Plutarch depicts the love of Socrates for Alcibiades, referred to in Milton's "Charior . . . quam tu doctissime Graium / Cliniadi". "Cliniadi" is, of course, the dative of the patronymic Cliniaides, i. e., son of Clinias.

6. Mr. Agar's suggested identification (p. 55 n.) of the various schools of philosophy characterized by Jesus in *Paradise Regained* (iv, 293-308), is unsatisfactory in several respects. He omits the Epicurean school, branded in l. 299 as placing felicity in "corporal pleasure" and "careless ease", and he strangely refers the Stoicism in l. 300 ff. to the Roman Seneca, instead of to the Greek Zeno. Nor is it legitimate in the light of the reference to "Academics old and new" (l. 278), to refer l. 296: "A third sort doubted all things . . .", to Pyrrho, rather than to the Academics Arcesilas and Carneades. Masson's note *ad loc.* has already set these historical identifications in their true light.

7. Milton's reference to Plato's "wanton epigrams" in *Areopagitica* (Agar p. 58), Agar illustrates by Plato's far from wanton epigram on Aristophanes. A more relevant illustration would be the famous epigram to Agathon (apud Diog. Laert. Lib. iii), which Shelley has translated under the title *From Plato*. This epigram, incidentally, gives more meaning to the idea of the Platonic kiss than Mr. Agar appears to suspect (p. 27). Still more wanton are the verses to his reputed mistress Archeanassa (Diog. Laert. *loc. cit.*), and the epigram beginning, τῷ μῆλ' ἄλλω σε (*ibid.*).

8. The peculiarly Platonic style of allegory is reflected in Milton's miniature myth in the passage describing "Love whose charming cup is only virtue. . . ." (*Smectymnuus*, apud Agar p. 63). It is interesting to observe that Milton's phrase "shady spaces of philosophy," occurring in this passage, would seem to bespeak his acquaintance with Thomaso Aldobrandini's Latin version of Diogenes Laertius, Rome 1594, where, in the life of Plato (Lib. III, p. 71 of the Stephanus-Casaubon edition, London, 1664), occurs the phrase "umbrosis spaciis Ecademi Dei", translating εὐσκόλις δρόμοισιν, a line from a play of Eupolis. In the Loeb Library version of Diogenes Laertius (I, 283), εὐσκόλις δρόμοισιν is given its literal meaning, "shady walks".

9. In drawing an analogy between Plato's genealogy of Eros in the *Symposium* and the origin of love implied in the Mosiac record (see Agar p. 63), Milton is following a common precedent of the Renaissance Platonists, e. g., Pico della Mirandola, who systematically confused Plato and Moses. As Mr. Agar in his concluding chapter lays much stress upon Milton's divergence from this sort of uncritical interpretation of Plato, such an instance in Milton himself is worth noting.

10. Masson, in his discussion of Milton's youthful rhetorical exercises (*Life of Milton*, I, 274 n), complains that no editor has corrected the impossible and misleading punctuation so frequent throughout the Latin works. It is unfortunate that in his citation of a passage from the *De Sphaerarum Concentu*, Mr. Agar lets pass unchallenged the absurd comma after "gloriam", which properly should follow the succeeding word.

11. Following the prevailing practice, Mr. Agar (p. 43) interprets Milton's poem "De Idea Platonica quemadmodum Aristoteles intellexit" as a satire directed not against Plato but rather against Aristotle, and uses the poem as evidence of Milton's sympathetic insight into the true inwardness of the Platonic doctrine of ideas. It is, therefore, somewhat interesting to find Milton, in his *Artis Logicae Institutio* (Lib. I, cap. xxvii), sympathizing with Aristotle's polemic against the ideas as transcendent, in favor of ideas as immanent: "Et idaea (*sic*) saepe a Graecis, non separata quidem a rebus illa, ut velunt Platonica, quae nugae sunt, teste

Arist. Phil.⁴ 1, 7 et v, 5. Sed quod cogitatione et ratione unum et idem est speciebus multis commune in quibus re et natura est singulatim, ut Plato in Menone." (The same passage is referred to on p. 86 above.) Does this not suggest that the prevalent interpretation of the "De Idea Platonica" is perhaps open to some question?

12. Finally I wish somewhat hesitantly to submit a partial source for the myth of Eros and Anteros, occurring in the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* (see Agar, p. 63-4), a myth which Mr. Agar is forced to regard as Milton's invention. To my mind it is antecedently improbable that Milton would introduce an invention of his own into a controversial pamphlet and thus lay himself open to the artillery of his enemies. Turning, however, to more palpable considerations: The fourth-century Byzantine rhetorician and philosopher, Themistius, best known perhaps as a paraphrast of Aristotle's *Organon*, introduces into his twenty-fourth Oration (304 D-305 C), a story explanatory of the relationship between Eros and Anteros. Upon comparison with Milton's myth it will be noted that the following elements are common to the two: 1. Eros has a brother Anteros. 2. Both Themistius and Milton explicitly state that the brothers were born singly, an agreement that strongly suggests a relationship between the two accounts. 3. There exists a peculiar relationship between the brothers, Eros being dependent upon Anteros for the continuance of his strength. But there remain many details in Milton's myth for which there is no counterpart in Themistius. In my opinion it is extremely likely that a supplementary source exists somewhere in later Greek (or perhaps Latin) literature. The reference to love as not blind but one-eyed, "as being born an archer aiming", smacks of the Hellenistic imagination, but my search has to date remained fruitless. May I not invite the "mundus doctus" to take up the scent where I have lost it?

In summary: These notes tend to confirm Mr. Agar's conclusion that Milton's acquaintance with Plato was broader and on the whole more soberly critical than has usually been supposed. Particularly notable is, I think, Milton's interest in the technicalities of such difficult dialogues as the *Sophist*, *Politicus*, and

⁴ Phil.= Metaphysics.

Philebus; and finally the clearness, consistency and independence with which his Platonic borrowings are developed, provide, as Mr. Agar justly observes (p. 34), a striking example of Milton's intellectual virtues.

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REMINISCENCES OF THE *ORLANDO FURIOSO* IN *COMUS*

Though the minor poems bear ample testimony to Milton's fascination with the romances of chivalry, *Comus*, written in 1634, the year of the third edition of Harington's translation of the *Orlando Furioso*, gives evidence that Milton adapted at least one idea from the Italian poem. For his picture of Comus's crew, lines 68 ff., the author undoubtedly drew upon the story of Circe, told in the *Odyssey*, x, 133 ff., yet his representation of their disfigurement resembles more directly Ariosto's description of the rout of monsters outside Alcina's bower, *O. F.*, vi, 60-66. In both Milton and Ariosto only the upper parts of the men's bodies are deformed, and the victims wallowing in sensual pleasure are entirely oblivious to the transformation. In the *Odyssey* the men are changed into swine and are fully aware of their degradation. Milton follows Ariosto's version more closely than he does Homer's, perhaps in order to make stage presentation easier. Then, too, Harington's explanatory note at the end of Canto VI might have suggested the obvious allegory which Milton develops in *Comus*:¹

but then the monstrous crew that stoppeth Rogero signifieth the base conceits of men, and foule desires that assaile them, as namely those seaven sinnes which he called the deadly sinnes, by strong temptations and lewd suggestions doth put us out of that right way, or at least encomber us so as we proceed but slowly: howbeit these do not prevaile so farre, but that an honest and well given minde doth withstand them.

Certain other details in the masque are reminiscent of the *Orlando Furioso*. The whole conception of Comus and his temptations is suggestive of the diversions of Alcina's bower. The meeting of Comus and the Lady, lines 169 ff., recalls the encounter of

¹ Harington's translation, Ed. 1634, p. 47.

Angelica with the lusty hermit, *O. F.*, VIII, 29 ff. The dissolution of Comus's enchantments, 795 ff., is like the destruction of the maze of Atlante, *O. F.*, XXII, 13 ff.² Finally the sentiment about courtesy expressed in *Comus*, 321 ff.:

Shepherd, I take thy word,
And trust thy honest offered courtesy,
Which oft is sooner found in lowly sheds,
With smoky rafters, than in tapestry halls,
And courts of princes where it first was named,
And yet is most pretended,

resembles closely *O. F.*, XIV, 62:³

Erano pastorali alloggiamenti
Miglior stanza e piu commoda, che bella.
Quivi il guardian cortese degli armenti
Onoro il cavalliero e la donzella
Tanto che si chiamar da lui contenti:
Che non pur cittadi e per castella,
Ma per tugurii ancora e per fenili
Spesso si trovan gli uomini gentili.

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² Compare, however, Spenser's description of the deliverance of Amoret by Britomart from the enchantment of Busyrane, *F. Q.*, III, XII, 36, which passage Warton (ed. Milton's Minor Poems, 1785, p. 231) thinks Milton might have had in mind. Spenser undoubtedly took the passage directly from Ariosto.

³ This parallel is cited by Warton (Milton's Minor Poems, 1785, p. 175). After quoting *O. F.*, XIV, 62, Warton adds by way of comment: "A stanza which has received new grace from Mr. Hoole's translation. But Milton, as Mr. Bowle has long ago concurred with Doctor Newton in observing, perhaps remembered Harington's old version, however short of the original. St. 52:

As courtesie oft times in simple bowres
Is found as great as in the stately towres."

Professor Greenlaw points out the close resemblance of the passage to *F. Q.*, VI, ix, 16.

Warton also cites a less convincing parallel (*Op. cit.*, p. 157), *Comus*, 214:

Thou hovering angel girt with golden wings

compared with *O. F.*, XIV, 80:

—Mosse

Con maggior fretta le DORATE PENNE.

NINE TALES BY MOTTEUX

If in the autumn months of the year 1701 one of the wits of Will's had turned to a certain copy of *The London Post*,¹ his eye might have rested with some satisfaction upon a notice tucked away among the advertisements of quack cures and books. It offered a solution of a sort to that daily recurring question of fops, beaux, and ladies of quality: "What new diversion does the town offer?" The entry took this form: "A Banquet for Gentlemen and Ladies, Consisting of Nine Comick and Tragic NOVELS, viz. The Treacherous Friend. The Jealous Husbands. The Friendly Cheat. Jealousy without a Cause. The Cuckold turn'd Confessor. The Prodigal Reclaim'd, and Virginity Restor'd. The Unfortunate Lovers. The Cruel Mother. The Bacchanalians The Whole intermix'd with several Pleasant Tales and Stories. Price Bound One Shilling."

The "Banquet," so announced, promised the *beau monde* a

Variety of Dainties, agreeable to every One's Palate. . . . Here is that which will curb the Impetuous Desires of Hair-Brain'd Fops, make Jealous Husbands love their Wives better than when they were first Married. Please Youth of both Sexes, in allowing them the Liberty of their Choice; and Teach Unfortunate Parents better Methods than being Pimps and Bawds to their own Children. . . . In Fine, you will perceive it to be most de Novo, and very Pleasant, Harmless, and Innocent; no ways tending to Debauch your Manners, nor Corrupt your Reason: . . . Several of 'em were never Printed before.²

The book which was thus introduced to society was probably a modest duodecimo of one hundred and eighty pages.³ The novels are of the same kind as the Italian *novelle*; some of them are derived from the *Decameron* and Cervantes' *Exemplary Novels*. The vein which Mrs. Behn followed in her novels may be detected;

¹ Mon., Sept. 29–Wed., Oct. 1, 1701, *et seq.*

² *A Banquet*, 1703; the Preface.

³ I have been unable to discover a copy of *A Banquet* bearing the date 1701. The British Museum has "The Second Impression," 1703, and "The Fifth Edition," 1718, and Harvard "The Sixth Edition" [undated], all of which are duodecimos. Then too the use of the two words "Impression" and "Edition" on these title-pages, as I have indicated, suggests that the terms were not employed as synonyms. If, as it appears, "Impression" has been used in its strict sense, the format and collation of the 1701 and 1703 copies should be the same.

and traces of the license, trickery, artificiality, and sprightly wit of Restoration Comedy are also encountered. The beaux and ladies of the day seem to have found in the collection the entertainment for which they sought; for the *Banquet* went through five editions during the seventeen years following its initial appearance.⁴ It is odd that more copies of a work which was so popular have not been preserved.

The novels in the collection are evidently by one hand; for in the 1703 edition⁵ an advertisement of two other tales refers to "the Author of this Book." "The Author," thus mentioned, is almost certainly Peter Anthony Motteux, the versatile contemporary and friend of Dryden and Steele, now remembered chiefly for his translations of Cervantes and Rabelais. The first four novels in the *Banquet* had been published earlier in Motteux's periodical, *The Gentleman's Journal*: "The Treacherous Friend"⁶ in May, 1692; "The Jealous Husbands" in July, 1692; "The Friendly Cheat" in February, 1691/2; and "Jealousy without a Cause" in December, 1692. These four constitute approximately⁷ a third of the novels printed by Motteux in the journal before February, 1693, when he made this statement concerning them. "As for Novels, I need not Apologize for them otherwise than by saying that the Ladies desire them; besides they are short, and, as often as possible, not only true but Moral. To my grief I may say that I have received hardly any assistance in that Branch of my Undertaking." If these novels had been by another hand, Motteux could not have complained with justice of "hardly any assistance." Further evidence in support of this attribution may lie in his use of *Exemplary Novels* as a source, since in translating *Don Quixote* he probably acquired a first hand knowledge of Cervantes' other works. It is also significant to note the likeness of Motteux's opera, *The Island Princess*, to a story appended to the first French trans-

⁴ Vide note 3. for The Sixth Edition.

⁵ P. [4].

⁶ There are a few variations in the titles and names of the characters in the tales as printed in the periodical; e. g. "The Treacherous Friend" is entitled "The False Friend, or the Fatherless Couple," and "Jealousy without a Cause" is "The Picture, or Jealousy without a Cause."

⁷ The exact proportion depends upon the classification of certain short prose pieces in *The Gentleman's Journal*.

lation of *Exemplary Novels*.⁸ The suggestions that Motteux might have deceived the readers of his journal concerning the authorship of the novels there printed or that some plagiarist might have pillaged *The Gentleman's Journal* to make up the *Banquet* are obviously unlikely. In the light of this evidence Motteux's authorship of *A Banquet* can hardly be questioned.

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RECENT WORKS ON PROSE FICTION BEFORE 1800

It is a pleasure to report that, in examining what has recently been published that is of interest to a student of the history of prose fiction prior to 1800, I have found fewer cases of such incompetent editing or ignorant discussion as were noted in my previous surveys.¹ The standards of scholarship in this field, though still far from high, seem to be rising. Ten years ago it was almost impossible, because of the lack of satisfactory texts and historical studies, to give a thorough course in the subject even in those few universities which possessed large collections of prose fiction; but, although much remains to be done, the situation has greatly improved. During 1928-30 the difficulties of studying and teaching the subject have been lightened by the appearance of numerous new editions of important prose fictions, and of valuable books and articles on various parts of the field.

A work which is indispensable to anyone interested in the remoter origins of prose fiction is Professor Stith Thompson's translation and enlargement of Antti Aarne's *Types of the Folk Tale: a Classification and Bibliography* (FF Communications, No. 74). This systematically describes all the principal motifs, and enables one to find with the greatest ease the tales in which those motifs are employed. Anyone who has some acquaintance with medieval and Elizabethan stories, and who will glance through a few of the sections of this work (*e. g.*, the section "Romantic Tales") will, I think, be impressed with the persistence in historic times of themes and points of view immemorially old, and thus with the

⁸ A. W. Ward, *English Dramatic Literature*, 1899, II, pp. 704-705.

¹ *MLN.*, XLII, 121; and XLIII, 416.

antiquity of prose fiction as an art. Professor Thompson's book opens the door to new and fascinating researches.

MEDIEVAL PROSE FICTION.—Comparatively little has been done in this period, *i. e.*, from the point of view of students of English prose fiction, most of the work being produced by those whose main interest is of a different kind, and proving therefore only partly or indirectly of service to us. Mr. A. T. Byles has a chapter on "Medieval Courtesy Books and Prose Romances" in E. Prestage's *Chivalry. Its Historical Significance and Civilizing Influence*. Miss Helen Waddell writes enthusiastically on John of Salisbury in the *English Association Essays and Studies*, XIII; and Dr. Hope Emily Allen very learnedly on the author of the *Ancren Riwe* in *PMLA.*, XLIV. In the *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXI, Professor Mozley edits two twelfth-century versions of *The Story of the Cross*, which narrate its history from the creation of the world to the crucifixion. A modern translation of Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogue on Miracles*, well rendered by Mr. Swinton Bland and the late Henry von Essen Scott, is published in the Broadway Medieval Library. The legend of Godiva, told by Roger Wendover c. 1200, is studied by K. Häfele in *Anglistische Forschungen*.

Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* is at last published in a textually dependable edition, by Mr. Acton Griscom. Of the many recent writings on Geoffrey, the one that approaches most nearly to our special interest is perhaps Dr. Laura Hibbard Loomis's "Geoffrey of Monmouth and Stonehenge," *PMLA.*, XLV, which makes it probable that what Geoffrey relates concerning the monument was not mere invention but a rendering of traditional accounts. *The Voyage and Travayle of Syr John Maundeville* is now made easily accessible in a good edition by Jules Bramont in Everyman's Library. It is based on the printed text of 1568; but some passages omitted by the Elizabethan publisher, including an important one referring to the author himself, are restored from two collated versions of the Cotton MS. This edition does not of course supersede the scholarly one by Paul Hamelius in the Early English Text Society, but it is less expensive and probably more generally usable.

The foreign background of medieval English fiction is illustrated in Dr. Margaret Schlauch's *Medieval Narrative: a Book of Trans-*

lations (Prentice-Hall). A companion volume to this, containing only *English* medieval prose fiction, thoroughly edited and annotated, is a desideratum.

1475-1600.—The reputation of Sir Thomas Malory as a man and as an author seems to be passing through heavy clouds. Edward Hicks's *Sir Thomas Malory*, based on official records, has the sub-title: "His Turbulent Career," and makes it evident that his contemporaneous reputation was that of a brawler, robber, and rapist who was imprisoned for the public good. It seems to me vain to pretend that this is not a disconcerting disclosure. Mr. Hicks valiantly tries to prove that the charges against Malory have little real significance, and makes his position as secure as it can be made by protecting it with the heavy artillery of Professor Kittredge. Mr. Kittredge, with his usual common sense and frankness, admits that there is an astounding discrepancy between the tone of the *Morte Darthur* and "the wildness of the actions recorded" of Sir Thomas Malory of Newbold Revel. But, he says, "hard-headed and stout-hearted students of literary antiquities" will not "be shocked or disconcerted" thereby. "To the sentimental reader," he adds, "we may leave the task of adjusting Sir Thomas's biography, as now revealed, to the notions he may have derived of him from his immortal romance." To this it may be demurred that the two classes,—hard-headed antiquaries, who care only for facts and are not moved by their significance, and sentimental readers with "notions,"—do not include everybody who has read the *Morte Darthur* with interest or delight. There is a third class,—I admit, not a very numerous one,—of philosophical students of literature who have read it and other classics appreciatively yet thoughtfully and critically, and who believe that there is abundant evidence to show that as a general rule a close relationship exists between the character of an author and the spirit of his work. To them (to Sir Edmund K. Chambers, for example) it has not been a "notion" but an obvious truth that the *Morte Darthur* is animated by devotion to chivalry and religion, and that it rings true in its expression of loyalty to those ideals. And to them the proposition that it happens to be the work of a man about whom one can discover nothing except that he was considered an evildoer cannot be final, but must give rise to innumerable doubts and questions.

As if to increase our perplexities, we have another paradox presented to us in *Sir Thomas Malory* by M. Eugène Vinaver, Lecturer in French at Oxford. This work is as rich in literary facts as Mr. Hicks's is in biographical ones. It states very clearly the differences between Malory's work and his sources. Its results are not flattering, and might be interpreted as (unintentionally) supporting Mr. Hicks's biography; for M. Vinaver comes to the conclusion that Malory did not appreciate the finer aesthetic qualities of French romance, that he too often transmuted into prosaic or moralistic terms what in the original was rich in poetry, magic, or mystery. Though one might plead that this showed the superior sagacity of Malory, M. Vinaver believes that it shows his lack of artistic feeling. Having demonstrated that point to his own satisfaction, he proceeds however, to praise the style of Malory as much superior to that of his sources, indeed as a style so full of strength and beauty that it ensures the immortality of his work. Thus the admirably learned studies of Mr. Hicks and M. Vinaver raise greater problems than they settle.

Caxton's *Prologues and Epilogues*, some of which contain important evidence as to the purpose which inspired his versions of prose fictions, are edited by W. J. B. Crotch for the Early English Text Society, who includes some of the occasional "asides" which Caxton interpolated in his publications. *The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry*, edited by G. S. Taylor (John Hamilton) is not Caxton's version but a new rendering of the French original.

The appearance of several inexpensive collections of Elizabethan and seventeenth-century stories will make it easier to provide the necessary texts for courses in the subject. Everyman's Library presents *Shorter Novels: Elizabethan and Jacobean* (Deloney's "Jacke of Newberie" and "Thomas of Reading," Greene's "Carde of Fancie," and Nash's "Unfortunate Traveler") with an introduction by Professor Saintsbury; and *Shorter Novels: Jacobean and Restoration* ("Oroonoko," "Incognita," and "The Isle of Pines"), with an introduction by Mr. Philip Henderson. Mr. R. Brimley Johnson, in two small volumes *The Birth of Romance* and *Some Little Tales* (John Lane) edits selections from "Euphues," "Arcadia," "Parismus," "Eromena," the Duchess of Newcastle, Congreve, Farquhar, Johnson, etc. Professor Albert Morton Turner's *Malory to Mrs. Behn* (Nelson's English Series)

gives in one volume selections from the most representative writers of prose fiction in that period, including the complete "Oroonoko." He has bestowed more care upon the selection of the most authoritative original editions, and their accurate reprinting, than is usual in the case of text books.—A useful supplementary volume appears in the World's Classics,—*Spanish Short Stories of the Sixteenth Century*, edited by J. B. Trend. Here are Rowland's "Lazarillo," selections from Young's translation of Montemayor, from Mabbe's translations of Cervantes' tales and of "Guzman," and from Shelton's translation of "Don Quixote." These translations are not reproduced exactly in their original form, but are revised by the editor, which of course enhances their value as translations, but diminishes their value as historical documents.

A beautiful reprint of the second edition of Robynson's translation of the *Utopia* is edited by Professor A. W. Reed, with an admirable introduction (Golden Cockerell Press); and Professor R. W. Chambers publishes in the Proceedings of the British Academy (1928) an important study, *The Saga and the Myth of Sir Thomas More*.—Miss Flora Grierson's *The Tale of Two Lovers* (Constable) is not an edition of the sixteenth-century version of Aeneas Sylvius' story, but a modern translation.—The Elizabethan translation of Castiglione's *Courtier* has been added to Everyman's Library.—*The Palace of Pleasure* is issued by the Cresset Press in four gorgeous volumes (£8, 8s.), with an introduction by Hamish Miles. Mr. Peter Haworth edits (from Haslewood's text, checked with Jacobs's) a small book of selections *An Elizabeth Story-Book*, containing ten of Painter's tales, which appear to have been chosen rather on the basis of their relation to famous plays than on that of their suitability to illustrate the history of prose fiction.

The exact sources of *The Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure* are for the first time set forth by Professor Douglas Bush in *JEGP.*, xxvii.—In "The First English Novel: A Study of Gascoigne's Adventures of Master F. J." (*PMLA.*, June, 1930), Dr. Leicester Bradner writes over-enthusiastically about the first and non-Italianate version of that tale, the realism of which, he opines, was not to be approached until two centuries later. (He gives insufficient credit to Dr. P. W. Long's article on the subject in the *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*). The best passage in Dr. Bradner's essay is his consideration of a possible influence of *Lucretius and Euryalus* upon Gascoigne's story.

From Dr. Violet M. Jeffery's (University of London) dissertation, *John Lyly and the Italian Renaissance* (Bibl. Rev. Lit. Comp., 1928) it appears that Lyly was much more indebted to Italian literature, especially to Castiglione's *Cortegiano*, Bembo's *Asolani*, and minor Italian authors, than the chief authorities have been willing to admit. The main result of her thorough research should be to confirm and broaden the view, already set forth by Feuillerat, that *Euphues* is a work which draws its substance and spirit not so much from observation of life as from admiring perusal of the books of humanistic Italy, and that Lyly's chief aim was to raise the level of English life by encouraging the imitation of Italian culture and manners.—Dr. R. W. Zandvoort in *Sidney's Arcadia: a Comparison between the Two Versions* (Amsterdam) rightly supports Professors Feuillerat and Greenlaw in regarding the second version as a nobler achievement than the first.—The facts concerning Richard Johnson's *Seven Champions of Christendom* are conveniently summarized in Dr. G. E. Dawson's edition of Kirke's dramatic version (*Western Reserve Bull.*, xxxii, no. 16).

Dr. Celeste Turner's *Anthony Mundy: An Elizabethan Man of Letters*, one of the University of California Publications in English,² is not as rich a contribution to our knowledge of Mundy's prose fictions as were the articles of Mr. Gerald R. Hayes in *The Library* (1925-26), but it is welcome as a convenient ingathering of facts about Mundy's life and works hitherto widely scattered. It contains a careful chronology of Mundy's romances, largely based upon the study of the original editions in the Huntington Library. Happily it does not neglect to compare, as some studies of this sort do, his translations of *Palmerin* and *Amadis* with the original versions. One wishes that Miss Turner had considered the place of Mundy in the history of Elizabethan and Jacobean prose fiction; but she confines herself almost entirely to biography, descriptions of the works and their originals, and bibliography. She takes Cowper's warning against interpretive biography as the motto of her book, and leaves it to others to ponder the significance of her facts.

The Verona Society announces its intention of publishing under the editorship of Mr. Philip Henderson, the chief Elizabethan

²The presswork and the paper of the copy before me are poor.

novels in limited editions, and begins its series with a handsome, illustrated edition of Nash's *Unfortunate Traveler* (John Hamilton). It is based upon the first edition of 1594.—The Oxford University Press publishes an inexpensive reprint of the first part of Deloney's *Gentle Craft*, edited by W. J. Halliday.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.—Mr. F. P. Wilson has prepared for the Clarendon Press the first scholarly edition of *The Batchelar's Banquet*, the Elizabethan adaptation of *Les Quinze Joyes de Mariage*. This is a model of what such an edition should be. Mr. Wilson accurately reproduces the text of the only issue (1603, A) that has any authority, and gives the more important variants appearing in later editions. He compares the English version with the French original, indicates in his notes the changes and omissions, and sets forth in his introduction what light those changes throw upon the adapter's purpose and skill. He rejects convincingly the ascription of *The Batchelar's Banquet* to Dekker, and plausibly suggests that the real author was Robert Tofte (who had produced, among other works, in 1597 a version of Ariosto's *Two Tales: in Dispraise of Men and in Disgrace of Women*). If this conjecture should prove true, we shall have to add another name to the few who were displaying some skill in the endeavor to introduce satirical and realistic prose fiction during this period.

Other noteworthy re-issues are the Oxford edition of James Mabbe's *Spanish Lady, and Two Other Stories, from Cervantes*, and the Golden Cockerel Press edition of Francis Hickes's *True History of Lucian*. The latter, an *edition de luxe*, has an introduction by the late John Phillimore, and gives the Greek original in the margins. Neither of these editions discusses the relation of the works to the history of English fiction.

Head and Kirkman's *English Rogue* has been reprinted by Routledge from the edition of 1671, without any introduction or notes, except a short bibliographical one. A reviewer opines: "It is difficult to find any justification for reprinting this work," which he rightly describes as "long-winded, very nasty, and incredibly dull." But its historical importance and present inaccessibility should make the new edition welcome to those libraries which lack the original versions.

The tercentenary of Bunyan gave occasion to a vast outpouring of

editions and biographies, most of which have little value. Among the better works, the majority have little or nothing to contribute on the subject of Bunyan's place in English fiction. Biographically the most important is the thorough revision of John Brown's *Bunyan* by Mr. Frank Mott Harrison (who now has a bibliography of Bunyan in preparation). This is the standard *Life* as to matters of fact, but a few others deserve mention for special points. Important data are found in *The Church Book of Bunyan Meeting*, a facsimile (Dent). The Rev. E. A. Knox's *Bunyan in Relation to His Times* includes good contrasts between him and such other religious leaders as George Fox. The Rev. W. Y. Fullerton, in *The Legacy of Bunyan*, brings out the importance of his views of the doctrine of Divine Grace. J. Rendel Harris's *Bunyan and the Higher Criticism* surveys the chief opinions that have been held concerning him. Most attractive in breadth of view and gracefulness of expression are the three brief studies: Dean W. H. Hutton's *Bunyan* (People's Library), Vice-Chancellor Baillie's essay in the *Hibbert Journal* xxvii, and Professor J. L. Lowe's study in *Of Reading Books*. As to Bunyan's precise place in literary history, the articles of Harold Golder, "Bunyan's Valley of the Shadow" (*MP.*, 1929) and "Bunyan and Spenser." (*PMLA.*, 1930) are of fundamental importance. Professor James Blanton Wharey's admirable definitive edition of *The Pilgrim's Progress* (Oxford Univ.) gives us at last an authentic text of both parts. His introduction sets forth for the first time the exact relationships between the eleven editions of Part I; and his text, based on the third edition thereof, but recording a multitude of variants, will supersede for scholarly purposes all previous ones.

Congreve's *Incognita* is now readily accessible in the World's Classics in a volume entitled *The Mourning Bride, Poems, and Miscellanies*. The text is based upon the Percy Reprint of 1922, carefully collated by Mr. Frederick Page with the editions of 1692 and 1700.—A study of all of Dryden's allusions to prose fiction, by Professor Amanda Ellis, appears in the Colorado College Publications (April, 1930). It demonstrates how comparatively small a place the genre held in the mind of the greatest critic of that age.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.—An unusual kind of study is Dr. George R. Swann's *Philosophical Parallelisms in Six English Novelists*, a

doctoral dissertation in philosophy (Univ. of Penn.). The parallelisms which he tries to establish are between Defoe and Aristotle, Richardson and Kant, Fielding and Hume, Dickens and J. S. Mill, Meredith and Hegel, and Hardy and von Hartmann. His aim is not to trace influences but to determine which philosophic systems the ethical assumptions of his chosen novelists approach most closely. The student of literature might at first be tempted to declare his purpose futile and some of his statements absurd, such as the thesis that the view of Fielding and Hume "coincide, with exception of Fielding's belief in Providence,"—surely not a point of divergence so trifling as to be negligible! Some divergences between Defoe and Aristotle turn out, as one should expect, to be equally great. It must be granted that Dr. Swann's sense of humor seems too feeble to save him from incongruous juxtapositions, some of his statements reminding us of the pupil who solemnly wrote, "The problem of the Ideal has been considered by Plato and Professor Perkins." Nevertheless, his work is not wholly valueless. Several passages in his analyses of the ethical systems of Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding are new and illuminating, and point out features that would probably escape the attention of a critic not trained in philosophy. The gravest defect of the work is that some of the outstanding views of the novelists, such as Richardson's conception of the importance of pathos, or Fielding's insistence on the importance of affectation, escape Dr. Swann's method of analysis; while a minor point which casually appears in their novels is raised to undue importance because it chances to be of importance in the system of the corresponding philosopher.³ Give me leave to use that method, and I fancy I could prove that *Alice in Wonderland* was written on Kantian principles.

In *The Idea of Robinson Crusoe* (Gongora Press), of which only the first volume has appeared, Professor Antonio Pastor considers Defoe's forerunners. He pays much attention to *The History of Hayy Ibn Yaqzan*, the twelfth-century Arabic tale which was translated by Ockley. A revision of Ockley's translation, by Mr. A. S. Fulton, has recently been published by Chapman. Mr. C. H. Hartmann edits the *Memoirs of Capt. Carleton*, regarding them as

³ The proofreading is disgracefully careless; e. g. "Neitezsche," "Pemela," "Soalms," "dual" (for "duel"), "praktichen," "saamtliche," "Phinominologie," etc.

authentic,—an error which has been corrected by Professor A. W. Secord and the late Harold Williams.⁴ It seems difficult for most minds to realize that the narrative may in many points be true to fact, and indebted to Carleton's own statements, while nevertheless essentially a work of fiction.

Our understanding of Richardson is decidedly increased by Mr. Brian W. Downs's edition of *Familiar Letters on Important Occasions*, and especially by his monograph, *Richardson* (Routledge). The latter is brief, but covers all important parts of the subject, including the author's personality, purposes, art, and "consequences." Mr. Downs is not an admirer of Richardson's views, but appreciates how representative and influential he was; and he writes with deftness and urbanity. Unfortunately he does not take into account certain American researches upon particular problems,—especially Miss Helen Sard Hughes's article in *MP.*, Dec., 1917.—Basil Blackwell is issuing the works of Richardson in nineteen volumes, similar to his editions of Defoe, Fielding, and Sterne.

To the Scholartis Press we are indebted for a number of good editions of eighteenth-century novels, among them Mr. J. Paul de Castro's *Joseph Andrews*, carefully based upon the second edition. Mr. de Castro's handsome volume is the best library-edition now available, and is not expensive. Textbook editions, with modernized spelling, have appeared in the World's Classics, with an introduction by Mr. L. Rice-Oxley; and in the Modern Student's Library, with one by Professor Bruce McCullough. Mr. H. K. Banerji's manual *Fielding* (Blackwell), is useful, especially as to the lesser works; and M. G. E. Parfitt's *L'Influence française dans les Oeuvres de Fielding* (Presses Universitaires) is a good source-study.

To a large illustrated edition of Paltock's *Peter Wilkins* (Dent) there has been prefixed an essay by A. H. Bullen, written in 1883. The Scholartis Press issues the first modern reprint of Sarah Fielding's curious attempt to write historical fiction,—*The Lives of Cleopatra and Octavia*. It also publishes what is in several respects the most attractive edition of Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* (much superior to Miss Virginia Woolf's in the World's Classics). The format and type are exquisitely appropriate. Mr. Herbert Reed bases his text upon the second edition, but has compared this with

⁴ *TLS.*, Sept. 12, 19, and 26, 1929.

the British Museum MS., and gives variants therefrom. In his learned and delightful introduction, he makes a spirited defense of his author against Professor Saintsbury's well-known charge (in the Everyman's edition) that Sterne "sniggers."—The third edition of Professor W. L. Cross's *Sterne* incorporates the chief results of Dr. L. P. Curtis's valuable *Politicks of Laurence Sterne*. The ascription of the *Second Journal to Eliza* to Sterne, made in Margaret R. B. Shaw's edition (Bell), is, however, not accepted by Mr. Cross.⁵

The way in which Smollett's experience and observation were colored by his familiarity with Shakspeare, Jonson, and other Elizabethans, is well set forth by Professor L. M. Ellison in *PMLA*, XLIV. Professor McKillop throws light on Smollett's relations to Richardson, in *Phil. Quart.*, VII.

Mr. Oswald Doughty edits for the Scholartis Press *The Vicar of Wakefield*, with an introduction that bears very directly and instructively upon that novel; and also *The Castle of Otranto*, with one that is a charming account of Walpole's life but not very close to its proper subject. The same publishers issue Mr. Hamish Miles's edition of Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling*, a much needed volume, competently introduced. The text of these three editions is sound, and their printing is remarkably attractive.—A more expensive and imposing volume is the Clarendon Press edition of Miss Burney's *Evelina*. In format, binding, etc., this is uniform with the well-known library-edition of Jane Austen; but it does not record the textual variants as elaborately as Mr. R. W. Chapman did in Miss Austen's case. The editor of *Evelina*, Sir Frank D. Mackinnon, provides detailed notes on the ways and manners of the times, drawn from contemporary sources. This is likely to remain indefinitely the standard edition. In connection with it one should read the entertaining essay, "Fanny Burney's Half-Sister" [better, "Step-Sister"] in the *TLS*, August 28, 1930.

Beckford seems to be enjoying a revival which may establish him, so neglected until recently, in the position of a minor classic. Mr. Guy Chapman's ability to produce learned, entertaining, and beautiful books has been devoted to several of Beckford's writings,—*The Travel Diaries* (2 vols.), which no student of romanticism

⁵ *Sat. Rev. Lit.*, Dec. 21, 1929.

should ignore; *The Vision and Liber Veritatis*, minor pieces; and *Vathek and the Episodes of Vathek*. The latter combines the original French version with the interpolations, likewise in French, which Beckford planned to include, and thus may be regarded as "the first complete edition of *Vathek* as Beckford planned it, and in the language in which he originally wrote it." In conjunction with the collector, Mr. John Hodgkin, Mr. Chapman has compiled *A Bibliography of Beckford* (Routledge), which disentangles several knotty problems. The Nonesuch Press issues an English translation of the 1815 edition of *Vathek*, edited by Mr. Herbert B. Grimsditch.⁶ An inexpensive edition of *Vathek*, together with *Otranto* and *Rasselas*, is now available in Everyman's Library.—M. Marcel Mays's *Jeunesse de Beckford et la Genèse de son Vathek* (Presses Universitaires) is a detailed and richly documented effort to show the intimate relationship between Beckford's life and his masterpiece. M. Mays at times seems too daring in his inferences, and tends to see in his author too close an anticipation of Byron's traits and experiences.⁷

Dr. Jacob Brauchli's *Der Englische Schauerroman um 1800*, a Zurich dissertation, contains a rich collection of data which no student of the subject should neglect, including lists of some five hundred Gothic novels, with information about their authors, publishers, prices, present-day whereabouts, etc. He also supplies new facts about French and German influences, and expresses interesting opinions concerning the essentially anti-medieval nature of the novels and their relationship to popular superstitions that subconsciously survived the age of enlightenment. Although his industry and seriousness of purpose must be admired, Dr. Brauchli seems to me to fail in one of his chief purposes,—namely, the attempt to bring order out of his chaos by classifying the novels. The classes which he proposes are (1) medieval, (2) supernatural, and (3) criminal. It will readily be apparent that these classes overlap,—like Samuel Richardson's three groups, "Men," "Women," and "Italians,"—and therefore help us little in see-

⁶ A controversy as to whether this is rightly called the *first* translation of the 1815 edition raged in the *TLS.*, Dec. 26, 1929; Jan. 2, 9, 16, 23, and Feb. 20, 1930.

⁷ Attention should be called to an admirable discussion of Mays's *Jeunesse de Beckford*, by Dr. Ernest A. Baker, in *ELS.*, v, 235.

ing our way through the welter of late eighteenth-century fiction. It is a classification by materials, and breaks down because works of literature are not merely collections of materials but interpretations of materials from personally (or typically) different points of view.⁸

ERNEST BERNBAUM

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AN UNPUBLISHED FRENCH LETTER TO WILLIAM GILPIN

By the kind favor of Mr. W. Lockwood M. Benson, of Boldre House, Berkhamsted, Herts., I am able to print an unpublished MS. letter to the Rev. William Gilpin which throws new light on Gilpin's continental popularity:¹

Monsieur

Quoique je n'ai pas l'honneur de Vous conoitre personnellement, mais assés par Vos écrits—trés connues et estimés également en Allemagne—pour souhaiter de jouir de cet avantage, je me prend la liberté par celle-ci de Vous demander Monsieur la permission de Vous présenter mes Complimens.

Ne parlant cependant que *trés-peu* l'anglois j'ose compter sur Votre indulgence si je Vous importune avec mon jargon.

J'ai l'honneur d'être

Monsieur

Votre tres obeissant Serviteur
Ch. Baron de Beaulieu au Service
des Forets de S. Majesté Brittanique
dans le Pays d'Hanovre.

A Monsieur Guillaume Gilpin
Pasteur à Boldre.

The Baron declares that Gilpin's works are very well known in Germany, and esteemed there equally as much as in England. Undoubtedly he here refers to Gilpin's works on picturesque beauty. For, as he is an officer in the forestry service of George III in

⁸ Consideration of Dr. Ernest A. Baker's *History of the English Novel* (Witherby), the first four volumes of which have appeared, is postponed until it shall have reached the end of the eighteenth century.

¹ Cf. my note, "German Translations of William Gilpin," in *Notes & Queries*, CLVI (April 27, 1929), 293-295.

Hanover, Gilpin's discussion of trees in his various picturesque works, and especially in his *Remarks on Forest Scenery* (2 vols., 1791) would naturally be of great interest to him.

The letter bears no date. But doubtless the Baron, who acknowledges small acquaintance with the English language, had read certain German translations by G. F. Kunth of Gilpin's picturesque writings, several of which had appeared by 1792.² Now in 1799 there began to appear French translations of Gilpin's picturesque works made by "le Bon de B***,"³ who may well have been Charles, Baron de Beaulieu, the writer of this letter. The baron is merely introducing himself, preparing the way for further correspondence. Possibly letters followed this, in which Gilpin's permission to translate his works into French was obtained. This first letter, it may be assumed, therefore, was written not long after 1793.

The publication of this letter brings to print for the first time, so far as I know, the name and station of the "Bon de B***." The catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale suggests that he may have been the Baron de Blumenstein. In 1808 a French bibliographer had flatly asserted the translator to be the Baron de Blumenstein.⁴ Another had made the same assertion in 1827.⁵ Quérard did likewise in 1829 in his *La France Littéraire*.⁶

The identification of the translator of the French versions as "Ch. Baron de Beaulieu au Service des Forêts de S. Majesté Britannique dans le Pays d'Hanovre," shows that the French translations were no hackwriter's work, but reflect Gilpin's genuine popularity and influence among French people of learning and taste. The letter testifies also that the German translations were well received among the same sort of people in Germany. It is interesting furthermore in that it sets forth a new bit of evidence that the English influence on France in the eighteenth century

² Cf. the preceding footnote.

³ Cf. the entries under Gilpin's name in the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

⁴ *Bibliothèque Universelle des Voyages*. . . . Par G. Boucher de la Richarderie, 6 vols., Paris, 1808, III, 271.

⁵ *Biographie Nouvelle des Contemporains*. . . . Par A. V. Arnault et autres. . . , 20 vols., Paris, 1827, VIII, 145.

⁶ III, 357.

sometimes came by way of Germany. Finally, this letter serves to enlarge the present conception of the continental influence of "picturesque Gilpin."

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POPE AND LORD DYSART

An epigram of six lines, written by Alexander Pope and published posthumously by his literary executor,¹ establishes a hitherto unnoted relationship between the poet and one of his neighbors near Twickenham. The lines, called in the edition of Elwin and Courthope, "Epigram on a lord seeking his acquaintance,"² are written with a robust independence:³

My Lord complains, that Pope, stark mad with gardens,
Has lopt three trees the value of three farthings:
But he's my neighbour, cries the peer polite,
And if he'll visit me, I'll wave my right.
What? on Compulsion? and against my Will,
A Lord's acquaintance? Let him file his Bill.

When Warburton first published this epigram as part of a note to the *Dunciad*, he did not reveal the name of the lord whose overtures were thus rejected. Joseph Warton, in his edition of 1797, asserted that this nobleman was "said to be" Lord Radnor, Pope's nearest neighbor,⁴ a conjecture retained by Elwin and Courthope.

The incident which evoked this epigram is described, curiously enough, by Samuel Richardson. A copy of the lines, made by Richardson, is included in a section of one of the manuscript volumes of his correspondence, preserved at the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington.⁵ Above the epigram Richardson wrote: "Mr. Pope's servant having lopt⁶ two or three of My Ld Dysert's Trees; occasioned his master's writing the following lines." Richardson's naming of Lord Dysart not only has the

¹ *The Works of Alexander Pope*, ed. Warburton, 1751, v, 240 n.

² iv, 455.

³ Quoted from Warburton's edition, *loc. cit.*

⁴ *The Works of Alexander Pope*, ed. Warton, 1797, v, 245.

⁵ Forster MSS., 48 E 10.

⁶ Richardson originally wrote "cut down" in place of "lopt."

authority of a contemporary, but it may also be substantiated by a brief review of other facts.

Pope leased his place at Twickenham in 1719. John Robartes, fourth Lord Radnor,—the gentleman referred to by Warton—did not succeed to the title until twenty-two years after this date, 1 February 1741. The third Lord Radnor lived in Paris, and prior to 1741 John Robartes was simply a resident of Twickenham and a neighbor of Pope on the estate that was not known as Radnor House until after his succession to the title. Robert Dodsley is authority for the statement that Pope met Warburton in April, 1740, in the garden of the man who did not become Lord Radnor until February, 1741.⁷ After this meeting it is not probable that Pope would have written an epigram, addressed to Radnor and rejecting his acquaintance.

Ham House, the estate of the Earls of Dysart across the river from Pope's villa, was in the possession of this family many years before and after Pope's residence at Twickenham. Furthermore, the character of the Earls during Pope's residence and the nature of their estate lends credibility to Richardson's statement. The third Earl of Dysart (1649-1727) had a reputation for "down-right stangynesse";⁸ and Horace Walpole maintained that the fourth Earl of Dysart (1708-1770) was "such a brute that nobody will feel for him; he has kept his son till six-and-twenty, and would never make the least settlement on him."⁹ This reputation for stinginess must have dictated Pope's estimate of his servant's damages at "three farthings."

Walpole also gives us a description of the estate, "so blocked up and barricaded with walls, vast trees, and gates, that you think yourself an hundred miles off and an hundred years back . . . though you might enjoy the Thames from every window of three sides of the house, you may tumble into it before you would guess it is there."¹⁰ On another occasion, he rejoiced that a tempest had blown down thirty-five elms at Ham House, thus making

⁷ *The Works of Alexander Pope*, ed. Elwin and Courthope, 1871-1889, v, 331.

⁸ *Letters of Humphrey Prideaux to John Ellis*, ed. E. M. Thompson, Camden Society, 1875, p. 181.

⁹ *The Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Mrs. Paget Toynbee, iv, 430.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vii, 384-5.

possible a view of the river. Lord Dysart, he added, would never "cut a twig to see the most beautiful scene upon earth."¹¹ The Earls of Dysart certainly did not, as Pope advised, "consult the genius of the place," in the care of their estate. In the light of Pope's own taste in gardens, he may well have suffered because of the perpetual prospect of Ham House, and sent his servant to open a vista.

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THE SOURCE OF KLEIST'S REVIEW: ÜBER DEN
ZUSTAND DER SCHWARZEN IN AMERIKA

In connection with an investigation of Kleist's knowledge of English attention was naturally drawn to a review by him published in the *Berliner Abendblätter*, the daily edited by him during the last years of his life. The article purports to be a review of an English book by Henry Bolingbroke, which at the time aroused considerable interest. Certain indications justified the suspicion that Kleist used a French translation of the book. The suspicion proved only partially correct. The article in question is a translation, abridgment, and adaptation of a French review, signed L. S., in the *Mercure de France*, volume 45, December 1810, pp. 430-435. This L. S. can be identified by his style and general tendencies as Louis de Sevelinges,¹ who is known to have been a contributor to the *Mercure de France*. The "review" of Kleist is interesting as illustrating the expedients which the harassed editor of the little daily had to adopt to obtain suitable reading matter for his publication. It is interesting also by reason of the easy response Kleist's mind gave to the inherent qualities of French style, owing to his early familiarity with that language. It nevertheless delights, as everything Kleist penned, by the terseness and

¹¹ *Ibid.*, x, 358.

¹ For Sevelinges cf. Michaud, *Biographie Universelle*, 1843 ff., t. 39, pp. 180-181: "Il composa plusieurs ouvrages, publia des traductions de l'allemand et travailla successivement à divers journaux, entre autres au *Mercure* . . ."; *Grand Dictionnaire Universel* (Larousse), t. 14, p. 639: "(Sevelinges) se fit remarquer, comme publiciste, par l'exagération de son royalisme." Sevelinges deserves notice as an early translator from the German.

directness of his expression so different from the frequently diffuse style and inflated verbiage of modern journalism. There cannot be any doubt about Kleist's authorship, which is also confirmed by tests according to Sievers' method of "Schallanalyse."

For convenience of comparison I place the text of Sevelinges and of Kleist side by side.

Mercur de France, samedi, 22 decembre, 1810.—Litterature Anglaise.

A voyage to the Demerary, containing a statistical account of the settlements there, and of those of the Essequibo, the Berbice, and other contiguous rivers of Guyana, by Henry Bolingbroke.—London, 1810.²

Voyage sur les bords du D  m  rary, de l'Essequibo, de la Berbice, et autres rivi  res de cette partie de la Guyane, avec un tableau statistique des   tablissements qui s'y trouvent; par Henri Bolingbroke.—Londres, 1810

1. Nous avons d  j   donn   un extrait de ce voyage il y a quelques mois (*Mercur du 8 septembre*) l'auteur a enrichi sa nouvelle   dition de plusieurs d  tails qui ach  vent de compl  ter le tableau qu'il avait esquiss   de l'  tat des noirs dans les colonies d'Am  rique. tableau qui acquiert une v  ritable importance aux yeux du politique et du philosophe, puisqu'il tient imm  diatement    la grande question de l'esclavage et de la traite des n  gres.

1. In dem Werk: "A voyage to the Demerary, containing a statistical account of the settlements there, and of those of the Essequibo, the Berbice and other contiguous rivers of Guyana, by Henry Bolingbroke, London, 1810." sind merkw  rdige Nachrichten   ber den Zustand und die Behandlung der dortigen Neger enthalten.³

² There were two English editions of this work, published by R. Phillips, London: (a) n. d. (1807); (b) 1809—, as part of a: *Collection of Modern and Contemporary Voyages and Travels*, 1810, vol. 4; also (c) an American reprint, Philadelphia, Carey, 1813. The second edition (b) seems to be a reprint of (a), with very slight changes, (c) again a reprint of (b). The statement of Sevelinges (§ 1) that the new edition was enlarged does not seem to correspond with the facts, quite apart from the consideration that he evidently used (a), which alone has the text corresponding to § 5 of the French. Sevelinges, it appears, merely desired to find a plausible pretext to extract further matter for pro-slavery propaganda from a book which he reviewed once before (*Cf.* § 1). As Kleist evidently uses only the second review, here reprinted, further discussion in this direction is beside the purpose of our article.

³ R. Steig did not have access to Bolingbroke when publishing his exhaustive investigation of the *Abendb  tter* in his *Heinrich von Kleists Berliner K  mpfe*, Berlin, 1901 (*cf.* especially pp. 589-595), and if he had had access would have gained a false estimate of Kleist's effort. The text of Kleist here used is taken from *H. v. Kleists Werke*, herausgegeben von Erich Schmidt, Leipzig und Wien, Bibliographisches Institut, Band 4,

2. "Pendant mon séjour à Démérarj, dit l'auteur, j'eus occasion de rendre plusieurs visites aux propriétaires des riches sucreries de Reynestein; et, autant de fois, je mis le plus grand soin à m'instruire de l'état des noirs et des travaux relatifs à l'exploitation de ces vastes cultures. J'avais apporté d'Angleterre la persuasion que les nègres étaient si violemment aigris contre leurs maîtres, que ceux-ci ne pouvaient avoir en eux la plus légère confiance; je croyais, en un mot, que la vie d'un blanc était dans un péril continuel, et qu'un Européen devait pousser les précautions jusqu'à faire de sa maison une espèce de citadelle. Quel fut mon étonnement de voir qu'à Démérarj les noirs sont eux-mêmes les gardiens des blancs et de leurs propriétés.

2. "Während meines Aufenthalts zu Demerary," sagt der Vf, "hatte ich Gelegenheit, mehrere Mal die Eigentümer der reichen Zuckerplantagen zu Reynestein zu besuchen. So oft ich dies tat, benutzte ich dieselbe, mich von dem Zustande und der Arbeit, welche den Neger, in diesen weitaufzügen Pflanzungen, auferlegt ist, zu unterrichten. Von England hatte ich den Wahn mitgebracht, die Neger wären dergestalt gegen ihre Herren erbittert, dass diese schlechthin kein Zutrauen gegen sie hätten; das Leben eines Weissen glaubte ich einer ununterbrochenen Gefahr ausgesetzt und meinte, die Häuser der Europäer waren, aus Furcht und Besorgnis, lauter kleine Zitadellen. Wie gross war mein Erstaunen, zu finden, dass die Schwarzen zu Demerary selbst die Behüter ihrer Herren und ihres Eigentums sind!

3. J'observai, le soir même de mon arrivée, plusieurs grands feux allumés sur divers points de l'habitation. Je questionnai, à ce sujet, avec une sorte de crainte, le Hollandais qui m'avait regu: il me répondit que c'étaient autant de postes de nègres qui se relevaient toutes les nuits pour empêcher les vols. Je les entendis jusqu'au jour se faire passer la parole comme dans un camp. (*All's well!*) Grâce à cette vigilance, les portes de la maison restent continuellement ouvertes sans qu'il en résulte le moindre accident.

3. "Ich bemerkte, am Abend meiner Ankunft, mehrere grosse Feuer, welche auf manchen Punkten der Pflanzung, auf die Art, wie man einander Signale zu geben pflegt, angezündet waren. Auf meine betroffene Frage an den Holländer, der mich empfangen hatte: was dies zu bedeuten habe? antwortete er mir: dass dies ebensoviele Negerposten wären, welche ausgestellt wären, und sich ablösten, um, während der Nacht, die Diebstähle zu verhüten. Ich hörte sie, bis zum Anbruch des Tages, Patrouillen machen, und sich eine Art von Parole zurufen, wie in einem Lager (*All's well!*). Infolge dieser Massregel stehen, während der Nacht, alle Türen

Kleinere Schriften, herausgegeben von Reinhold Steig, pp. 172-176. A collation with the facsimile edition of the *Abendblätter* published by Julius Petersen, Leipzig, 1925, Nachwort von Georg Minde-Pouet, confirmed the accuracy of Steig's publication, the orthography of which is however modernized. The numbering of the paragraphs in Sevelinges is made to correspond with those in Kleist, without reference to the actual divisions.

der Häuser offen, ohne dass sich der mindeste Diebstahl ereignete (Kleist omits a paragraph showing the cordial relationship existing between the negro slaves and their masters.)

4. J'ai visité plusieurs îles d'Amérique, telles que la Grenade, St-Christophe, la Tortue et autres, et je puis affirmer que dans toutes j'ai trouvé l'état des nègres (*negro peasantry*) aussi consolant et même aussi agréable que possible. Je me plais à donner ici l'extrait d'une lettre que m'écrivit, à ce sujet, M. William Finlayson, de la Jamaïque:

4 "Ich habe mehrere amerikanische Inseln, als Grenada, St. Christoph, &c besucht, und überall den Zustand der Neger nicht nur erträglich, sondern sogar so angenehm gefunden, als es, unter solchen Umständen, nur immer möglich ist."

5. Les nègres se rendent à leur travail un peu avant le lever du soleil; on leur donne une demi-heure pour déjeuner, et deux heures pour dîner: un ouvrier anglais ferait, dans sa journée, trois fois plus d'ouvrage que le noir le plus laborieux.

5. Die Neger begeben sich, in der Regel, ein wenig vor Aufgang der Sonne, an ihre Arbeit; man gibt ihnen eine halbe Stunde zum Frühstück und zwei Stunden zum Mittagessen. Sie sind nicht träge bei der Arbeit, aber ungeschickt; und ein englischer Tagelöhner würde in einem Tage mehr leisten, als auch der fleissigste Schwarze.

6. Chaque noir a un carré de terre qu'on lui laisse le tems de cultiver à sa fantaisie. Ils y récoltent, au moins deux fois l'an, du maïs et des patates, de six à sept sortes de pommes-de-terre, diverses espèces d'ignames, du poids de cinq à cinquante livres, des *tanniers* ou *arum—sagittae folium*, dont les feuilles se mangent comme des épinards, et dont les racines ont un goût très-préférable à celui des pommes-de-terre, enfin de la cassave tant amère que douce. Les plus industriels ont des ananas, des melons, du tabac et du ricin, dont ils extrayent l'huile dite de *palma-christi*.

Depuis vingt-cinq ans, environ, les nègres jouissent du droit de vendre les productions de leurs champs ou jardins; ce qui leur rapporte communément plus que ne gagne un ouvrier ou un artisan dans les pays de l'Europe où ils sont les mieux payés. Jamais on ne voit, parmi les nègres de nos colonies, ces misérables et hideux mendiants qui attristent les regards des habitants de la Grande-Bretagne et de l'Irlande.

6. Jeder Neger bekommt einen Quadratstrich Erdreichs, den er, nach seiner Laune und seinem Gutdunken, bewirtschaften kann. Sie gewinnen darauf, wenigstens zweimal des Jahrs, Mais, Erbsen, Spinat, &c. Die Geschickteren Ananas, Melonen &c. Alle Produkte, die sie auf ihren Feldern erzielen, haben sie das Recht, zu verkaufen; ein Erwerb, der bei weitem beträchtlicher ist, als der Erwerb auch des tätigsten Tagelöhners in Europa. Niemals sieht man, unter diesen Negern, Bettler oder Gestalten so elender und jämmerlicher Art, wie sie einem in Grossbritannien und Irland begegnen.

7. Tous les noirs sont soignés dans leurs maladies, mais c'est principalement à l'égard des négresses en couche qu'éclate l'humanité des maîtres. Elles ont une sage-femme et une garde; on ne leur demande aucun travail

qu'elles ne soient parfaitement rétablies. (Kleist omits two passages here. the one referring to a bonus of twenty shillings given for every new-born infant, the other to a disease prevalent among them.) Jamais on ne laisse les nègres travailler pendant la pluie; un gérant, connu pour être trop dur envers eux, ne trouverait point à se remplacer: enfin le meurtre d'un esclave serait puni de mort.'"

7. Alle Schwarze werden in Krankheiten gepflegt; besonders aber die Weiber derselben während ihrer Niederkunft. Jedem Weibe, das in Wochen liegt, wird eine Hebamme und eine Wärterin zugeordnet; man fordert auch nicht die mindeste Arbeit von ihr, bis sie völlig wieder hergestellt ist überhaupt aber dürfen die Weiber nicht in schlechtem Wetter arbeiten ein Aufseher, der zu streng gegen sie wäre, würde weggejagt und niemals wieder angestellt werden. Auf den Mord steht unerbittlich der Tod. (Kleist omits two paragraphs. The negroes prepare an agreeable beverage from the shell of the coffee bean. They frequently are housed in dwellings of brick, and lead an idyllic life. They are often trained to be mariners and are then entitled to ultimate liberation. They often become ship owners.)

8. Depuis que les Anglais sont maîtres de la Guyane hollandaise, ils sont parvenus à y attirer un grand nombre de noirs libres et de mulâtres qui y exercent les professions de charpentier, maçon, tonnelier, cordonnier, tailleur, etc. Ces hommes travaillent d'abord sous la direction d'artisans venus d'Angleterre et particulièrement d'Ecosse; ils servent ensuite à former de jeunes noirs. On a remarqué que ceux qui proviennent des peuplades de Congo et d'Elbo, sont plus dociles et plus industrieux que les autres Africains.

8. Seitdem die Engländer Meister vom holländischen Guyana sind, haben sie eine grosse Menge freier Schwarzen und Halb neger ins Land gezogen, welche (als Schuster, Schneider, Zimmermeister, Maurer) Professionen betreiben. Diese Menschen⁹ arbeiten anfänglich unter der Anleitung englischer und schottischer Meister, nachher werden sie selbst gebraucht, um die jungen Schwarzen zu unterrichten. Man hat bemerkt, dass diejenigen, die aus den Völkerschaften von Kongo und Elbo abstammen, geschickter und gelehriger sind, als die übrigen Afrikaner.

9. Sans cesse attentif à observer le nègre dans son état primitif, comme dans celui où il est placé par la déportation et l'esclavage, M. Bolingbroke ne manquait jamais d'assister à l'arrivée d'un bâtiment négrier, et à la vente des sujets qu'il amenait. Il fut, un jour, témoin d'une scène qu'il raconte en ces mots:

"Tous les noirs, rassemblés dans la salle de vente, chantaient et dansaient pendant qu'on apportait leur dîner. Je remarquai deux jeunes garçons qui, loin de prendre part à la danse, se tenaient à l'écart et semblaient fort pensifs. Je m'approchai d'eux d'un air affable. le plus grand me fit comprendre par signes, plus encore que par quelques mots de mauvais anglais qu'il avait appris dans la traversée, que son camarade tremblait de frayer d'être vendu, parce qu'il savait bien, disait-il, que les blancs ne l'achèteraient que pour le manger. Touché de compassion, je pris cet

enfant par la main, et je le conduisis dans la cour où des charpentiers travaillaient en ce moment. Je lui mis un marteau dans la main, et j'essayai de lui faire comprendre qu'on lui apprendrait ainsi à construire des maisons ou des vaisseaux. Il se mit aussitôt à frapper sur les pièces de bois avec une extrême ardeur, puis se livrant à une joie folle, il sautait et dansait; reprenant tout-à-coup un air triste, il posa son doigt sur ma bouche, comme pour me demander si je ne le mangerais pas. Je pris alors une tranche de pain et un morceau de viande que je lui expliquai être de la chair de boeuf, et former notre nourriture habituelle; puis portant un de ses bras à ma bouche, je me détournai en exprimant le dégoût et l'horreur. Le jeune Africain me comprit parfaitement: Il se précipita à mes pieds, et ne se releva que pour danser avec des transports d'allégresse que j'eus un extrême plaisir à contempler."

9. Der Verf. war jedesmal bei der Ankunft eines Fahrzeuges mit Negern und bei dem Verkauf derselben gegenwärtig. Gewöhnlich sind auf Anstiften der Herren die Schwarzen alsdann in dem sogenannten Verkaufssaal versammelt; sie tanzen und singen, und man gibt ihnen zu essen. Der Verf. bemerkte bei einer solchen Gelegenheit zwei Knaben unter den Angekommenen, die, ohne Teil an der Lustbarkeit zu nehmen, traurig und nachdenkend in der Ferne standen. Er näherte sich ihnen freundlich, und sprach mit ihnen; worauf der ältere von beiden, mehr durch Zeichen, als durch das schlechte Englisch, das er, während seiner Überfahrt, gelernt hatte, ihm zu verstehen gab: sein Kamerad habe eine entsetzliche Furcht davor, verkauft zu werden, weil er meine, dass man sie nur kaufe, um sie zu essen. Herr B. nahm den Knaben bei der Hand, und führte ihn auf den Hof; er gab ihm einen Hammer, und bemühte sich, ihm verständlich zu machen, dass man ihn brauchen würde, Holz, zum Bau der Schiffe und Häuser, zu bezimmern. Der Knabe tat, mit einem fragenden Blick, mehrere Schläge auf das Holz; und da er sich überzeugt hatte, dass er recht gehört habe, sprang er und sang, mit einer ausschweifenden Freude; kehrte aber plötzlich traurig zu Hrn. B. zurück, und legte ihm seinen Finger auf den Mund, gleichsam, um ihn zu fragen, ob er auch ihn nicht essen würde. Hr. B. nahm darauf ein Brot und ein Stück Fleisch, und bedeutete ihm, dass dies die gewöhnliche Nahrung der Europäer sei; er ergriff den Arm des Knaben, führte ihn an seinen Mund, und stieß ihn, mit dem Ausdruck des Abscheus und des Ekels, wieder von sich. Der junge Afrikaner verstand ihn vollkommen; er stürzte sich zu seinen Füßen, und stand nur auf, um zu tanzen und zu singen, mit einer Ausgelassenheit und Fröhlichkeit, die Hr. B. ein besonders Vergnügen hatte, zu beobachten. (Kleist here omits three paragraphs: The boy becomes a mariner and has occasion to save Bolingbroke from drowning; the lovable qualities of the negro stressed; dearth of slave labor in Demerara and Essequibo.)

10. "Je reviens encore, dit l'auteur en terminant, sur mon idée favorite pour le renouvellement et l'accroissement de la population noire dans les colonies des îles et du continent d'Amérique. Il faudrait envoyer sur les côtes d'Afrique des nègres, qui auraient fait preuve de dévouement par vingt années de service dans des établissements européens. Je ne doute

pas, comme je l'ai déjà dit, que ces émissaires ne ramenassent des peuplades entières qui les suivraient librement, pour échapper aux misères de tout genre dont elles sont accablées sous le gouvernement féroce de leurs despotes. La politique, pour cette fois, se trouverait d'accord avec l'humanité."

10. "Ich komme noch einmal," sagt der Verf. am Schluss, "zu meinem Lieblingsgedanken zurück, nämlich für die Erneuerung und den Wachstum der schwarzen Bevölkerung in den Kolonien der Inseln und des Kontinents von Amerika⁴ Sorge zu tragen. Man musste Neger, welche während zwanzig Jahre Beweise von Treue und Anhänglichkeit in den europäischen Niederlassungen gegeben haben, nach den Küsten von Afrika zurückschicken. Ich zweifle nicht, dass diese Emissarien ganze Völkerschaften, die ihnen freiwillig folgten, mitbringen wurden, so ertraglich ist der Zustand der Neger in Amerika im Vergleich mit dem Elend, dem sie unter der grimmigen Herrschaft ihrer einheimischen Despoten ausgesetzt sind."

Bolingbroke's work is a frank apology for slavery and may have appealed to Sevelinges on account of his ultraconservative tendencies, with a side glance at the revolted French colony of Santo Domingo (Hayti). I do not doubt that Steig is right in the main in claiming that Kleist intended his review to be a defense of patriarchal servitude ("patriarchalische Hörigkeit"), although the subject matter was also of interest to the general public.

The juxtaposition of the French review with Kleist's adaptation shows that the phrases claimed by Steig as characteristic for Kleist are not due to the French original if we except the conventional *wie gross war mein Erstaunen* (§ 2), *quel fut mon étonnement*. This statement does not imply that all these phrases are singular. *Ausschweifende Phantasie* (cf. *Ausschweifende Freude*, § 9) is booked by Adelung, *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der hochdeutschen Mundart*, 2. Auflage, 1793, vol. I, p. 642. *Bezimmern* (§ 9) is recorded in Theodor Heinsius, *Volkstümlicher*

⁴By a slip of Kleist or the printer the original text has here *Europa* as already noticed by Steig. To mention another slip here: In the case of "*auf den Mord*" (§ 7) the unidiomatic article and the terseness, exaggerated even for Kleist, is explained by the fact that Kleist had undoubtedly originally translated *le meurtre d'un esclave* by *auf den Mord eines Sklaven*, the phrase demanded by the sense and approved by "Schallanalyse." If on the other hand Kleist omitted to credit § 5-7 to Finlayson (cf. Sevelinges) I am inclined to assume he did so in the interest of a rapid, readable presentation, Bolingbroke now appearing as the sole authority.

Wortschatz der deutschen Sprache, Berlin, 1818, p. 251: *mit der Zimmerast behauen. einen Baum, ein Stuck Holz*. The same dictionary also contains the word *Emissarius* (§ 10: not treated by Steig), which Kleist uses in the plural *Emissarien*. *Quadratstrich* (§ 6) seems to be a coinage.

In two cases Kleist seems to mistranslate the French: *Behandlung der Neger* (§ 1); *la traite des nègres* (as if *traitement*), and *Weiber* (in: *dürfen die Weiber nicht* (§ 7), *nègres* (Bolingbrock: *a negro*)). Kleist's style shows no servile dependence on the French of Sevelinges, always conceding an instinctive disposition to fall in with the clarity of French style. An examination of Kleist's text by the side of the French will show, in many delicate touches, that even in the work written for the day Kleist gave much of the best that was in him. It may be remarked incidentally that there seems to be no clear proof that Kleist knew English.

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A NOTE ON "SO WE'LL GO NO MORE A ROVING"

Five lines of Byron's poem, "So we'll go no more a roving," seem to be derived from the burden of *The Jolly Beggar*, which appeared in Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scots Songs* in 1776:

And we'll gang nae mair a roving
Sae late into the nicht;
And we'll gang nae mair a roving,
Let the moon shine naer sae bricht.¹

For such appropriation, Byron, half-Scot that he was,² had precedent in the practice of Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott, who even to a greater degree, but never more happily, utilized the popular songs and ballads of Scotland. It may be assumed that

¹ Professor Child remarks that this burden, 'presumably later,' is substituted in second edition of Herd, *Ancient and Modern Scots Songs*, 1776, ii. 26, for the conventional Fa la la of the ballad as given in the first edition, 1769. See *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, ed. 1894, v, 109, No. 279. I have not been able to discover any occurrence of this refrain before 1776.

² *Byron in Perspective*, by J. D. Symon, London, 1924, p. 230.

Byron remembered *The Jolly Beggar* from the time of his boyhood beside the Dee and that its burden haunted his mind until it fused with a moment of melancholy in Venice³ to elicit this lyric.⁴

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TWO NOTES ON ARNOLD

The Fausta of Matthew Arnold's *To Fausta* and *Resignation*. *To Fausta* is his elder sister, Jane, the "K" of the letters, who afterwards became Mrs. W. E. Forster. See *A Writer's Recollections* by Mrs. Humphry Ward, London, 1918, p. 39:

She was the eldest of the nine. Of her relation to the next of them—her brother Matthew—there are many indications in the collection of my uncle's letters, edited by Mr. George Russell. It was to her that 'Resignation' was addressed, in recollection of their mountain walks and talks together; and in a letter to her, the sonnet to Shakespeare—'Others abide our question—thou art free'—was first written out.

The much-disputed passage in stanzas XIX-XX of *The Scholar Gipsy* refers to Goethe. *The Worcester* [Massachusetts] *Spy* of November 29, 1883, in reporting Arnold's reading from his poems in Boston, on November 24th, said:

The third piece was *The Scholar Gipsy*, a grave, interesting poem of great beauty. Mr. Arnold said he had Goethe in mind when he wrote:

And amongst us One,
Who most has suffer'd, takes dejectedly
His seat upon the intellectual throne;—
And all his store of sad experience he
Lays bare of wretched days, etc.

The lines have been applied to many persons; but they were written just after Mr. Arnold had read Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, and while he still felt the impression of its sadness.

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³ *The Life, Letters and Journals of Lord Byron*, ed. Thomas Moore, London, 1920, p. 340, No. 263.

⁴ Since writing the above note, I have found the substance of it in an unpublished doctoral dissertation, *Studies in the English Ballad Refrain*, presented at Harvard in 1897 by John Henry Boynton (ob. 1898).

LA CANDIDATURE DE SAINTE-BEUVE A L'ECOLE NORMALE EN 1834

Dans l'article paru sous ce titre, en novembre 1930, à la phrase:
Mais il doit s'agir d'une visite faite à Rome *avant* le retour à Marseille
(p. 432, ligne 9),

ajouter la note suivante:

Ampère était à Rome aux environs du 1^o novembre. Cf. *Corr.* de Stendhal
(Michel Lévy, 1855), II, 196. "M Ampère fils, professeur au collège de
France, avec cinq mille francs, *et qui est à Rome*, m'a promis . . etc."
(Lettre à Monsieur D. F . . . , à Paris, Civita-Vecchia, 1^o novembre 1834).

Et à la ligne 15, au lieu de:

Ampère ne semble pas l'avoir reconnu. C'était Stendhal.

il faut lire:

Au reçu d'une lettre du 14, oubliée quatre jours par un voyageur, il avait
déjà écrit à Sainte-Beuve, l'engageant à se faire raconter certaine histoire
de condamné qu'il narrait "sous le secret" à Ampère, pour son retour.
Ce consul à histoires était Stendhal.

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REVIEWS

Shakspeare Forgeries in the Revels Accounts. By SAMUEL A.
TANNENBAUM. New York, Columbia University Press, 1928.
Pp. xiv + 111. \$15.

In this elaborate and expensively produced monograph, illus-
trated with a number of facsimiles of the documents concerned
and of others bearing upon his arguments, Dr. Tannenbaum dis-
cusses afresh the famous Revels Accounts for 1604-5 and 1611-12
printed by Peter Cunningham in his *Extracts from the Accounts
of the Revels at Court* issued by the Shakespeare Society in 1842,
and attempts to prove that these two documents, together with
certain others, including a list of plays acted in 1636, which
Cunningham printed in the Introduction to his volume, are forg-
eries. The controversy concerning these documents, which has
been going on since 1868, when Cunningham, in whose hands
they were at the time, tried to dispose of the first two to the
British Museum, is one of the most curious in the history of Shake-
pearian criticism, and, whether or not we agree with Dr. Tannen-

baum, we must welcome his attempt at a reconsideration of the whole matter.

Unfortunately the controversy is far too complicated for it to be possible to sketch its course in the space of a review, one of the special difficulties in the way of this being the want of agreement among those who have held Cunningham guilty of forgery as to exactly what he forged and when, why, and how he did it. I think, however, that those who have looked into the history of the controversy for themselves will agree that the arguments brought forward on both sides about balance one another and that up to the date of writing of this book no external evidence had been produced concerning these accounts which amounted to absolute and certain proof that they were or were not genuine. Certain circumstances connected with their coming to light were suspicious and it was clearly impossible to accept them with the unquestioning trust which one normally gives to official documents which are discovered, and remain, in the place where one would expect to find them, namely in the national archives. It was perfectly right therefore that they should be subjected to close scrutiny as possibly suspect, but it must be remembered at the same time that opportunity for forgery is no proof that forgery has been committed, and that the fact that Cunningham took to drink towards the end of his life is no proof of criminality a quarter of a century earlier. Now apart from the suspicious circumstances just mentioned there seems to be nothing whatever against the material form and contents of these documents. The paper is admittedly of the right date, and so, as far as can be determined, is the ink. They contain nothing that could not have been known by the person or persons by whom they may be supposed to have been written, nor, in spite of more than one attempt, has anything of real importance in them been shown to conflict with facts known to us from other sources. Indeed everything in them seems to accord so exactly with probability that some of those who challenged them have been forced to suppose that, though themselves forged, they were based on genuine records. The only way, it would seem, in which they can be shown to be forgeries is on palaeographical grounds, and it is on these grounds that Dr. Tannenbaum chiefly attacks them.

As I have said, there has been by no means close agreement as to how much of the Revels Accounts of 1604-5 and 1611-12 were forged. We may leave the 1636 document aside as this has been challenged only recently. Now Dr. Tannenbaum has evidently seen the difficulties attending the early theory that only one or both of the play-lists included in the documents are forged, the remainder of the accounts being genuine, and himself regards the whole of the documents, with the exception of a few lines, as forgeries. By this theory, however, he creates for himself a new

difficulty, for he has to suppose a forgery of a far more elaborate kind and one that Cunningham at any rate seems quite unlikely to have possessed sufficient knowledge and ingenuity to carry through. He is therefore driven to suppose that the forgeries were not executed by Cunningham alone, but by Cunningham in conjunction with Payne Collier, or rather, if I understand him correctly, that at least the original draft of them was entirely the handiwork of Collier.

It is true that this theory disposes of several difficulties, but it has the disadvantage that Dr. Tannenbaum now has against him, though I am not sure that he quite appreciates the fact, the British Museum experts who detected the "forgeries" in 1868 and whose opinion started all the trouble, for they seem only to have held the play-lists (perhaps only that for 1604-5) to be forged, and to have regarded the rest of the MSS. as genuine. Had it then been supposed that the whole of the papers were forged, they could, of course, not have been impounded as state documents!

Dr. Tannenbaum's palaeographical arguments cannot be discussed in detail in a review, for most of them could only be made intelligible by the aid of facsimiles (and even in his book he has not given by any means all the facsimiles necessary to enable his arguments to be followed). It may be said, however, that he appears to regard the whole of these two documents, amounting to some 13 folio pages, as having been first written in faint outlines and then gone over (he calls it "copied") in thicker ink. This theory seems to have been evolved in order to account for the fact, as he regards it, that "hardly a word" was "written *currente calamo*; almost each letter was made separately and so joined to the preceding and succeeding letters as to give the impression of continuity." This he calls "an infallible test of forgery." He indeed finds what he regards as traces of the original outlines not properly covered over by the "copyist," though to me at least they look much more like the doubling which often occurs when one is writing with a bad pen or muddy ink. But is not this theory of a document of such length written first in outline and then gone over again rather an extraordinary one? It is not inconceivable that a forger wishing to insert a word or two into a genuine document might use such a method as a help to placing his insertion correctly and in order to ensure that it looked more or less natural. But what possible point could there be in making a complete outline draft of documents such as those under consideration? If the writer could make a correct outline, why did he not use a thicker pen or ink and finish with the job at once? Written at first go-off the documents would inevitably have been more natural in appearance than if they had been gone over twice. The peculiarities which Dr. Tannenbaum has noticed in the joining of the letters must surely have been an idiosyncrasy of the

writer, for, as anyone who has written even two or three hundred words in secretary hand knows, it is perfectly easy to join the letters much better than they are joined in many of the words in these documents. We all know modern writers who fail to join their letters properly; some hardly attempt to join them at all. As a matter of fact this awkward manner of linking on which Dr. Tannenbaum lays so much stress cannot, I think, possibly be accepted as a proof of forgery when we are dealing with a document of any length, though it may be a sound enough argument in the case of a single inserted word where the writer has not, so to speak, got the feel of the script.

Dr. Tannenbaum does not of course rely merely on general considerations. He gives many instances of what he regards as particular errors unlikely to have been made by a seventeenth-century scribe. It is impossible to discuss these, though I think that many of them are susceptible of other explanations than those given. Two which follow one another on page 37 may, however, be mentioned. In one case, according to Dr. Tannenbaum, the scribe "put a *t* and the head of a *y* instead of *th* above the numeral ('24')." It seems to me that he did so because he habitually read the number as "four and twenty" as was the custom of his time. I venture to think that the form written, whether rightly to be called an error or not, is far more likely to have been used by a seventeenth-century scribe than by one who would naturally read "twenty-four" in the modern fashion. Further "he wrote 'Johnd' instead of 'Johns,' because he mistook the faint outline of an Old English *s* for a final *d*." Much more probably, I think, he wrote *d* because the next word happens to be "day." We all of us are liable to make similar mistakes of anticipation when we are writing without paying due attention. A forger working in the laborious manner postulated by Dr. Tannenbaum seems much less likely to make such a slip.

Dr. Tannenbaum makes much of the corrections in spelling, etc. which occur in the documents, but it is not clear why such correction should be taken as evidence of forgery. The spellings are erratic throughout, but it is very difficult to believe that Collier and Cunningham were not sufficiently familiar with Jacobean spelling to construct a text which should appear perfectly normal in this respect, or to see why having written, for example, "called" with one *l* they should have troubled in one play-list alone to insert a second *l*. As Dr. Tannenbaum says, "Just what object the forger could have had in doubling the *l*'s in the later play-list is subject only to conjecture." One possible conjecture seems to be that he was not a forger at all, but merely a person with more rigid ideas as to spelling than the writer had.

Now if we suppose that Collier, or Collier and Cunningham, forged these documents, with what purpose was the forgery com-

mitted? We ought surely to be able to form some reasonable theory of the crime. The only possible motives seem to be, on Collier's part, to bolster up certain theories of his own, and no one, I think, has shown what theories these were or pointed to any suspicious use by him of the documents; or, on Cunningham's part, to give his book the added glory of a definite Shakespearian discovery. But why should either of them have gone to the trouble of preparing actual documents, when a pretended transcript would surely have sufficed? What use could they have made of the documents in any case? If any question had arisen as to the authenticity of these particular accounts—and from 1842 to 1868 no one seems to have questioned them—it would surely have been a much simpler, and safer, proceeding to suggest that the originals had been mislaid at the Audit Office than to produce documents which, if genuine, must have been stolen. Surely the only way in which forged documents of this kind could have been made available as evidence would have been by placing them with the genuine documents to which they were related, not for the forger to keep them in his own possession.

In any case there seems to be no evidence that Cunningham showed these documents to anyone between 1842 and 1868. Now if we regard them as genuine this is just what we might expect. Assuming that he actually found them, as he claims to have done, it seems not unlikely that, with the much greater freedom of the times in such matters, he may have taken them home to transcribe, or, alternatively, they may, after transcription, have remained among his private papers at the Audit Office and have been removed by him, perhaps inadvertently, when he ceased to be employed there. If he found later that he had them, he may well have thought that silence was the best policy. We must, I think, assume in any case that by 1868 his mental state was such that he hardly realized whence the documents had come or whose property they were. If he had done this and nevertheless wished to make money out of them, he would surely have sold them privately or to a bookseller, as he sold the 1636 play-list. It would have been utter folly to try to sell genuine, and stolen, state papers to the British Museum. It would have been an even greater absurdity to try to sell forged ones to the very experts who had, a few years previously, detected the Collier forgeries in the Perkins Folio.

Dr. Tannenbaum has written an interesting book and one which may, I think, not improbably put an end once for all to the controversy about these Revels Accounts. This will not, however, be in the way which he intended, but by showing very clearly how weak and unsatisfactory is the evidence for forgery, even when it is put forward in the fullest detail and by the most zealous and convinced advocate.

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Poets and Playwrights: Shakespeare, Jonson, Spenser, Milton. By ELMER EDGAR STOLL. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1930. Pp. viii + 304. \$3.00.

There is a notion current among sentimentalists that a skeptical and strictly historical approach in Shakespeare criticism implies less pleasure in the beauty and charm and fun of the plays. Those who, having read the wise and disillusioned pages of Professor Stoll's *Shakespeare Studies*, still entertain that idea should turn to the first of these essays. For the subject is Cleopatra, the method is that of the earlier volume, and the critic's admiration for the matchless portrait glows on nearly every page. This paper is at once a brilliant and completely successful defense of the character against Professor Schucking's charge of inconsistency, and a lucid analysis of Shakespeare's method of "characterization without psychology." There is *multum in parvo* here, and one of Mr. Stoll's best studies.

The next essay, though full of good things, is less important, since *Henry V* presents no interpretive problems of special difficulty. Writing of a chauvinistic play, it is a pity the author did not see fit, upon reprinting this study, to expunge several allusions which are less admirable now than they were natural in war-time and just after. The longest essay is entitled "Shakespeare and the Moderns." Turning from special character problems, Professor Stoll examines Shakespeare's technique in general, drawing his illustrations from the plays as a whole, and constantly employing a comparative method. The dramatists most cited are Corneille, Racine, and Ibsen; but the intimacy of this critic's acquaintance with the whole range of European drama is again most impressive. No student of any of its periods or varieties can afford to neglect this part of the book, which is replete with good sense and illumination.

Two short papers conclude the series on drama. In "The Old Drama and the New" Mr. Stoll exposes Archer's blunder in implying that the virtues he finds lacking in the rest of the Elizabethans shine in Shakespeare; whereas the facts are that Jonson is really their best exemplar and Shakespeare's workmanship differs from that of the other men more in degree than in kind. "The Stage and the House" seems less sound, however one may sympathize with the denunciation of university stadia, within one of which the author begins this essay. The subject is the audience, so well primed on the fine technical points at a football game, so ignorant of them in the theatre. On the whole this study is over-conservative in its strictures on contemporary art. Certainly the present state of the American drama is nothing to view with alarm. The last decade has seen a sharp rise in the number and quality of good pieces. If by "low-class" plays, which "depend on violent and prurient

situations and settings, on gross, profane, or grotesquely exaggerated speech," Professor Stoll means such masterpieces as *What Price Glory* and *Strange Interlude* or even such gaudy satire as *The Front Page*, then he goes counter to his own preferences among the Elizabethans. Shakespeare and Webster are sometimes sublime; but they are often profane, and they are bawdy with a consistency which is simply not suspected by most modern readers and auditors, nor indeed by all of their editors. Yet they pay the human spirit the highest tributes it received in the drama of the English Renaissance. In this respect the last few moments of *What Price Glory* approximate their sublimity, and its terrific diction helps, not hinders. As Mr. Krutch points out (*Nation*, June 11, 1930), our drama is now turning back from the discussion of ideas to the Elizabethan reconstruction of life. Even *The Front Page*, with all the roughness and coarseness of its caricature, has vitality and truth in it; and it is no rougher than Jonson's satire, and no coarser than some of Shakespeare's. It may be that such plays as these were not intended by Professor Stoll, but they fail to come under his description of "high-class" drama.

The other essays are an appreciation of *The Faerie Queene*, a commentary on the final scene of *Paradise Lost*, a warning against "Certain Fallacies and Irrelevancies in the Literary Scholarship of the Day," and a study of Milton as Puritan. A thoroughly stimulating book, in a format highly creditable to the University of Minnesota Press.

HAZELTON SPENCER

The Influence of Ariosto's Epic and Lyric Poetry on Ronsard and His Group. By ALICE CAMERON. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1930. Pp. xix + 186. (The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages.)

Ce que Mlle Cameron nous apporte dans cet ouvrage, c'est d'abord l'inventaire des emprunts de détail qu'ont faits aux poèmes de l'Arioste Ronsard et les principaux poètes de son groupe: Du Bellay, Baif, Pontus de Tyard, Belleau, Jodelle, Tahureau, Olivier de Magny. Elle a fait cet inventaire avec un soin et une conscience qu'on ne saurait trop louer. Pour chaque poète, elle suit l'ordre chronologique des œuvres. Chaque fois qu'elle doit signaler un emprunt qu'un autre historien de la littérature a reconnu avant elle, elle le dit loyalement et renvoie avec précision à l'ouvrage de son devancier. Mais elle ajoute beaucoup aux découvertes déjà faites. Elle a su trouver des réminiscences ariostesques jusque dans des poèmes aussi connus que l'*Ode à la fontaine Bellerie* de Ronsard et que la *Complainte du Desespéré* de Du Bellay: il semblait

pourtant que pour ces poèmes célèbres l'enquête des sources devait être épuisée. A plus forte raison Mlle Cameron a-t-elle pu apporter du nouveau quand elle a étudié des poètes dont l'histoire littéraire s'était jusqu'ici peu occupé de rechercher les sources italiennes: Jodelle, Tahureau, même Magny. D'autre part elle n'hésite pas à corriger les erreurs ou inexactitudes qu'elle croit reconnaître chez ses devanciers: ces erreurs consistent d'habitude à voir l'influence de l'Arioste là où le poète français a puisé directement dans l'œuvre antique dont l'Arioste lui-même s'était inspiré; ainsi j'accorde sans difficulté à Mlle Cameron que le passage du duel de Francus et de Phovère, dans la *Franciade*, où j'avais vu une indication du *Furioso* xli, 24, est en réalité imité d'Apollonius, II, 70-75, et de Valerius Flaccus, IV, 268-272 (Cameron, p. 81-82). Ces petites rectifications sont faites avec finesse.

L'inventaire dressé par Mlle Cameron exigeait une connaissance très précise des textes comparés, donc de toute l'œuvre de l'Arioste, de toute l'œuvre de la Pléiade et d'une partie importante de la poésie antique. Il est probablement à peu près complet. Il fournira d'abondantes notes aux futures éditions des poètes étudiés.

Ce que l'on peut regretter, c'est que Mlle Cameron ne mette pas plus souvent sous les yeux des lecteurs les deux textes dont elle reconnaît la parenté. C'est aussi qu'elle n'accompagne pas les textes qu'elle rapproche d'un petit commentaire qui signale à l'attention du lecteur ce que le poète français ajoute à son modèle ou en revanche ce que la poésie de l'original gagne ou perd aux modifications. Ainsi, p. 91, Mlle Cameron, ayant cité ces deux vers de Ronsard:

Heureux, cent fois heureux, animaux qui dormez

Demy an ep voz trous, sous la terre enfermez . . .

(Laumonier, VI, p. 7)

les dérive, ce qui est certain, de ceux-ci:

O felice animal ch'un sonno forte

Sei mesi tien senza mai gli occhi aprire!

(O. F., xxxiii, 64)

Mais la source une fois indiquée, n'était-il pas à propos de faire remarquer que le texte de l'Arioste tout entier appelle notre attention sur la profondeur du sommeil et que celui de Ronsard la dévie vers le gîte de l'animal? Or, cette déviation est-elle heureuse?

Voici encore deux textes dont la filiation a été bien établie, p. 89:

Elle, race des Rois, marchoit en gravité

Au milieu de sa troupe, et passoit les plus belles

Comme l'aube la nuit de ses flammes nouvelles.

(L., II, p. 68)

Poco era l'un da l'altro differente

E di fiorita etade e di bellezza:

Sola di tutti Alcina era più bella,

Sì come è bello il Sol più d'ogni stella. (O. F., VII, 10)

Mais n'était-il pas utile ensuite de demander au lecteur s'il n'estime pas qu'en passant d'Alcine à la princesse Marguerite le compliment s'est alourdi et a perdu beaucoup de son prix?

Signalons encore deux autres textes que Mlle Cameron rapproche, p. 19:

Ainsi l'horrible Guerriere
Pressoit ses bandes derriere
Pour les pousser en avant,
Ondoyants de rang, comme undes
Ou comme les foretz blondes
Des espicz, soufflés du vent.

(Laumonier, édition des textes modernes, III, p. 59)

La fiera pugna un pezzo andò di pare,
Che vi si discerneva poco vantaggio
Vedeasi or l'uno or l'altro ire a toinare,
Come le biade al ventolin di Maggio,
O come sopra 'l lito un mobil mare
Or viene or va, nè mai tiene un viaggio.

(O. F., XVI, 68)

Ne doit-on pas reconnaître d'abord que l'épithète *blondes* n'a aucun intérêt ici, non plus que la comparaison des *forêts*, et que Ronsard n'a pas su condenser, comme l'avait fait l'Arioste, dans un vers le tableau des blés et dans un autre celui de la mer? Mais ne faut-il pas ajouter ensuite que la strophe française est très chantante et par conséquent qu'elle compense par des qualités nouvelles celles qu'elle a laissées perdre?

Quelques petits commentaires de plus auraient mieux préparé les lecteurs de Mlle Cameron à comprendre et à accepter les conclusions générales qu'elle tire de son inventaire si abondant et si exact. Ces conclusions auraient pu être développées davantage et appuyées sur des exemples. Mais elles sont précises et me paraissent justes. Je crois qu'on peut les résumer ainsi:

1°. L'influence de l'Arioste sur l'école de Ronsard a commencé aussitôt qu'elle a écrit ses premiers vers. Mlle Cameron la constate déjà chez Peletier et chez Ronsard dans des vers publiés en 1547 dans les *Oeuvres* de Peletier. Elle en conclut que c'est probablement Peletier qui a révélé à Ronsard et à ses amis l'intérêt de l'œuvre de l'Arioste. Et c'est probablement Peletier aussi qui les a mis en garde contre une trop grande estime du poète italien: car Peletier regrettait que l'Arioste eût mis dans son épopée tant de contes et de plaisanteries, désagréables au moins en ce lieu; or Ronsard n'admira jamais l'Arioste sans réserve; il alla même jusqu'à dire que l'Italie n'avait pas eu de grand poète depuis Pétrarque.

2°. L'influence de l'Arioste, qui commence tout de suite, n'est jamais interrompue. Si par moments elle semble disparaître, c'est que le genre traité par le poète ne la comporte pas. Mais bientôt après, elle se manifeste de nouveau.

3°. Si constante que soit leur estime pour l'Arioste, les poètes

de la Pléiade lui empruntent surtout un certain nombre de morceaux ou de thèmes ; les portraits d'Alcine et d'Olympe, les discours et les lettres d'amour du *Furioso*, les sonnets, l'épisode de l'orque, le naufrage, les combats singuliers, beaucoup de comparaisons etc. Je crois bien qu'on peut dire de tout le groupe de Ronsard ce que Mlle Cameron dit de du Bellay : la Pléiade a pris à l'Arioste de la matière, mais ne lui a pas pris son esprit.—Elle ne lui en a pris qu'une partie.

4°. Dans l'œuvre amoureuse de l'Arioste les poètes de la Pléiade ont beaucoup goûté les concetti et la volupté. Mais ils n'avaient pas compris la passion, ni la valeur psychologique. Encore la volupté n'est-elle pas chez eux ce qu'elle est chez lui, car chez eux elle a facilement un grain de grossièreté gauloise qui rappelle Rabelais.

5°. L'art pittoresque de l'Arioste a certainement été fort estimé par Ronsard et son groupe. Mais peut-être faut-il dire de tous ce que Mlle Cameron dit de Belleau : ils ont particulièrement estimé de leur modèle le joli, le gracieux, l'aimable, plutôt que le vigoureux et le concis.

6°. Ils ont mal compris le badinage léger de l'Arioste, sa fantaisie, son imagination. L'esprit et la raillerie sont chez Ronsard, Baif et Jodelle un peu lourds ; si du Bellay est pris, il est bien plus âpre. Sa satire est plus sérieuse et plus mordante que celle de l'Arioste.

7°. La composition morcelée de son *Furioso* les déconcerte. Elle choque leur conception du poème épique comme le passage perpétuel du plaisant au grave choque leur conception du mélange des genres.

En somme, ils prennent à l'Arioste surtout ce qui rappelle chez lui Pétrarque, Virgil, Apollonius et Théocrite. Ils imitent l'imitation des anciens et des pétrarquistes. Ce qui fait son originalité propre leur échappe plus ou moins. A des degrés divers, d'ailleurs, car Jodelle est loin de lui, Ronsard et du Bellay s'en rapprochent davantage.

Telles sont les conclusions principales que Mlle Cameron propose elle-même ou qu'elle suggère à son lecteur. Et il me semble bien qu'elle a vu juste. Son ouvrage est donc aussi intelligent que substantiel.

JOSEPH VIANEY

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The Literary Works of Count de Gobineau. By ARNOLD H. ROWBOTHAM, Ph.D. Paris: Champion, 1929. Pp. 170.

Gobineau is a very complex figure—or rather, he is rendered complex by the marginal preoccupations which are in the minds of

those who read him. He was not hailed as a great man in France because of his ethnological theories that the "Européen du nord" is superior as a race to the "Européen du midi," or to the Latin race to which belong most Frenchmen. This very dogmatic theory—as dogmatically presented as it is uncertain—made him of course a very acceptable writer to Germans; Houston Chamberlain was very glad to discover him. Now, the author of this book endeavors to be very impartial, and indeed he is. Better to achieve his end, he wishes to keep away as much as possible (and it is not always very possible) from the ethnologist and to emphasize the *French* Gobineau, who could also be called Gobineau, the artist. This is his conclusion:

Despite his admiration for German institutions, there is little in his artistic equipment for which we have to seek the source in Germany. He had that *Weltgeist* of which the Teuton prides himself, but the rest of his character is essentially Gallic. It is Gallic in that happy combination of fact and imaginative generalization which is at the heart of his syntheses. It is Gallic in the predominance of *bon sens*, which holds down his exalted imagination to the level of impartiality. Above all it is Gallic in its preoccupation with the element which, above all, characterizes the literature of his country, the element of clarity (p. 157).

The volume is a very good introduction to Gobineau and his numerous writings. The writer feels, however, that while doing justice to the qualities of the artist, the author underestimates the shortcomings. Dogmatism seems to be confused somewhat with clarity, and this, together with a very prolix manner, is the real reason why Gobineau is not hailed even now as a *really* great writer, not even ranking with a Mérimée.

ALBERT SCHINZ

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The Works of François Villon, with Text, Translation, Introduction, and Notes. Edited by GEOFFREY ATKINSON. London: The Scholartis Press, 1930. Pp. 291.

Lovers of Villon will appreciate in this edition the careful reproduction of the Thuasne text. The uninitiated will welcome the assistance rendered by the English translation, placed opposite the French, the just estimate of the poet in the introduction, and the helpful notes. Dr. A. has very properly no patience with the sentimental and romantic English biographers of Villon, who have decorated the pathetic character of this inspired burglar with aspirations of which he was quite innocent. For his translation he has selected prose as his medium, preferring the greater fidelity to the poet's meaning thus rendered possible. He might, however,

have brought out more fully the originality of Villon's expressions by choosing his words with greater care. For instance, "wolves are famished" [p. 53] is certainly inadequate for "les loups se vivent de vent"; "Fellow-beings" [p. 237] has no such pathos as "Freres humains"; and "we being more pitted than the surface of a thimble by pecking of birds" [p. 238] lacks the appealing concision of "Plus becquenez d'oyseaulx que dez a couldre."

On the other hand, I find almost no errors in translation, though I must insist that "Berte au grant pié" [p. 92] should be given, not a "big foot," but "big feet," for she had at least two. Nor do I see the need for translating "Lancelot le roy de Behaigne" [p. 94] by "Ladislav of Bohemia," but, if the material of a note is thus to be inserted into the English text, why should Claquin [p. 96] be retained without the explanation that the reference is to Du Guesclin? Such slips as these diminish little, however, the value of the book, which has preserved the general sense, if not the form, of the original, is beautifully printed, and will be useful to those who seek to know the genuine Villon of the fifteenth century rather than his later imaginary reincarnations.

H. C. LANCASTER

Deutsche Literatur. Sammlung literarischer Kunst- und Kulturdenkmäler in Entwicklungsreihen. *Märchen.* Band 14 und 15. Herausgegeben von ANDREAS MÜLLER. Verlag von Philipp Reclam jun., Leipzig, 1930. Band 14, 328 S., Band 15, 317 S. M. 7.

In his *Leben des Sophokles*, Lessing¹ said: "Nun denke ich: keine Mühe ist vergebens, die einem andern Mühe ersparen kann. Ich habe das Unnütze nicht unnützlich gelesen, wenn es von nun an dieser oder jener nicht weiter lesen darf." A similar thought must have inspired the publishers of *Deutsche Literatur*, who are scheduled to bring out 250 volumes each of the same form, make-up, and quality as the two before us. The editors obviously persuaded the publishers that it is no longer possible for any one individual to control the fields in question, and that time could be saved by having experts select the best, arrange it as it should be arranged, supply it with such critical apparatus as is necessary to justify its inclusion and to enable all to orient themselves without at the same time exhausting their patience. It is of course uncertain when the work will be completed; tasks of this dimension are always in danger of unanticipated delays. But enough has already appeared to jeopardize the claims to respectability on the part of a college library that fails to buy the entire series.

¹ Cf. Lessing's *Werke*, Cotta edition, Vol. XI, p. 16.

The first volume contains two "Märchen" by Ph. O. Runge, one by Bettina Brentano, eight from Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm, four by Clemens Brentano, and one by Fouqué. The second contains one by Chamisso, two by E. T. A. Hoffmann, one by C. W. Salice Contessa, and three by Eichendorff.

It is patent, and quite in accord with Lessing's dictum, that the editors, general and special, agreed and determined to lose no time analyzing the basic differences between such types as "Märchen," "Saga," "Schwank," "Erzählung," "Fabel" or "Legende." To Professors Brecht, Kralik, Kindermann, and Müller, any piece of narrative fiction that deals with the supernatural, or even the quite unusual, is most appropriately called a "Märchen." This at least saves time even if traditional scholarship, and the terminology without which scholarship is supposed to suffer, are forced into strange moulds.

And that is the case here. It is hard to think of *Peter Schlemihl* as a "Märchen." Chamisso used a better term when he referred to it as a "wundersame Geschichte."³ Hoffmann's *Das fremde Kind* does begin with "Es war einmal." So do a number of the "Märchen" from the Grimms. But Eichendorff's *Meerfahrt* begins rather solidly with the words, "Es war im Jahre 1540." Moreover the "Märchen" is somehow supposed to be written by women, the "Schwank" by men. We have only one woman represented, Bettina Brentano, and her *Königssohn* is more of a "Schwank" ⁴ than a "Märchen."

On the other hand, the volumes are valuable if for no other reason because of their inclusion of Runge's *Von den Machandel-Boom* and *Von den Fischer un syne Fru*,⁵ and Contessa's *Das Gastmahl*. These are three admirable selections, though the judgment may be motivated by the novelty that springs from unfamiliarity. It is not easy to wax enthusiastic over (and it must have required basaltic faith on the part of the publishers to include) such worn stories as *Undine*, *Das Marmorbild*, and *Sneewittchen*.

The introduction moves along accustomed lines. Goethe's "Märchen" is set up against the "seichte, unwahrhaftige Gebilde" of the rationalistic eighteenth century, the Romanticists are given full credit for all they did, Fouqué is said to have discovered "die Dämonie des Wassers," a statement which needs a measure of

³ Cf. *Märchen und Schwank: eine stilkritische Studie zur Volksdichtung*, by Ludwig Felix Weber Kiel, 1904.

⁴ Thomas Mann's reference to *Schlemihl* as a "phantastische Novelle" is good. See Mann's *Rede und Antwort*, Berlin, 1911.

⁵ Bédier would have called it a *conte plaisant* as opposed to a *conte merveilleux*, though it is admittedly a quite unusual tale. See Bédier's *Les Fabliaux*, Paris, 1895 (2nd edition).

⁶ For references to the various studies and collections that have been made with regard to the "Märchen" as a regional or sectional type, see *Deutsche Märchen seit Grimm*. Edited by Paul Zannert. Jena, 1919.

modification, Musaus is disposed of as a mere rationalist, Graf Loeben is referred to as "der vielverspottete," Tieck is alleged to have influenced Runge, though it is necessary to stress the "vielleicht" in this connection, and Contessa is studied as an imitator of Hoffmann.

The notes are full and illuminating, containing not only enough material to guide even an inexperienced reader but also the standard works of reference on the various "Märchen." The best comment is that in connection with Brentano's *Gockel und Hinkel*. Full advantage is taken of the *Ur-Gockel*, published by Karl Viëtor in 1923. Where there is a source it is given, but with the barest brevity and without comment. In view of the literally bewildering amount of investigation⁶ that has been made of the "Märchen" as a type, the volumes are models of conciseness, concentration, and clarity.

ALLEN W. PORTERFIELD

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Ibsen the Master Builder. By A. E. ZUCKER. New York: Henry Holt and Co. [1929] xiv, 312 pp. \$3.50.

Je weiter wir ins 20. Jahrhundert hineinschreiten, desto klarer erkennen wir im Rückblick hinter uns Henrik Ibsen als einen der typischen Vertreter des 19. Jahrhunderts. Wie viel hat er doch gemein mit den barbeißigen, bartigen Zeitgenossen im Bratenrock, mit Keller, mit Raabe, der im selben Jahre geboren wurde, mit Zola, sogar mit Böcklin, sogar mit Conrad Ferdinand Meyer, dessen *Mövenflug* schon Ibsens *Epilog* vordeutet in den Versen

Allgemach beschlich es mich wie Grauen,
Schein und Wesen so verwandt zu schauen,
Und ich fragte mich, am Strand verharrend,

⁶ Howe and Lieder, in their *First German Reader* (Heath, 1930), include Runge's *Fischer* and assign it, without comment, to "the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* of the Brothers Grimm." This statement may mislead, and it is quite unfair to Ph Otto Runge, one of the most richly gifted souls of German Romanticism. Runge originally wrote the Märchen direct from the lips of the people of Pommern. Runge then sent it to Zimmer, the Heidelberg publisher of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, which had just been published. Zimmer turned it over to Achim von Arnim, for publication in his *Zeitung für Einsiedler*, which however ceased publication before it could be used. Arnim then gave it to the Grimms, and a copy to J. G. Büsching, who published it in his *Volks-Sagen, Märchen und Legenden* (1812). A few weeks later it came out also, in modified form, in the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. Müller publishes, in the volumes before us, the versions of Büsching, Grimm, and Runge's brother Daniel (1840) in parallel columns, thus proving his confidence in Runge's merits, and unconsciously attesting to his own carefulness as an editor.

Ins gespenstische Geflatter starrend:
 Und du selber? Bist du echt beflügelt?
 Oder nur gemalt und abgespiegelt?
 Gaukelst du im Kreis mit Fabeldingen?
 Oder hast du Blut in deinen Schwingen?

Geboren im Zeitalter der Romantik, kämpfen sie gegen deren leeres Epigonentum und abgebrauchte Ideale, streben einem neuen und starken Realismus zu, und einige von ihnen, so Ibsen und Raabe, ahnen schon die Gefahr der kommenden Mechanisierung. Ihr eigenes Leben ist still und ereignislos, es wird von ihrer Arbeit aufgesogen. Ibsen, der typische Positivist, Relativist hat als solcher auch keine philosophisch verankerte Weltanschauung. Die Maxime 'Sei Du,' die er selbst zuweilen als Grundgedanken seiner Dramen ausspricht, ist eine vage praktische Vorschrift. Fast könnte man sagen, daß jenes Wort, das er zuletzt gesagt haben soll und das Zucker als den charakteristischen Ausdruck seines Kampfes für die Wahrheit empfindet (282), jenes 'Tvertimot' (im Gegenteil) symbolisch ist für diesen Kampf, dem die erschlagenen Feinde—wie in der germanischen Sage—über Nacht wieder aufstehen. Denn nie ist eine Idee endgültig abgetan, sie kann am nächsten Tage Verbundeter werden gegen den einstigen Waffengenossen: denkt man eine Idee zu Ende, so gelangt man zum völligen Gegenteil (Ibsen zu Paul Marx. Zucker 238).

Diesem großen Einsamen, Unerbittlichen, Kalten und grausam Nüchternen gegenüber steht der andere Typus, von dem Ibsen selbst sagte, daß er in Menschenherzen als der Reiche und Geliebte weiterlebe (147), der Leichtgläubige und auch im Denken Leichtlebiger, der Massen bewegt und anzieht. Wie Gawain im Parzival läßt ihn Zucker mit bewußter Kunst in entscheidenden Augenblicken hinten über die Bühne ziehn als Gegenspieler, den Freund und Feind Ibsens, Björnstjerne Björnson, dessen Tochter ein launiges Geschick zur Gattin von Sigurd Ibsen machte.

Mit feinem Verständnis für den unfreiwilligen Humor seines Helden weiß unser Biograph solche Züge zu verwenden, wie er überhaupt einen Reichtum von Episoden und Anekdoten, zum Teil neuer und von ihm selbst gesammelter, in dieses Lebensbild Ibsens verwoben hat, das gerade das Widersprechende, Irrationale und Tragische, ja Tragikomische seines Charakters herausarbeitet und so den eigentlichen Dichter Ibsen vor uns hinstellt, der schwerwundenen Jugenderlebnissen (siehe S. 155), ja neurotischer Veranlagung manche entscheidende Anregung verdankt. So entsteht aus vielen kleinen Zügen, die Zucker durch Reisen auf Ibsens Spuren vermehrt und vertieft hat, ein oft genaueres und klareres Bild seines Denkens und Schaffens als aus ideengeschichtlicher Ableitung, besonders zur Zeit seiner relativistischen Gesellschaftsdramen. Trotz oder vielleicht gerade wegen dieser Vermenschlichung des grimmen Kämpen können wir diesem unsre tiefste

Sympathie nicht versagen. Dem Ernst, ja dem Fanatismus seines Wahrheitskampfes, der bis zur Selbstvernichtung fortschreitet, wird besonders der letzte Teil der Lebensbeschreibung gerecht. Hier setzt Zucker mit Ergriffenheit die überwältigende Anerkennung, welche ganz Europa dem Dramatiker zollte, in Kontrast zu der düsteren Stimmung und dem bitteren Ende seines Helden.

Das Buch scheint gänzlich frei von Druckfehlern. Aber ein sonderbarer Irrtum macht Wilhelm Dilthey zum Historiker (225).

ERNST FEISE

Robert Browning und die Antike. Von ROBERT SPINDLER. Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1930. Pp. 750.

In addition to an unusually copious flood of biographies, commentaries, articles, handbooks, and the like, Robert Browning has been the inspiration for a dozen or so doctoral dissertations wherein are dissected such matters as his Prosody, his Grotesquerie, his Aesthetics, his Debt to Italy. The latest of these, the most massive and meticulous of all, is a study of his use of the Classics, presented by the Privatdozent für Englische Philologie an der Universität München.

Dr. Spindler is not the first to appropriate this particular theme, as is indeed amply indicated by his own complete bibliography of his predecessors in the field and his lavish citations from all possible authorities, but his microscopic scrutiny and exhaustive exegesis, done with true Teutonic thoroughness, serve to define and evaluate this topic once and for all.

About half of the huge tome is devoted to the pair of Balaustion poems with their included transcripts of *Alkestis* and *Herakles*. After the main discussion, which centers around the question of Browning's attitude toward Euripides and Aristophanes, comes a minute examination of the scattered Greek references, amounting to over 850 items. The other half of the treatise contains an account of the shorter poems—a score of them—built on Greek themes, followed by an enumeration of the incidental classic allusions in other poems. Of these, about four dozen draw upon the mythology and literature of Greece, and three dozen from Roman and Latin sources, with something like thirty authors quoted from each national group. The concluding portion deals with the translations, chiefly the *Agamemnon*, but with a review of the *Balaustion* insets for the sake of comparing the Browning rendering of Aeschylus and of Euripides. Dr. Spindler is at considerable pains to reconcile Browning's declaration of being in the *Agamemnon* "literal at every cost" and his actual version, which is free enough to constitute an obvious departure from his avowed policy. In thus feeling committed to the defense of his poet the critic turns

advocate, always the specialist's temptation. In this case his effort is to explain and adjust rather than frankly to admit the Browning tendency to play the romantic about himself and his performances as about the rest of life. Spindler does grant, however, that although Browning is "as soaked and steeped in the classics as Bunyan in the Bible," his interest was precisely in their non-classical features. He points out the poet's disagreement with the traditional view of Greek art, and his divergence from all other classicists, with the possible exception of Gray and Landor, though all alike are indebted to the researches of the philologists Bentley and Porson. Like his wife, Browning was impressed with the continuity of life and the stabilizing harmony between past and present. To him the poignant humanism of Euripides, the choleric mocking idealism of Aristophanes, were not so much classic, "famous, calm, and dead," as universal and still alive, twin spirits of the eternal human tragedy and comedy.

The Spindler volume is a treasury of information and analysis on an important subject, exhibiting scholarship without pedantry. We are given the history of each poem under consideration, the circumstances of its composition, full synopsis, and careful tracing of its connection with the classic source. This laborious searching of the Browning scriptures is supplemented by such a mobilizing of all the critical forces that every debatable issue is pursued to the last ditch. Dr. Spindler's interpretation may have the bias of a somewhat indiscriminating eulogy, but his marshalling of facts and opinions is a masterly achievement, to the immense profit of every Browning student.

FRANCES THERESA RUSSELL

Stanford University

The Poems of Henry Carey. Edited with an Introduction and Notes. By FREDERICK T. WOOD. London, The Scholartis Press, 1930. Pp. 261.

In this attractively printed volume, Mr. Wood gives us a complete edition of Carey's poems, exclusive of the songs and lyrics from his dramatic works, together with a biographical and critical introduction. In his biography, Mr. Wood has been able to add to our scanty knowledge of Carey only the fact that he committed suicide. This is proved by the entry of his death in the register of St. James, Clerkenwell. Mr. Wood, however, has done much to strengthen the tradition that Carey was an illegitimate connection of the Savile family. Furthermore, he advances a plausible conjecture that Carey was married, under the name of Henry Savile, in Rothwell, Yorkshire, on April 4, 1708, to Sarah Dobson. Mr. Wood himself does not advance these theories as being cer-

tainties, yet they come close to carrying conviction, and for them Mr. Wood deserves our thanks. The critical appreciation of Carey's work is adequate, though, as a matter of fact, most of Carey's characteristics are not far from self-evident. Indeed, at times, Mr. Wood labors the obvious, especially in his discussion of *Sally in Our Alley*.

The book, however, is seriously deficient in its lack of scholarly apparatus. In his preface Mr. Wood says: "Carey's poems are not of the type which calls for very detailed annotation, and in writing the notes, therefore, I have endeavored to make them as few and as concise as possible, but yet such as will satisfy at one and the same time the needs of the scholar and those of the more casual reader of verse." It is true that the poems do not need elaborate annotation, yet they need more than is given. Furthermore, there is almost no documentation in the introduction; there are not even the elementary mechanical aids of an index of first lines, or a table of contents. One can only wonder why Mr. Wood has so greatly underestimated scholarly needs, or for that matter, the ordinary convenience of "the more casual reader of verse."

Still more unsatisfactory is the treatment of the text. The punctuation is modernized; the spelling partially so. Variant readings have not been given. We are not told what edition was used as the basis for the present text, though we may infer that it was the first edition of 1713. It was not, at any rate, the 1729 edition, which was the only one available to the reviewer, and which exhibits numerous and important variants from Mr. Wood's text. The canon of Carey's work is not established with any certainty. We are told that certain songs were omitted "where there seemed to be sufficient evidence to warrant the assumption that the words were not his," but we are not given the titles of the songs nor the evidence for their omission. Furthermore, our confidence in Mr. Wood's evaluation of evidence is shaken when we find a poem included on such slight grounds as the following: "*The Happy Beggars*. This poem is attributed to Carey by Moffat and Kidson in their *Minstrelsy of England* (1901). 'His name,' state the authors, 'is inscribed in an old hand in ink, on one copy.' The piece first appeared anonymously in Walsh's *Merry Musician* (1716), Vol. 1. It was subsequently reprinted in several contemporary anthologies, but in none is the name of the author given."

It is very unlikely that Carey will find readers outside of scholarly circles, and it is unfortunate that Mr. Wood did not keep this fact in mind. As it is, although he has done a good deal of the necessary work, his book will be of much less value than it might have been.

THEODORE H. BANKS, JR.

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BRIEF MENTION

Memoirs of Lorenzo Da Ponte. Translated by ELISABETH ABBOTT, from the Italian. Edited and annotated by ARTHUR LIVINGSTON. Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott, 1929. Pp. 512. Pour étudier la carrière variée de Da Ponte on doit attendre la publication du *Lorenzo Da Ponte in America* que nous promet M. Arthur Livingston; mais dès maintenant, en donnant au public de langue anglaise, sous une forme accessible et commode, les *Mémoires* "découverts" en 1858 par Lamartine, le savant historien des lettres de Venise a rendu un important service à tous ceux qui s'occupent de l'histoire des relations intellectuelles entre les Etats-Unis et l'Europe. Le texte choisi par l'éditeur et traduit avec précision et vivacité est celui de l'édition italienne de 1918. On y trouvera des renseignements des plus curieux sur la vie des *literati* à Philadelphie et à New York dans le premier quart du dix-neuvième siècle, sur le commerce des livres étrangers, sur les débuts de l'enseignement de l'italien et la vogue dont jouissait déjà l'espagnol à cette date. Il n'est pas inutile d'ajouter qu'en bien des cas nous devons ces renseignements à l'éditeur et non à l'auteur qui, avec tout son pittoresque, sa verve et son talent de raconteur, parle avant tout de lui-même. Grâce aux documents retrouvés à Sunbury et au dépouillement des vieux journaux de New York, M. Livingston a pu apporter des précisions et les indications supplémentaires que l'on regrettait de ne pas trouver dans les mémoires.

GILBERT CHINARD

Pseudoklassisches und Romantisches in Thomsons "Seasons." Von ERNA ANWANDER. Beiträge zur englischen Philologie, XIII. Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1930. 132 S. This is a thorough re-working of a familiar subject; Thomson's position in the history of literature has been plotted so often that unless we shift the frame of reference we can hardly hope for new results. Fräulein Anwander assembles in a clear and systematic way points that are ready to hand in the monographs of Morel and Macaulay, and in Myra Reynolds's *Treatment of Nature in English Poetry between Pope and Wordsworth*. She is too ready to accept easy formulas, e. g., that neo-classicism puts man at the centre of things while romanticism subordinates or annihilates humanity, or that the use of blank verse always means emancipation from neo-classical fetters. Her conclusion, that the romantic and the classical coexist in almost every line of *The Seasons*, is not very novel or helpful, but her concise and accurate analysis of the poem will be of use.

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"THE MAID'S METAMORPHOSIS" AND OVID'S "METAMORPHOSES"

I

Important incidents in the Ceyx-Alcyone and Apollo-Daphne stories in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* are the source of Act II, Scene i, and of Act III, Scene i, in *The Maid's Metamorphosis*. This indebtedness, although obscured by changes in the material borrowed, may be clearly traced in incidents, characters, and speeches in these two scenes.¹

In the earlier scene in *The Maid's Metamorphosis* (II, i), Juno dispatches Iris to the cave of Somnus to bid the latter send a spirit disguised as the lost Eurymine to comfort Ascanio in a dream. Somnus in fulfillment of Juno's command dispatches his son, Morpheus, in the form of Eurymine, to tell the sleeping Ascanio that he is to seek "an aged Hermit," who will "bring us both together at the last."

This scene is founded on incidents in the Ceyx-Alcyone story (lines 583-709), in Book XI, of the *Metamorphoses*, in which Juno dispatches Iris "to the sluggish house of Slomber," to bid him send "a Dreame in shape of Ceyx too his wyfe Alcyone, for too shew her playne the losing of his lyfe." In the play, as in the *Metamorphoses*, the willing messenger of Juno, Iris, penetrates to

¹In his examination of the evidence for the authorship of *The Maid's Metamorphosis*, R. W. Bond, in *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, 1902, III, 336, includes in his list of details that are "suggestive of Lyly," the "use made of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in regard to Somnus and his three sons (II, i) and Apollo and Hyacinth (III, i)." The incidents noted by Bond as from Ovid embrace lines 175-179 in II, i; and lines 51-70 in III, i. Bond knows of no other influence of Ovid in the play.

the inaccessible cave of Somnus, arouses the drowsy god, and has the command of Juno accomplished by Morpheus, the son of Somnus, who appears in the shape of the lost loved-one to the sleeping Alcyone (Ascanio). A notable divergence from the Ovidian story marks the end of the incident in *The Maid's Metamorphosis*. Whereas Alcyone abandons herself to despair upon learning from the ghost of her husband that he has been drowned, Ascanio is encouraged by the vision of Eurymine to seek the "aged Hermit" who "will bring us both together at the last."

In addition to these parallels of characters and of incidents in *The Maid's Metamorphosis*, there is an agreement of detail with Ovid's poem that leaves no doubt that the author of the play is borrowing directly from Ovid, and not from Spenser's description of the house of Morpheus (*Faerie Queene*, I, i, 38-44), as some have held.

In the other scene of *The Maid's Metamorphosis* based upon Ovid's poem (III, i), we have the metamorphosis of Eurymine, which gives the play its name. It is derived with changes from Ovid's story of Apollo's love for Daphne and of her later transformation into a laurel (*Metamorphoses*, I, 452-567). In it Apollo woos Eurymine in the same proud language as, in Ovid, he woos Daphne. As in the *Metamorphoses*, he boasts of his Olympian ancestry, of the honor done him in Delphos, and of his skill in music and in the healing art. Further, Eurymine, like Daphne, is freed in the end from the unwelcome attentions of Apollo by a transformation. At this point, however, as in the earlier scene in *The Maid's Metamorphosis*, the story differs radically from the original. In each instance, the end of the story

* In a footnote to his discussion of *The Maid's Metamorphosis* in his *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, 1906, W. W. Greg dissents from the generally held opinion that the description of the cave of Morpheus in *The Maid's Metamorphosis* (II, i, 112) depends upon a study of the house of Morpheus in *The Faerie Queene*. In Greg's opinion the author of *The Maid's Metamorphosis* "certainly drew his own account straight from Ovid (*Metam*, 592, etc.)." This may be seen by reference to the account of the sons of Somnus that appears in the *Metamorphoses* and in the play, but not in Spenser. Not only is the description of the cave of Morpheus drawn straight from Ovid, as Greg states, but the entire scene from line 64 to the end is based on the Alcyone-Ceyx story.

has been made much less painful.³ In Ovid, Daphne's prayer for help is heard by her father, Peneus, who changes her into a laurel. In the play, Eurymine escapes Apollo's love by persuading him to prove his boasted power by turning her into a man.

II

The author of *The Maid's Metamorphosis* clearly uses Golding's translation of the *Metamorphoses* as the source of his Ovid borrowings. A comparison of the italicised words in the following passages from the play and from Golding's *Ovid*, in which Apollo addresses Eurymine (Daphne), reveals how closely, at times, the author of the play copied Golding's words, phrases and rhymes:

<i>Maid's Metamorphosis.</i> ⁴	Golding's <i>Ovid.</i> ⁵
Oh <i>stay</i> sweet <i>Nymph</i> , with more adusement view,	<i>Stay Nymph</i> : . . . Yet would I wishe thee take <i>advise</i> , and wisely for to <i>viewe</i>
What one he is, that for thy grace doth sue:	What one he is that for thy grace in humble wise doth <i>sewe</i> .
I am not one that haunts on hills or Rocks,	I am not one that dwelles among the <i>hilles</i> and stonie <i>rockes</i> ,
I am no shepheard wayting on my flocks.	I am no sheepe <i>hearde</i> with a Cuire, attending on the <i>flockes</i> :
I am no boystrous Satyre, no nor Faune,	I am no Carle nor countrie Clowne, nor neathearde taking charge
That am with pleasure of thy beautie drawne.	Of cattle grazing here and there within this Forrest large.
Thou dost not know God wot, thou dost not kno,	Thou dost not know poore simple soule, God wote thou dost not <i>knowe</i> ,
The wight, whose presence thou dis- dainest so.	From whome thou fleest. For if thou knew, thou wouldste not flee me so.
Eurymine. But I may know, if you wold please to tell.	In Delphis is my chiefe abode, my Temples also stande

³ Should other instances turn up in plays of known authorship, in which the ends of borrowed Ovidian stories are similarly humanized, it should assist in the identification of the author of *The Maid's Metamorphosis*.

⁴ *The Maid's Metamorphosis* (III, i, 156-171), in Lyly's *Works*, ed. Bond, III, 365.

⁵ *Shakespeare's Ovid Being Arthur Golding's Translation of the Metamorphoses*, ed. W. H. D. Rouse, London, 1904, p. 33 (I, 619-636).

<i>Apollo. My father in the highest</i>	At Glaros and at Patara within the
<i>heavens doth dwell</i>	Lycian lande.
And I <i>am knowne</i> the sonne of	And in the Ile of Tenedos the people
<i>Ioue to bee,</i>	<i>honour mee,</i>
Whereon the folke of Delphos <i>honor</i>	The king of Gods himself <i>is knowne</i>
<i>mee.</i>	<i>my father</i> for to bee.
<i>By me is knowne what is, what was,</i>	<i>By mee is knowne that was, that is,</i>
<i>and what shall bee,</i>	<i>and that shall ensue,</i>
<i>By me are learnde</i> the Rules of	<i>By mee men learne</i> to sundrie tunes
<i>harmonie.</i>	to frame sweete ditties true,
By me the depth of <i>Phisicks</i> lore is	In shooting I have stedfast hand,
found:	but surer hand had hee
And <i>power of hearbes</i> that grow	That made this wound within my
upon the ground.	heart that heretofore was free.
	<i>Of Phisicke</i> and of surgerie I found
	the Arts for neede
	The <i>powre</i> of everie <i>herbe</i> and plant
	doth of my gift proceede. ^o

At other times, the author does not repeat Golding's words or rhymes, but gives a free translation of the original. As an example, Ascanio addresses the fleeting vision of Eurymine (II, i) with words that are a free rendering of Ovid's four lines beginning the speech of Apollo's (III, 1), from which I have quoted above. These opening lines of Apollo's speech imploring Daphne to stay,

nympha, precor, Penei, mane! non insequor hostis;
 nympha, mane! sic agna lupum, sic cerva leonem,
 sic aquilam penna fugiunt trepidante columbae,
 hostes quaeque suos. amor est mihi causa sequendi!
 me miserum! ne prona cadas indignave laedi
 crura notent sentes et sim tibi causa doloris!
 aspera, qua properas, loca sunt: moderatius, oro,
 curre fugamque inhibe, moderatius insequar ipse.
 cui placeas, inquire tamen: non incola montis,
 non ego sum pastor, non hic armenta gregesque
 horridus observo. nescis, temeraria, nescis,
 quem fugias, ideoque fugis: mihi Delphica tellus
 et Claros et Tenedos Patareaque regia servit;
 Iuppiter est genitor; per me, quod eritque fuitque
 estque, patet; per me concordant carmina nervis.
 certa quidem nostra est, nostra tamen una sagitta
 certior, in vacuo quae vulnera pectore fecit!
 inventum medicina meum est, opiferque per orbem
 dicor, et herbarum subiecta potentia nobis.

could not be appropriately addressed by Apollo to the stationary Eurymine, but were fittingly addressed by Ascanio to the vanishing form of Eurymine:

Maid's Metamorphosis.

Eurymine Oh wilt thou not attend!
Flee from thy foe. Ascanio is thy
friend.
The fearfull Hare, so shuns the
labouring hound,
And so the Dear eschues the Hunts-
man wound
The trembling Foule, so flies the
Falcons gripe:
The Bond-man, so, his angry mais-
ters stripe
I follow not, as *Phoebus Daphne* did.
Nor as the Dog pursues the trembl-
ing Kid.

Golding's *Ovid*.⁷

I pray thee Nymph Penaeis stay,
I chase not as a fo:
Stay Nymph the Lambes so flee ye
Wolves, the Stags ye Lions so:
With fittting fethers sselie
Doves so from the Gossehauke flee,
And every creature from his foe.
Love is the cause that I
Do followe thee.⁸

If, as Bond says, the use of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in *The Maid's Metamorphosis* is "suggestive of Lyly," the evidence presented above, of a much wider use of the *Metamorphoses* in the play than has been noted, makes for a somewhat greater probability of Lyly's authorship. On the other hand, if it can be shown that Lyly does not use Golding's translation in other borrowings from the *Metamorphoses*—and Bond has no mention of such use—the fact that Golding's *Ovid* is clearly used in *The Maid's Metamorphosis* points to the probable composition of the play by another hand than Lyly's.

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nympha, precor, Penei, mane! non insequor hostis;
Nympha, mane! sic agna lupum, sic cerva leonem,
sic aquilam penna fugiunt trepidante columbae,
hostes quaeque suos amor est mihi causa sequendi!

Met., I, 504-508.

⁸ The popularity of these lines of Ovid is attested by their earlier appearance in prose form, in Brian Melbancke's *Philotimus* (Pr), 1583, among the borrowings in that book from Golding's *Ovid*: "Stay nymph, and fye me not. The lambes so fye the wolues, ye Staggs the Lyons so, the doutes so from the goshauke fye, and euery creature from his foe."

THE TEDIOUS BRIEF SCENE OF PYRAMUS AND THISBE

In an article in *Studies in Philology* Miss M. L. Farrand has argued that Shakespeare's burlesque play in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was directly indebted to the story of Pyramus and Thisbe in Moffett's *The Silkwormes and their Flies* (1599).¹ The date of publication is one obvious difficulty, which Miss Farrand recognizes, but she thinks Shakespeare probably saw the piece in manuscript. Doubtless Moffett did write the poem some years before it appeared, perhaps, as Miss Farrand suggests, at the same time as his prose work on insects and silkworms, that is, about 1590-95; it is not likely that it was done twenty years before. Miss Farrand also remarks that, while so far as dates of publication go, "it is conceivable that Moffett was influenced by Shakespeare," yet it is out of the question "that a classical scholar retelling with serious purpose Ovid's story should turn for assistance, or even suggestion, to a burlesque version by a popular dramatist." But a more important question Miss Farrand does not ask. Would a popular dramatist incorporate in a play a burlesque of a poem which he and a few others knew in manuscript? When Shakespeare wrote burlesques he handled things well known to most of his public, such as Euphuism, "King Cambises' vein," Marlowe's soaring rhetoric. A burlesque of Moffett would hardly be seconded by the forward child understanding. Shakespeare's tragical mirth is a burlesque of old-fashioned drama, and the point would be as clear to his audience as a travesty of melodrama would be to us now.

Such an intention does not preclude the possibility that Shakespeare might still use Moffett's piece for material, but it is not probable, and Miss Farrand's parallels are not convincing. Some years ago I made a rather careful comparison of Moffett and Shakespeare and the results seemed negative, as they still do, in spite of Miss Farrand's interesting study. In the first place, it is possible to find as many parallels, and as good ones, between Shakespeare

¹ "An Additional Source for *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*," *SP*, xxvii (1930), 233 ff. Miss Farrand very conveniently assembles most of the Shakespearean lines and quotes extensively from Moffett's little-known piece.

and the long poem on Pyramus and Thisbe in the *Gorgeous Gallery* (1578) as Miss Farrand offers between Shakespeare and Moffett. A number of these last do not show much more than that the two authors were treating the same subject and writing Elizabethan English, and I shall not go through the list in detail.

One of the most obvious stylistic tricks in Shakespeare is the excessive alliteration, a trick vastly beloved by versifiers of the previous generation, and conspicuous throughout the *Gorgeous Gallery* as well as in *The History of Pyramus and Thisbe*.² Moffett is not especially alliterative.

A number of Miss Farrand's parallels are single words, such as *bliss*, *cheer*, *quell*, *fell*, *breast*, *spile*, which are not strong evidence for a relationship between two Elizabethan pieces on the same theme. For instance, the use of *blade* for sword, which is one of the links between Shakespeare and Moffett, occurs more than once in the *History*. It occurs also in the *Sonet* in *A Handful of Pleasant Delights* and in Gale's *Pyramus and Thisbe* (1596), poems which Miss Farrand mentions to dismiss.³ Miss Farrand quoted this line from Moffett, "Rouse up thy sprights: those heave lookes cheere," to put beside it Shakespeare's "That liv'd, that lov'd, that lik'd, that look'd with cheer." But the *History* (p. 115) has this line,

To her with thee that liu'd and lou'd, and eke with thee will dye.

The line is closer to Shakespeare's, and, besides, has the word *eke*, which is another of the bonds between Shakespeare and Moffett.

Miss Farrand quotes Moffett's "embru'd with blood" for Shakespeare's "my breast imbrue"; the *History* has "embrude with blood" (p. 112) and so does a ballad to be mentioned later. The Thisbe of the *History* stabs herself "beneath her pap," and Shakespeare's Pyramus twice mentions that region. It would be tedious and far from brief to catalogue more details; I have recorded so many only to show that the *History* is quite as good a candidate as

² Ed. Rollins, pp. 103 ff.

³ *Handful*, ed. Rollins, pp. 35 ff. Gale's poem is much indebted to *Hero and Leander* and offers nothing for us here—unless "Her tender nonage did of true loue sauour" be deemed a relative of "Thisbe, the flowers have odious savours sweet," and something may be left to the jerks of invention. The actual date of publication of Gale's poem is uncertain.

Moffett's piece. It does not follow that Shakespeare had either in mind.

In relation to Shakespeare's "bloody mouth" Miss Farrand quotes Moffett's "bloudy teeth." "Bloody" of course is inevitable in such a tale. It may be noticed that Chaucer's version, which one may assume Shakespeare knew, has Shakespeare's phrase twice (ll. 807, 820). Shakespeare's "Speak! speak!" is also derived from Moffett's "Speak, love, O speak. . . ." Chaucer has "O speke, my Piramus!" (l. 880). Shakespeare's exquisite line about the wall, by the way, "Thy stones with lime and hair knit up in thee," might have started from Chaucer's "Our wordes through thy lyme and eek thy stoon" (765).

Among Miss Farrand's "most significant" parallels is Moffett's allusion to "the sisters three." We find the phrase in the song of Pithias in Edwards's play which editors have quoted as an illustration of the dramatic fashion that Shakespeare was making fun of:

Gripe me, you greedy grief,
And present pangs of death!
You sisters three with cruel hands,
With speed now stop my breath! ⁴

This alliterative outburst is at least as near to Eracles' vein as anything in Moffett; moreover, in the preceding stanza Pithias calls, like Pyramus, on the Furies.

Finally might be mentioned the ballad on "The lamentable historie of Sephalus with the Unfortunat end of Procris," of c. 1568.⁵ It will be remembered that among the antiphonal protestations of Shakespeare's lovers are the lines

Not Shafalus to Procrus was so true.
As Shafalus to Procrus, I to you.

The long ballad discards the Ovidian story, except the catastrophe, and for the earlier part transfers to Cephalus and Procris the experiences of Pyramus and Thisbe. In style the tragic climax is quite akin to Shakespeare's:

Oh greeff of greefs most dolorous,
Oh hap of Happs most pyteous,

⁴ Adams, *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas*, p. 584. Cf. the allusion to Atropos in the *Sonet*.

⁵ Howell's *Poems*, ed. Grosart, pp. 146 ff.

Deare Ladies steppe your foote to myne,
To mourne with me your hartes inclyne

Whan Sephalus his Procris founde,
Imbrude with blood on euery side.
The arowe stickinge in the wounde,
That bleeding sore did gape full wyde,
He curst the gods that skies possesst
The systers three and all the rest.

And fayntly spake, no Ladie no,
You shall not vanishe hence a lone,
My ghoste alas your frendly foo,
Shall wayte your piecyous soule upon,
And with that worde to ende his lyfe,
He slue him selfe with bloody knyfe.

The death of Pyramus in the *Handful* ballad is in similar vein. In both, incidentally, Pyramus is called a "knight," as he is in Shakespeare (v, i, 284).

One must conclude that Shakespeare's play, being a burlesque of a popular bygone fashion in drama, was not built on any one model; and that, even if he could have known Moffett's poem, which is doubtful, it contained virtually nothing in substance or phrase which might not have been taken from more familiar and popular pieces, both narrative and dramatic.

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CHRONOLOGY OF SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS

The natural and well justified suspicion that metrical peculiarities may be made to prove all manner of things which are not so may perhaps be somewhat allayed if those who employ the metrical tests will make use of a very simple experiment. Ever since the days of the New Shakespeare Society critics have realized that Shakespeare tended to employ more and more the characteristics which make for ease and flexibility of meter; and that he did so instinctively and not deliberately is what gives significance to the tables of percentages which have been compiled. On this account the introduction of prose or rhyme is of less consequence than the percentages of double endings, of run-on lines, and of speeches end-

ing within the line. The arrangement of the plays according to any one of these three tests would of course give us an impossible chronology; for the nature of the subject matter, the mood of the moment, or some unguessed circumstance would surely prevent a perfectly regular development along any specific line. But where we have three separate tendencies, each away from the verse of Shakespeare's early contemporaries and toward that of his last period, it is clear that an average of the three will bring us closer to the true sequence than any one test when taken alone.

But the amazing result of merely striking an average of the percentages of double endings, run-on lines, and speeches ending with the line, as given in the tables of Neilson and Thorndike's *The Facts About Shakespeare*, makes it imperative that the cogency of these tests when taken together should be considered anew. If practically every play is placed by this experiment exactly where it must belong, then there is a very strong presumption that any play of which the date is doubtful, or any considerable stratum of a play that underwent revision, belongs where the development in the flexibility of Shakespeare's verse would place it. The table of average percentages follows:

1 H VI	6.3	A Y L	21.4
Titus And	7.7	M W W	22 6
3 H VI	8.	T N	25 5
2 H VI	8.7	T & C	27.5
Shrew	9.8	Oth	29.6
Errors	10.	Hamlet	32.4
R III	11.8	M for M	33 5
LLL	12.	Per	36 4*
T G of V	12 20	Lear	39.6
John	12.23	Timon	40.
R & J	12.4	A W W	43.9
Dream	12.6	Macb	46.7
R II	12.7	A & C	49.1
1 H IV	14.	Coriol	51.1
2 H IV	18.1	W T	52.6
J C	19.7	Temp	53.8
H V	20.2	Cymb	53.9
M of V	20.4	H VIII	55.3*
Much Ado	20 8	** <i>Shakespeare scenes.</i>	

It is obvious that when plays differ very slightly no conclusion as to their exact sequence can legitimately be drawn, though it is noteworthy that even then the right sequence seems often to be

held. *The Merchant of Venice* is the only play which appears to be notably out of place, and it comes in the right order of the comedies, where a livelier and more natural movement is to be expected. The table upholds the placing of *Titus Andronicus*, if substantially the work of Shakespeare, at the beginning of his career, as Professor Pollard and others are now convinced should be done; but the low percentage of this play and of *1 Henry VI* will be attributed by most critics to their composite authorship. An early date for Shakespeare's share of *Titus* would of course not preclude a certain amount of revision in 1594.

The belief that *The Shrew* was an early play of Shakespeare from which *A Shrew* was derived finds support in the table, for the entire play has the metrical characteristics of Shakespeare's first period. I have checked every scene, and I find that no clear distinction is to be made between the portions that seem to show Shakespeare's revision of 1597 (or thereabouts) and the scenes which were more probably Shakespeare's early work, or those perhaps contributed by a collaborator to the early play. It would follow (if one gives full credence to the table as a test) that Shakespeare added no new matter in the revision, but merely reworded some parts of the Induction and the taming scenes. This refurbishing (if that is what happened) brings those scenes to only 11.07%.

There is a very different story to tell of *Love's Labour's Lost*. The portions which I specified as belonging to the play as Shakespeare first wrote it¹ yield an average of only 8.8 per cent., which places this as the first of the comedies and puts the added material between the two Parts of *Henry IV*. Those who assign this play to 1593 will find that no part of it has the metrical characteristics of that time; though the earlier and later portions when averaged together make it appear so in the table given above. Very much the same thing is true of *Romeo and Juliet*. It is those portions of the Second Quarto which have no equivalent at all in the First which give this drama as a whole its intermediate position in the table. Taken by themselves they show a much higher percentage, placing the final version of the drama about 1597, and sending the play without these additions back to (or toward) 1591.²

¹ *The Original Version of Love's Labour's Lost*, 1918.

² My estimates here have only been sufficient to assure me of this general

A "talking point" is furnished by the table to those who believe that *Julius Caesar* was written in 1598 or 1599, and to those who think that *Hamlet* reached its final form as late as 1603. *All's Well That Ends Well* is carried forward, as I have long been convinced that it should be. Those who believe that *All's Well* is the revised *Love's Labour's Won* are obliged, in the light of these statistics, to test what they consider the earlier stratum of this play, and either show that it is lower by about 30% than the play's average, or account for the anomaly of a wholly different metrical habit in one play and one only of Shakespeare's first period. The "rhyme test" cannot be invoked when the couplets themselves are of a different sort. It would be interesting also to learn just where the "metrical average test" would place the revised portions of this drama.

It is at least possible that in this formulating of Shakespeare's metrical habit we have within reach a criterion of the highest value, and that it is capable of application far beyond the preliminary suggestions that I have here set down. But while we have in the table a source of evidence that cannot be dismissed with an impatient gesture, it is questionable if such evidence can be accepted as final when not supported by other considerations.

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NOTES ON JONSON'S *EXECRATION UPON VULCAN*

In his *Execration upon Vulcan*, Jonson mentions the loss of "parcels of a Play"; what was this play? For a period of about ten years beginning in 1616, Jonson produced nothing for the legitimate stage. He returned to the drama with the presentation of *The Staple of News* in 1626 (February 2, 1625, O. S.).¹ Dr. De Winter, in his edition of *The Staple of News*, calls attention to the fact that Jonson had suggestions of this play in his mind as early as 1621.² In the masque, *News from the New World*,

fact. A great deal more than belonged to the original play seems to be preserved in Q.

¹ *Ben Jonson*, ed. Herford and Simpson, Oxford, 1925, I, 73-74; II, 169.

² *The Staple of News*, ed. De Winter, New York, Holt, 1905, xx.

the Factor says: "And I have hope to erect a Staple for News ere long." De Winter says further that Jonson began work on the *Staple* in 1622, working up the main body of the play in 1623, but revising it up to the time of production. The editors of the Oxford *Jonson* give the date of the *Execration* as November, 1623.³ If Jonson had started work on the *Staple* before this date, and it seems plausible that he had, the play lost in the fire was probably an early draft of portions of the *Staple*. The numerous relationships of the *Execration* and the *Staple*, with the similarity of many lines in *Neptune's Triumph* and the *Staple*, seem to indicate that the works were conceived at about the same time and were probably written at almost the same period. Lines 79-84 of the *Execration* contain several references to subjects taken up in the news satire of the *Staple*: Captaine Pamphlet,⁴ the weekly Corrants,⁵ and the Prophet Ball.⁶

The masque *Neptune's Triumph*, written for production in 1624, but delayed until 1625,⁷ has many passages which are almost identical with passages in the *Staple* news satire. De Winter advances the hypothesis that Jonson wrote the passages for the masque and incorporated them into the play.⁸ My own opinion is that he wrote them originally for the play, and when it was destroyed, rewrote them from memory and placed them in the masque. Then when the play was revived for production, Jonson restored those lines which he recollected from the lost early draft. The passages in the *Execration* may have been preserved in the same manner. Jonson's restoration of a number of other works burned at the same time makes it likely that he did the same for the play.⁹

To sum up the points briefly: Jonson was writing a play in 1623 at the latest; there is evidence that he had started *The Staple of News* before this; no other play of his is so closely related to his life and works during this period; he revived other works

³ *Op. cit.*, I, 73.

⁴ *Staple of News*, I, iv, 17.

⁵ See below.

⁶ *Staple of News*, III, ii, 128, and p. 180.

⁷ Herford and Simpson, *op. cit.*, II, 325.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, XX.

⁹ Jonson. *Works*, ed. Gifford (1816), VIII, 419.

destroyed at the same time; hence it is very probable that the lost play was an unfinished draft of the *Staple*. If the *Staple* was the play, it is safe to say that the lost "parcels" were those sections dealing with the staple itself rather than the Pennyboy plot, since all the similarities to the other works are found in these sections.

The relation of the *Execration* and the *Staple* sheds light on the identity of "the weekly Corrants, with *Pauls* Seale." The Oxford editors say of this paper: "By 1623 there was apparently another [news sheet], the *Weekly Courants with Pauls Seale*, referred to by Jonson in the 'Execration upon Vulcan,' lines 79-81."¹⁰ However, it is by no means certain that this is the title of the paper, as the folio of 1640 prints only the word "*Pauls*" in italics, and has a comma after "Corrants";¹¹ indeed, Mr. J. B. Williams, in his *History of English Journalism*,¹² says that Jonson is referring to the "Corantos" (early news sheets) in general. This is a logical explanation; but since Jonson is specific in his attack on the Captain, and since he certainly has specific characters in the *Staple* satire, it may be that he has a particular paper or author in mind. If so, Nathaniel Butter, the most prominent figure in early English journalism and the satire which grew around it, and his *Currant of Newes* are the most logical objects of attack. On October 1, 1623, one month before the date of the *Execration*, Butter registered Number 50 of *A Currant of Newes*.¹³ This paper had been issued weekly for a year; the title varied from one issue to the next, but was usually similar to the above, and the numbers were consecutive without regard to the changes in title.

The strongest argument for the identification of Butter's page with the "weekly Corrants" is the series of puns in the *Staple*. The Clerk Nathaniel, identified by De Winter as Butter, is described: "A decayed Stationer he was, who knows Newes well, can sort and ranke 'hem; and for a need can make 'hem. True Pauls bred i'the Church-yard."¹⁴ All the news in the *Staple*

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, II, 172.

¹¹ Jonson. *Works* (1640), II, 211.

¹² Pp. 17-18.

¹³ *Stationers' Register*, ed. Arber, IV, 67.

¹⁴ *The Staple of News*, ed. De Winter, I, v, 62.

was "to be issu'd under the Seale of the Office, as Staple Newes; no other newes be *currant*,"¹⁵ and was to "come from the mint; fresh and new stamped, with the Office-Seale, Staple Commodity."¹⁶ Butter is called "True Paules," and without the seal, no news is to be "currant." The additional factor of the personal enmity between Jonson and Butter¹⁷ makes it appear even more probable that Jonson was attacking Butter in this instance.

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"TO TURN TURK"

In the seventeenth century the expression 'turn Turk' was used to convey several shades of meaning, one of which seems to have escaped the editors of the *New English Dictionary*. At least three Jacobean dramatists employed the phrase in the special sense which it obviously bears in one of Franceschina's speeches in Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan*:

. . . vat sall become of mine poor flesh now? mine body must *turn Turk* for twopence. (Act II, Scene ii.)

Cf. Dekker's *The Honest Whore*, Part I, Act IV, Scene ii:

Bellafront: Be greater than a king; save not a body,
But from eternal shipwrack keep a soul.
If not, and that again sin's path I tread,
The grief be mine, the guilt fall on thy head!

Hippolito: Stay, and take physick for it; read this book,
Ask counsel of this head, what's to be done;
He'll strike it dead, that 'tis damnation
If you *turn Turk* again. Oh, do it not!
Though Heaven cannot allure you to do well,
From doing ill let hell fright you; and learn this,
The soul whose bosom lust did never touch
Is God's fair bride, and maidens' souls are such:
The soul that leaving chastity's white shore,
Swims in hot sensual streams, is the devil's whore.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, I, ii, 13.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, v, 203.

¹⁷ Herford and Simpson, *op. cit.*, II, 203.

and Massinger's *The Renegado*, Act V, Scene iii:

Paulina: . . . I will turn Turk.

Gazet: Most of your tribe do so,
When they begin in whore

It is worth noting in this connection that *A New Dictionary of the Terms Ancient and Modern of the Canting Crew*, published about 1700, glosses *Turkish-shore* as 'Lambeth, Southwark and Roderhith-side of the Water.'¹

These examples may perhaps serve as a commentary upon *Much Ado About Nothing*, Act III, Scene iv:

Beatrice: . . . By my troth, 'I am exceeding ill - heigh-ho!

Margaret: For a hawk, a horse, or a husband?

Beatrice: For the letter that begins them all, H.

Margaret: Well, an you be not turned Turk, there's no more sailing by the star.

Beatrice: What means the fool, trow?

Margaret: Nothing, I; but God send every one their heart's desire!

It is thoroughly in character, certainly, that Margaret's words should carry an innuendo of the sort suggested by the parallels cited above.

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THE ETYMOLOGY OF *STIR* 'PRISON' AGAIN

In a brief note in *Studies in Honor of Herman Collitz*, published recently by the Johns Hopkins University Press, I suggested that the underworld word *stir* meaning 'prison' should no longer be associated, as in several leading dictionaries, with the verb *stir* 'agitate,' from Old English *stȳrian*, but rather with the Old English noun *stēor*, *stīer*, *stȳr*, denoting (1) steering, guidance, (2) rule, regulation, (3) restraint, discipline, check, correction. The suggested etymology seems likely enough, and I am unable to find that it has been brought forward hitherto. An objection to it, however, may be found in the gulf of time elapsing between

¹This book was brought to my attention by Professor C. C. Fries. It was compiled by 'B. E. Gent.' and printed at London. There is no date on the title-page.

the disappearance of the Old English word, in printed monuments. and the emergence of the underworld word in late modern times.

There is another possibility that should be taken into account, that suggested by the familiar tradition of the relation between nineteenth-century slang expressions and the language of the Gypsies. Among the words used by the English Gypsies when a list was made by George Borrow in 1873 (*Romano-Lavo-Lal*, page 61) are *stardo* (past participle) 'imprisoned,' *staripen* 'prison,' *staro-mengro* 'prisoner.' Similar terms appear in other lists of Gypsy words. A derivation of the monosyllabic noun *stir* from the initial syllable of these formations is perhaps less acceptable phonetically than that from the Old English, but it is easily possible and it seems *more* acceptable chronologically. The connection between slang and the speech of the Gypsies is not so close, it may be, nor the debt so great, as was believed in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, some words in widespread usage—e. g., the familiar *pal*—are credited to the English Gypsies, and *stir* may belong in the same category. Certainly, whether the noun be of native or gypsy origin, a better spelling would be *ster*, dissociating it to the eye from the verb *stir* 'agitate.'

I am indebted to Professor Leonard Bloomfield for the suggestion that the vocabulary of Gypsies be examined.¹

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VIGNY ET L'AMIRAL COLLINGWOOD

M. Ernest Dupuy¹ a le premier appelé l'attention sur un passage des mémoires d'Auguste Barbier dans lequel l'auteur des *Iambes* rappelle que c'est sur son conseil que Vigny aurait lu un ouvrage

¹ Since this note was written, an article has appeared by J. Dyneley Prince ("A Brazilian Gypsy Dialect," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 50, no. 2, June, 1930) that lists, in a short glossary of terms, "stáripén, stárubén, 'prison,' whence the American slang *stir*, 'prison.'" Dr. Prince, too, has been impressed by the Gypsy word as the probable source of *stir*, the noun. *Stir* seems to appear, however, earlier in the English than in the American underworld jargon, and perhaps it should not be described as "American slang."

² *A. de Vigny*, II, 86, n. Paris, s. d.

intitulé: *A Selection from the public and private correspondence of Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood: interspersed with Memoirs of his life.* By G. L. Newham Collingwood, Esq. F. R. S. 2 vols. London, 1828. Peu après, M. Fernand Baldensperger a comparé de façon très ingénieuse le Collingwood de l'histoire au Collingwood déjà fort embelli qui apparaît dans les *Memoirs*, et au portrait encore plus idéalisé que Vigny a tracé du vieil amiral anglais dans la *Canne de Jonc*.² Plus récemment, M. Baldensperger, ayant cette fois en main les documents originaux, a pu indiquer que Vigny avait dépouillé avec le plus grand soin la publication anglaise et que les notes qu'il y a prises "couvrent plusieurs feuillets de ses manuscrits, avec une pagination se rapportant à l'édition courante." Malgré ces études antérieures, il reste cependant à glaner, et en particulier à déterminer dans le détail non seulement de quelle façon Vigny s'est documenté, mais plus encore comment il a remanié et combiné les matériaux qu'il avait réunis dans ses notes, comment surtout à plusieurs reprises il n'a pas hésité à simplifier et parfois à altérer le sens réel de l'original pour conserver plus d'unité stoïque à la figure du grand marin anglais.

La première mention de Collingwood se trouve dans le chapitre IV qui porte en tête: "Simple lettre. A bord du vaisseau anglais *Le Culloden*, devant Rochefort, 1804. *Sent to France, with Admiral Collingwood's permission.*" Si nous nous reportons aux *Memoirs* nous voyons en effet que Collingwood commanda le *Culloden* qui croisait en vue d'Ouessant en 1804, et qui ne devait quitter les parages du cap Finistère qu'en mai 1805 (*Memoirs*, I, 130, 142).

Dans le même chapitre nous trouvons cette première esquisse du portrait de Collingwood:

C'est un galant homme s'il en fut, qui, depuis 1761 qu'il sert dans la marine, n'a quitté la mer que pendant deux années, pour se marier et mettre au monde ses deux filles. Ces enfants dont il parle sans cesse, ne le connaissent pas. . . .

La date de l'entrée au service de Collingwood est exacte (*Memoirs*, I, 8), le reste l'est moins: mais Vigny veut dès maintenant indiquer le thème qu'il reprendra deux chapitres plus loin. En fait Collingwood lui-même nous indique que de 1786 à 1790, il resta à terre dans le

² *La mer et les marins dans l'œuvre de Vigny*, dans *Alfred de Vigny. Contribution à sa biographie intellectuelle*. Paris, 1912.

Northumberland; après un bref voyage aux Antilles en 1790, il revint en Angleterre, se maria bientôt, devint l'heureux père de deux filles, "Sarah, née en mai 1792, et Mary Patience, née en 1793" (*Memoirs*, I, 22). Si nous continuons l'étude des mémoires nous voyons que Collingwood "was permitted to return to his family for a few weeks in January 1799" (*Memoirs*, I, 103), qu'il revit sa femme et sa fille aînée en février 1801 (*Memoirs*, I, 115), et qu'il resta de nouveau dans sa maison de campagne à Morpeth de février 1802 à la conclusion de la paix d'Amiens. Il ne s'embarqua de nouveau qu'au printemps de 1803 (I, 122).

Au chapitre VI. *Un homme de mer*, Vigny va nous tracer un portrait en pied de l'amiral :

Il avait à la main sa lunette de nuit et il était vêtu de son grand uniforme avec la rigide tenue anglaise. . . . Je remarquai un air de mélancolie profonde dans ses grands yeux noirs et sur son front. Ses cheveux blancs, à demi poudrés, tombaient assez négligemment sur ses oreilles.

C'est bien ainsi que Collingwood est représenté dans la gravure qui sert de frontispice aux *Memoirs*; on y retrouvera non seulement la lunette de nuit, le grand uniforme, mais encore les cheveux blancs, rares et assez négligés cachant à demi les oreilles. Quand aux grands yeux noirs et à l'expression du visage, on les retrouvera dans le passage suivant: "He had a full dark eye, and, although in his latter years his fine countenance became faded with toil and care, it was ever strongly expressive of his character, for it was marked with thoughtfulness, and benevolence" (*Memoirs*, II, 410).

M. Baldensperger remarque que "bien loin de s'inquiéter de former et d'affermir, au-dessous de lui, de jeunes âmes militaires, il observe même qu'il ne trouve pas le temps à bord de l'*Océan*, de s'occuper des officiers débutants et qu'il ne sait pas le nom de trois *midshipmen* sous ses ordres" (*A. de Vigny*, p. 129). On voit en effet Collingwood déclarer à la fin de sa carrière: "I seldom see any of them, and I do not know the names of three midshipmen on the ship" (*Memoirs*, II, 240). Mais ailleurs l'amiral avait dit: "When I was Captain of a frigate I took good care of them; now I cannot and have not time to know any thing about them" (*Memoirs*, I, 296); et son biographe avait dit: "He treated the Midshipmen with parental care, examining them himself once a week" (*Memoirs*, I, 75). Vigny a donc attribué aux dernières années de son héros un

trait emprunté à une partie antérieure de sa carrière. Il le fera plus d'une fois.

Un peu plus loin, M. Baldensperger remarque que le bon marin, un peu étroit, que fut Collingwood, n'aurait pas été tenté, comme le veut Vigny, de pratiquer assidûment Shakespeare en même temps que le capitaine Cook. "Je vous prêterai Shakespeare et le capitaine Cook." Nous le verrons plus loin cependant recommander à ses filles de lire des "travels, essays, and Shakespeare's plays, as often as they please" (*Memoirs*, II, 25), et il semble bien que Vigny ait dans ce cas utilisé deux fois le même passage.

Dans le passage où Collingwood indique comment, à distance, il dirige l'éducation de ses filles, on trouvera un résumé extrêmement condensé de sa correspondance avec sa femme et sa fille aînée Sarah. Le cri de la fin: "Eh bien! tout cela n'est rien, parce qu'elles ne me voient pas," semble un écho de la lettre de l'amiral à un de ses amis: "My daughters can never be to me what yours have been . . . it is not reasonable to expect that they should have the same feeling for a person of whom they have only heard . . ." (*Memoirs*, I, 112).

Par contre Vigny s'écarte nettement de son modèle quand il fait déclarer à l'amiral: "Oui, Sarah ne s'est jamais assise sur mes genoux que lorsqu'elle avait deux ans, et je n'ai tenu Mary dans mes bras que lorsque ses yeux n'étaient pas ouverts encore." Sarah, née en 1792, et Mary, née en 1793, ont pu, comme nous l'avons indiqué plus haut, voir leur père en 1799 et passer plus d'une année avec lui, de février 1802 au printemps de 1803. Collingwood lui-même avait d'ailleurs écrit: "Since 1793 I have been only one year at home. To my own children I am scarcely known" (*Memoirs*, I, 124), et cette dernière phrase semble bien avoir inspiré le "Elles diront: *Nous ne connaissons pas notre père!*", tandis que Vigny laissait tomber la première, qui aurait apporté une atténuation.

D'autres fois les *Memoirs* sont utilisés pour un simple trait, ainsi quand Renaud décrit les "journées mélancoliques de la mer": "Quand un navire passait près ou loin de nous, c'est qu'il était anglais: aucun autre n'avait permission de se livrer au vent, et l'Océan n'entendait plus une parole qui ne fût anglaise. Les Anglais même en étaient attristés et se plaignaient qu'à présent l'Océan fût devenu un désert où ils se rencontraient éternellement, et l'Europe une forteresse qui leur était fermée." Voici maintenant Collingwood:

"At sea there is no getting intelligence, as there used to be on former occasions, for now there is not a trading ship upon the seas—nothing but ourselves. It is lamentable to see what a desert the waters become. . . . It has made me almost crazy" (*Memoirs*, II, 117).

Par contre, le portrait de Collingwood qui vient immédiatement après est une véritable mosaïque composée de phrases ou de fragments de phrases habilement choisis. Voici quelques parallélismes frappants: "Il passait les nuits tout habillé, assis sur ses canons, ne cessant de calculer l'art de tenir son navire immobile."—"I have been often a week without my clothes off, and was sometimes upon deck the whole night (*Memoirs*, I, 127). Very frequently we have slept together on a gun, from which Admiral Collingwood would rise from time to time to sweep the horizon with his night-glass, lest the enemy should escape in the dark." (*Memoirs*, I, 126). "Cet homme n'avait joui d'aucune richesse; et tandis qu'on le nommait pair d'Angleterre il aimait sa soupière d'étain comme un matelot." Collingwood reçut la pairie après Trafalgar (*Memoirs*, I, 215); il écrivait à sa femme peu après: "How are we going to make it out in peace, I know not, with high rank and no fortune" (*Memoirs*, I, 225). Pour "la soupière d'étain", la vérité est que Collingwood loin de l'aimer déplorait le fait que toute sa vaisselle eût été perdue ou brisée dans ses courses errantes: "My soup is served in a tin pan, and I have borrowed a pewter tea-pot for my breakfast; but I hope I shall soon get some things from Plymouth, as I have sent for them long" (*Memoirs*, I, 299).

"Il écrivait à ses filles de ne pas être de belles dames, de lire, non des romans, mais l'histoire, des voyages, des essais et Shakespeare tant qu'il leur plairait."—"Do not let our girls be made fine ladies; but give them a knowledge of the world which they have to live in, . . . they must do every thing for themselves, and never read novels, but history, travels, essays, and Shakespeare's plays, as often as they please." (*Memoirs*, II, 26.)

Il écrivait: "Nous avons combattu le jour de la naissance de ma petite Sarah. Après la bataille de Trafalgar que j'eus la douleur de lui voir gagner, et dont il avait tracé le plan avec son ami Nelson à qui il succéda." Le rôle joué par Collingwood à Trafalgar, son amitié pour Nelson, tout cela est en partie exact;—le reste l'est beaucoup moins. La bataille de Trafalgar fut livrée le 21

octobre 1805, or Collingwood qui à plusieurs reprises a envoyé ses vœux pour "many happy returns of the day" à sa petite Sarah, l'a toujours fait le 28 mai, jour anniversaire de la naissance de l'enfant" (*Memoirs*, I, 306). C'est donc en vain que l'on chercherait mention de cette curieuse coïncidence dans la relation de la bataille qui se trouve dans les *Memoirs*; mais si nous nous reportons onze ans en arrière, nous verrons dans une lettre datée en vue de Barfleur, le 5 juin 1794, que quelques jours auparavant Collingwood avait eu le plaisir d'engager la bataille avec quelques navires français qu'il avait aperçus "the morning of little Sarah's birthday, between eight and nine o'clock" (*Memoirs*, I, 26).

Le paragraphe suivant offre une curieuse combinaison de détails exacts, d'anachronismes et d'embellissements artistiques:

Quelquefois il sentait sa santé s'affaiblir, il demandait grâce à l'Angleterre; mais l'inexorable lui répondait: *Restez en mer*, et lui envoyait une dignité ou une médaille d'or pour chaque belle action; sa poitrine en était surchargée. Il écrivait encore: "Depuis que j'ai quitté mon pays, je n'ai pas passé *dix jours* dans un port, mes yeux s'affaiblissent; quand je pourrai voir mes enfants, la mer m'aura rendu aveugle. Je gémissais de ce que sur tant d'officiers il est si difficile de me trouver un remplaçant supérieur en habileté." L'Angleterre répondait: *Vous resterez en mer, toujours en mer*. Et il y resta jusqu'à sa mort.

Le bon amiral n'était pas peu fier d'être l'amiral le plus décoré de la flotte anglaise: "We are to have the medals for the last action, and I do not despair of getting another soon. I am the only officer in the service with three" (*Memoirs*, May 22, 1806, I, 307). Je n'ai trouvé nulle part l'indication des *dix jours*; au contraire Collingwood dut à plusieurs reprises faire relâche pour faire réparer ses vaisseaux, conduire des négociations diplomatiques, faire des visites de courtoisie. Mais l'on trouve les indications suivantes dont Vigny a pu s'inspirer: "Except for the short time the Ocean was under repair at Malta, I have been at sea ever since you left this country" (To Captain Clavell, Oct. 20, 1809. *Memoirs*, II, 387.) Cette escale de Malte dura d'ailleurs du 4 janvier au 5 février 1809 (*Memoirs*, II, 287, 305). Ailleurs: "I have been only on shore once since I left England, and I do not know when I shall go again" (1^{er} janvier 1806, *Memoirs*, I, 229). Enfin Collingwood fit naufrage dans les Antilles et resta *dix jours* sur un rocher de corail en 1780 (*Memoirs*, I, 11). Dans la dernière partie de sa vie

Collingwood se plaint si souvent de l'affaiblissement de sa vue qu'il est difficile de choisir: "my eyes are very feeble" (*Memoirs*, II, 333)—"My eyes are so old and so weak that you will have a great deal to do for me" (To his daughter Sarah, August 12, 1808, *Memoirs*, II, 215). Quand Lord Mulgrave lui refuse son congé, il écrit: "The impression which his letter made upon me was one of grief and sorrow: first, that with such a list as we have, there should be any difficulty in finding a successor of superior ability to me" (*Memoirs*, II, 276, November 8, 1808).

Voici maintenant un autre exemple de mosaïque:

Je lui vis écrire un jour: "Maintenir l'indépendance de mon pays est la première volonté de ma vie, et j'aime mieux que mon corps soit ajouté au rempart de la patrie que traîné dans une pompe inutile, à travers une foule oisive. Ma vie et mes forces sont dues à l'Angleterre—Ne parlez pas de ma blessure on croirait que je me glorifie de mes blessures.

La première phrase représente une condensation du passage suivant:

Our country requires that great exertions should be made to maintain its independence and its glory. . . . What my heart is most bent on, is the glory of my Country. To stand a barrier between the ambition of France and the independence of England is the first wish of my life; and in death, I would rather that my body, if it were possible, should be added to the rampart, than trailed in useless pomp through an idle throng" (*Memoirs*, II, 108).

La seconde phrase traduit probablement, "my best service is due to my country as long as I live" (*Memoirs*, II, 270). La troisième nous reporte à une date antérieure à laquelle Collingwood, après avoir annoncé qu'il avait été blessé par un éclat de bois, ajoutait "Pray do not talk about the wound in my leg, or people may think that I am vapouring about my dangers" (*Memoirs*, I, 307).

Renaud a pu voir les "Rois du Midi" demander la protection de l'amiral anglais, comme le montrent des lettres non seulement du roi et de la reine de Naples, mais encore des pétitions du Bey de Tunis, du Pacha d'Egypte et d'"Ali Pacha de Joannina." Si Napoléon a pu "s'émouvoir de l'espoir que Collingwood était dans les mers de l'Inde," c'est que dans les *Memoirs* de l'amiral nous trouvons que "Mon opinion est," says Napoleon more than once, "que Collingwood est parti, et est allé aux Grandes Indes" (I, 145).

Dans la scène finale où Collingwood se sépare de son jeune prisonnier qui va être échangé, Vigny emprunte encore quelques traits aux *Memoirs*: "Cela ne durera plus bien longtemps," dit l'Amiral; "je sens mes jambes trembler sous moi et maigrir. Pour la quatrième fois, j'ai demandé le repos à lord Mulgrave, et il m'a dit encore qu'il ne sait comment me remplacer." La phrase traduite ici non sans une légère transposition est la suivante: "My eyes are very feeble; my legs and feet swell so much every day, that it is pretty clear they will not last long" (*Memoirs*, II, 333). La réponse de lord Mulgrave est en réalité celle faite à la première demande de congé présentée par l'amiral: "I had before mentioned my declining health to Lord Mulgrave, and he tells me in reply, that he hopes I will stay, for he knows not how to supply my place" (*Memoirs*, II, 276, November 8, 1808). Enfin, on peut encore ajouter que Collingwood mourut bien "en pleine mer, comme il avait vécu durant quarante-neuf ans, sans se plaindre ni se glorifier, et sans avoir revu ses deux filles." Les *Memoirs* nous apprennent en effet que, se sentant incapable de s'acquitter plus longtemps de sa tâche, il confia son commandement au contre-amiral Martin et quitta Port Mahon le 4 mars 1810, sur la *Ville de Paris* pour retourner en Angleterre. Il mourut en mer, le soir du 7, à l'âge de cinquante-neuf ans et six mois, après avoir exprimé le regret de n'avoir pu "une dernière fois rencontrer les Français" (*Memoirs*, II, 407).

Il n'est pas sans intérêt de constater que le procédé de composition employé par Alfred de Vigny dans cet épisode est précisément celui dont avait fait usage de façon constante l'auteur d'*Atala*, de *René*, et des *Martyrs*. Comme Chateaubriand, Vigny a cru devoir se documenter avec un soin scrupuleux du détail; mais comme Chateaubriand il se soucie peu de la chronologie. Il a volontairement négligé tout ce qui aurait pu détruire l'unité grandiose de son personnage: ses plaintes continuelles contre la stupidité de l'ami-rauté, son irritation devant le manque de patriotisme des marchands de la Cité, sa haine de Bonaparte, sa passion mal déguisée pour les médailles et les titres, les platitudes moralisatrices qu'il accumule dans ses lettres, son naïf orgueil; il a même refusé de recueillir quantité de détails familiers, sentimentaux, ou simplement humains, bien dans le goût du dix-huitième siècle.

Il a fait un "Romain" de cet Anglais qui adore la campagne,

recommande de planter des chênes pour que l'Angleterre ne manque jamais de bois pour ses vaisseaux; il a attribué à Collingwood vieilli, courbé sur sa table de travail, préoccupé d'écrire ses rapports à l'amirauté, des traits empruntés à une période antérieure de sa vie. Il a élevé son héros au-dessus de l'humanité moyenne pour en faire un type représentatif ou plutôt un symbole, et c'est peut-être à cette transformation qu'il avait fait subir au caractère de Collingwood qu'il pensait quand il écrivait dans son *Journal*: "Je crois, ma foi, que je ne suis qu'une sorte de moraliste épique."

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THE DATE OF PERIBÁÑEZ Y EL COMENDADOR DE OCAÑA

Lope de Vega's practice of including himself occasionally among the minor *dramatis personae* of his plays is well known.¹ In Act III, Scene v, of *Peribáñez y el Comendador de Ocaña* he appears under the usual pseudonym *Belardo* in order to address his audience directly. In doing this he seems to have had three purposes: to take a gentle fling at his critics, who had been indulging in personalities; to make known to the public his desire to mend his ways, forgetting his past loves and lusts and turning to a life of devotion; and to announce, in veiled terms, his forthcoming epic, the *Jerusalem conquistada*. It is a difficult scene, and should be studied in connection with all of the *Belardo* scenes scattered through Lope's theater. In the present article I shall merely present the hypothesis that the last four lines of the scene are an allusion to the *Jerusalem conquistada*, on the basis of which it is possible to date the play more accurately than heretofore.

Professor Hugo A. Rennert, in his *Life of Lope de Vega*,² after quoting *Belardo's* references to his age and to his connection with the Church, drew the following conclusion:

¹ H. Rennert y A. Castro, *Vida de Lope de Vega*, Madrid, 1919, p. 221, note 1.

² Glasgow, 1904, p. 215.

If Lope was really forty-two years old at this time, then the play was written in 1604; but he had not entered the Church, nor any religious order, as early as this. He joined the Congregation of the Calle del Olivar in 1610, as we have seen. It is more likely, therefore, that this *comedia* was written between 1610 and 1614.³

This passage was translated without alteration in the *Vida de Lope de Vega* already cited,⁴ in spite of the fact that this book contains a statement which invalidates the year 1610 as a *terminus a quo*:

En el verano de 1609 ingresó Lope en la Congregación de Esclavos del Santísimo Sacramento en el oratorio del Caballero de Gracia.⁵

But here again there is need for correction. The only authority for the words just quoted appears to be Navarrete, who in his *Vida de Cervantes*⁶ claims to have had documentary evidence that

Lope en efecto era ya sacerdote a lo menos desde 1608, y al año siguiente entró de cofrade en la congregación de esclavos del santísimo Sacramento del oratorio del Caballero de Gracia, donde celebró la misa de la festividad de *Primer domingo de mes* en agosto de 1609, según consta de un acuerdo que firmado de él existe en su archivo. En 24 de enero de 1610 entró también en la del oratorio de la calle del Olivar. . . .

This assertion is a combination of error and fact. Lope could not have said mass in August of 1609, as has been conclusively shown by Rennert and Castro;⁷ but he did belong to the Congregación del Oratorio del Caballero de Gracia, for in addition to the "acuerdo" found by Navarrete we have the testimony of the *Fama Póstuma* of Pérez de Montalbán.⁸ The *constituciones* of this brotherhood were approved by the Archbishop of Toledo on November 13, 1609;⁹ but the organization must have come into existence many months earlier, and Lope may well have been a charter member. La Barrera was quite right when he left in doubt the whole question as to when Lope joined this brotherhood:

³ The play was first published in 1614.

⁴ Rennert and Castro, *loc. cit.*

⁵ P. 196. Schack follows Navarrete.

⁶ Madrid, 1819, p. 468.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 196, note 1, and Cap. IX.

⁸ Ed. Madrid, Hernando, 1921, pp. 13-14. (Biblioteca Universal. Colección de los Mejores Autores antiguos y modernos, Tomo xxv.)

⁹ Navarrete, *op. cit.*, pp. 476-477; La Barrera, "Nueva biografía de Lope de Vega," in *Obras de L. de V.*, I (Madrid, 1890), 163-164.

Ignoramos si fué por aquel tiempo cuando se alistó . . . en la congregación . . . fundada en la Iglesia de monjas franciscanas recoletas de la Concepción, calle que se denominó del Caballero de Gracia.¹⁰

All of this argumentation leads up to the main point of the present article: namely, that the year 1610 cannot be accepted as a *terminus a quo*,¹¹ and that the last four lines of the scene of *Peribáñez y el Comendador de Ocaña* which we are now considering make it possible to assign the play definitely to the first months of the year 1609.

The situation is well known to all readers of Lope. In answer to the summons of King Enrique III, two companies of men at arms, one composed of *hidalgos* and another of *labradores*, are leaving Ocaña to take part in an expedition against the Moors. As the companies march off, Peribáñez, Blas and Belardo detach themselves from the body of peasants to linger a moment beneath a balcony occupied by Casilda, Peribáñez's bride, and her two companions, Inés and Costanza. Casilda gives her husband a ribbon as a favor, Blas receives a *cinta de perro* from Costanza, and Inés asks:

Inés: ¿No pides favor, Belardo?

Belardo: Inés, por soldado viejo,
Ya que no por nuevo amante,
De tus manos le merezco.

Inés: Tomad aqueste chapín.

Belardo: No, Señora, deteneldo;
Que favor de chapinazo
Desde tan alto, no es bueno

Inés: Traedme un moro, Belardo.

Belardo: Días ha que ando tras ellos.
Mas, si no viniere en prosa,
Desde aquí le ofrezco en verso.¹²

It cannot be proved that we have here a reference to the *Jerusalem conquistada*; but only when so interpreted do the lines acquire meaning, and the conjecture is so illuminating, and fits the known

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 163-164.

¹¹ This fact was realized by Professor M. A. Buchanan, who listed *Peribáñez* among "Lope's Dated Plays" as belonging to the period 1609-1614, *The Chronology of Lope de Vega's Plays*, in University of Toronto Studies, Philological Series, No. 6, Toronto, The University Library, 1922, p. 20.

¹² Ed. Hartzenbusch, Rivadeneyra, xli, 296.

facts so perfectly, that it seems to justify this article. What did Lope mean by a "moro?" And by the words "si no viniere en prosa?" I suggest that we interpret: "Ya que no he de traeros un moro de carne y hueso (en prosa), os le ofrezco fingido y en verso."

Let us examine the known facts. Lope had indeed been concerned with his epic "for many days," for the manuscript had been completed prior to September 3, 1605, as we learn from a letter to Sessa, in which the poet expresses his desire to rush the work through the press;¹³ but difficulties presented themselves, with resulting delay. The permission to print was dated August 23, 1608; and it was not until February, 1609, that the book left the press of Juan de la Cuesta in Madrid.¹⁴ It is to this latter date, approximately, that we should in all probability assign *Peribáñez y el Comendador de Ocaña*. As the poem was being placed on public sale, the author sought to pique the curiosity and arouse the interest of his audience. The date 1605 is necessarily excluded by the fact that at that time Lope had joined no religious brotherhood.¹⁵

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OLD SPANISH TERMS OF SMALL VALUE

In the May, 1929, issue of *MLN.*, pp. 323-324, Professor G. I. Dale refers to my article of May, 1927, under the above title, in his article entitled "The Figurative Negative in Old Spanish."

¹³ La Barrera, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

¹⁴ Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña*, II, 171-172.

¹⁵ Of course, Lope was a Familiar of the Inquisition at least as early as 1608, as we learn from the *privilegio* and the *portada* of the *Jerusalem conquistada*; and Fitzmaurice-Kelly (*Hist de la Lit. Esp.*, 1921, p. 224) regarded this as perhaps a first indication of Lope's change of heart. But this position appears to have been purely honorary (La Barrera, *op. cit.*, p. 148); and the secular (not to say infamous) character of many of the Familiars has been made clear by Henry C. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, I (Philadelphia, 1906), 446 ff. Lope may have become a Familiar out of true devotion, but we have no means of knowing his motive. I do not believe that Lope's connection with the Inquisition can explain Belardo's words "a la Iglesia me acogí."

Some of the information he adds has already been called to my attention, especially the *figo* in *Mio Cid*, which I had overlooked, and which has given rise to a misunderstanding of the adjective "rustic." My aim was (1) to classify the terms regardless of their syntactical use, and (2) to point out that a considerable proportion of them had been taken from the fruit and vegetable vocabulary. These were the "rustic similes" in Group I. The three instances of *dinero* in *Mio Cid*—not quoted in my article—would belong to Group II, and the adjective "rustic" would not apply to them.

It had struck me as curious that the author of the *Cantar de Mio Cid* should not use the words of Group I at all—with but one exception, and there the word is not used by the hero, but by a lesser personage; that the thirteenth and fourteenth-century *mester de clerecía* should use them frequently—especially Gonzalo de Berceo and Juan Ruiz; and that the *Poema de Alfonso Onceno* should have but one case of *figo*. To explain the predilection of the clerics for these rustic similes I suggested that it may be due to their environment in the days when fruit and vegetables were articles of barter. This seems to be borne out by the following line:

E muchas otras fructas de diversas monedas, Mil, 4d.

In the sixteenth century the Inca Garcilaso informs us in *El Reino de los Incas del Perú* about the value of agricultural products in the following range of values: *trigo*, *garbanzo*, *haba*, *mijo*. The Aztecs used cacao beans as money, hence the phrase: *No vale un cacao, un cacahuete*.¹ Cervantes uses it in *La Gitanilla*: "No lo estimamos en un cacao."

With a complete list of these terms in Old Spanish a study could be made of the changes between the Old Spanish and modern usage. It is true that these terms have been treated, but always in a vague and incomplete manner. Menéndez Pidal in the *Cid* vocabulary under *figo* quotes FnGz, 181; Apolonio, 230; SIIdf, 11; JRz, 626, 359, 1866; Alf. Onceno, 798. On p. 376 he says: "Los sustantivos de objetos despreciables que refuerzan la negación—here he translates Diez's *Verstärkung der Negation*—no estaban en la Edad Media excluidos del estilo elevado, como hoy 'comino,

¹ *MPh*, XXXIII (1926), 349-353. See also José María Asencio y Toledo, *Relaciones de Yucatán* (Colección de documentos inéditos de ultramar), Madrid, 1898, I, 339.

ardite, pito, pizca, tres caracoles, bledo,' 'todo esto non vale uno figo,' Auto Magos 8, 'non preçio contra uos todo lo al un figo' Alex 898, 'vn dinero' Mio Cid 252, SMill, 127. Estos sustantivos llevaban a menudo un adjetivo para rebajar más su valor: 'un dinero malo,' Mio Cid 503, 'un puies foradado' Milg 666, 'sendos rabos' Duelo 197. Abundan los sustantivos análogos como 'hun viento, vn riso, huna mançana madura' SMEgipc 105, 191, 912, 'un moxquito' SanTob 286."—These (except *mançana*) would belong to my Group III. He refers to W. W. Comfort; Diez, III, 398; Meyer-Lübke, III, § 639; Foerster, *Span. Sprachlehre*, p. 312. In the *Clásicos Castellanos* edition he says in a note: "'Non val un figo' y otras expresiones semejantes ('un moxquito, una mançana,' etc.) no estaban excluidas en la literatura medioeval del estilo elevado, como lo están hoy las frases correspondientes (no me importa un comino, un ardite, tres pitos, etc.). Aparecen usadas en todos los buenos autores, como Berceo, el Alexandre, el Arcipreste de Hita."

This presents the situation neither exhaustively nor accurately. The isolated cases of *figo* in *Mio Cid* and *Alfonso Onceno* show that the use of the terms was almost exclusive in the *mester de clerecía* for reasons suggested by me. Professor Dale says that the scholars mentioned by Menéndez Pidal "cite practically all the words included in my list in addition to as many more overlooked by me." My list has 22 terms and 44 quotations. The terms I do not list are 7: *mançana*, *puies foradado*, *gota*, *agallas*, *piñones*, *cannaveras*, *cabello*, plus 4 quoted by Menéndez Pidal as stated above. Diez has also *un negro de uña* from *Don Quix.*, 1, 20, and *dos pajas* from JEnz, 48, but these are not Old Spanish. Of the modern terms he only has *bledo*, *comino*, *ardite*. If we add *pera* and *pan* in Meyer-Lübke, the total of 13 is not as many as 22. Menéndez Pidal has 19 quotations, Diez 12. Comfort lists only *arveja* and *meaja* in Old Spanish, though he is very exhaustive in modern Spanish. To the quotations for Group III I may add:

Menos valien, que cuchos los bocudos alanes, StaOria, 197d

and the following examples of terms already mentioned:

Mas nol enpedecieron valient una ervcia, Mil, 505d

Toda su maestría non valie una hava, Mil, 591d

Non valdrás mas por esso quanto vale un figo, Mil, 341d

Partió quanto avia, non li fincó dinero, Mil, 9d

With the additional six cases—I include “sendos rabos” quoted by Menéndez Pidal—the total would reach 15 instead of 9 as stated by me in note 2 in my previous article. Menéndez Pidal’s statement might, therefore, be qualified. “Es de notar que abundan en el *mester de clerecía*, probablemente a causa del ambiente en que vivían los autores. Hay sólo un caso de *figo* en *Mío Cid* y uno en *Alfonso Onceno*, además de tres casos de *dinero* en *Mío Cid*.”

Meyer-Lubke does not seem to agree with W. W. Comfort, nor follow Diez whom Menéndez Pidal follows, as does Hanssen in his grammar. In his *Grammatik*, III, 743, § 693, he says: “Von grosser Wichtigkeit sind die *Fullwörter der Negation*, d. h. Substantiva, die die kleinste Menge angeben, deren Beeinflussung durch ein Thun verneint werden soll,” and in Old Spanish quotes *pera*, Berceo, S. Mill, 407, *haba*, Mil, 591, *arvejas*, Hita, 328, *figo*, 349, “alle nur mit *valer* verbunden,” *dos pinnonnes*, Hita, 638, *grano*, Berceo, Sil., 262, *un pan*, Lo.Sen., 161, *dinero*, Berceo, Lo.Sen., 176, *una nues*, Hita, 358. Among the modern he only lists *bledo*. The French translation, instead of using “cheville,” says in III, 774, § 693: “Grande est l’importance des termes qui complètent la négation,” a phenomenon discussed by me elsewhere.² The French translation of Diez, III, 396, is better: “Renforcement de la négation pleine.” Hanssen, § 643, *Refuerzos de negación*, lists *un caracol*. Comfort is fairly complete in the modern Spanish expressions: *bledo*, *castaña*, *comino* (cf. Pereda), *miaja* (cf. *La Malquerida*), *pepino* (cf. *Gil Blas*), *ardite*, *pizca*, *clavo*, *pitoche*, *demonio*, *papel de fumar*.

It sounds true that “a pot with a hole in it is practically useless,” but much depends on the location and the shape of the hole. The Latin *testum* (in Ovid and Petronius) could not have had a hole in the bottom, but only on the top. As a matter of fact, the word first meant the cover of the pot. This the Spanish *tiesto* (Catalán and Mallorquí *test*) usually has. My definition was based on the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada* (“siempre con un agujero”), and I have no reason to doubt that this type of flower-pot was known in the days of Berceo.³ The adjective *foradado*

² *AJP.*, XLIX (1928), 378 ff.

³ Eguílaz y Yanguas in his *Diccionario etimológico*, p. 506, suggests the Arabic *tist*, *tišt* < Pers. *tišt* “pelvis,” with reference to Ibn Baṭūṭa, IV, 145. Properly vocalized *ṭast*, this word means “brass basin.” It seems doubtful to me that Berceo had this sort of vessel in mind. Lanchetas does

(Diez has *forarada* by error, "ausgeackerte Nuss," French translation, III, 399, has correctly *nuez foradada* [noix vide]) has the connotation of "bored through," "perforated by a worm," "worm-eaten": otherwise a nut with a hole in it is not useless, unless it be *vide*.

In conclusion I repeat my suggestion that a complete study of this subject be made, covering the whole Romance field. Since writing the above there was published in Madrid, 1929, an interesting study by E. L. Llorens, *La negación en español antiguo, con referencias a otros idiomas*. In his review of this book in *MPH*, xxvii (1930), 506, Professor Hayward Keniston calls attention to H. R. Lang's contribution in *MLN*, I (1886), 127-129, in which reference is made to the same author's article in *AJP*, vi (1885), 80; where the terms under discussion are dealt with as "nouns taking the place of indefinite pronouns, mostly connected with a negation." His *collectanea* add several additional words to those previously mentioned. For O.Sp.: *dinarada*, Cid 64, *feste*, JR, 461, *gallo*, Alex, 637, *gorrión*, Alex, 624, *dos motes*, JR, 1451, *nano*, Alex 1860, *pugesada*, SMill, 332, *puntada*, Duelo, 160, *zapato*, SIldef, Apol, 314, *un vaso dagua*, Alex, 2462, *un acento*, Alex, 40, *tres aulanas*, Alex, 237, *senmos cabrones*, Alex, 1942, *una castanna*, FGz, 177, *dos castannas*, JR, 1096, *geresa*, Alex, 1763, *çermenna*, JR, 231, *un clavo*, Alex, 2411, Alf. Onc, 355, *un canto de dinero*, JR, 1245. For mod. Sp.: *brizna*, *burba*, *blanca*, *cabrahigo*, *cacao*, *cantueso*, *dedito*, *ostugo*, *tilde* (all from Cervantes), *adarme*, *apice*, *orégano*, *pico*, *anís*, *jota*, *moco de pavo* (*Caracol*, *pepino*, *pizca*, pito have already been mentioned).

In view of this information Group I should be divided into: a) fruit and vegetables; b) animals and birds. Of the O.Sp. words only *castaña*, *clavo*, *pito*, *meaja*, *chimbía* (Pereda) seem to have survived in modern usage.

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not list the word in his *Vocabulario*. Samuel Birch, *History of Ancient Pottery*, London, 1873, p. 143, speaks of flower-pots of earthenware used by the ancients. "The use of flower-pots placed at the windows to form an artificial garden was also known." In the Musée Lavigerie at Carthage there is a large number of pots with a hole in the bottom, dating from the Roman period. The Slovak *črotár* (better known under the German term *Rastelbinder*) used to wander, in the pre-war days, all over Central Europe, restoring broken pots to usefulness.

D. ANTONIO GIL Y ZÁRATE'S BIRTH-DATE

Manuals of Spanish literature are in disagreement with regard to the birth of the Spanish dramatist, D. Antonio Gil y Zárate. Some cite Dec. 1, 1793, while just as many others cite Dec. 1, 1796. This disagreement harks back to the lifetime of the author, when several modest biographical articles were published. Studies by Revilla¹ and Ferrer del Río,² and one by Ochoa,³ give December 1, 1793, as the date of his birth, while Ochoa, in an earlier work,⁴ gives the date as Dec. 1, 1796. Blanco García,⁵ who asserts that he had the *partida de bautismo* before him, gives the latter date as well. All of these writers agree that the author of *Guzmán el Bueno* was born in El Escorial; but the Marqués de Valmar, probably confusing the native town of Gil y Zárate's father, Bernardo Gil, with that of the dramatist, says that he was born in the Real Sitio de San Ildefonso.⁶

The *partida de bautismo* states that Gil y Zárate was born in El Escorial on Dec. 1, 1793, and on the following day was baptized in the church of San Bernabé. The registration of the birth and baptism of Gil y Zárate, found in the records of the church San Bernabé (book beginning 1789 and ending 1805, folio 157, verso), reads as follows:

En la Parroquial de San Bernabé de esta Va. del Escorial, en dos de Dicie. de mill setos y noventa y tres. Yo Dn Laureano Gómez Mojena, Pro de dicha Va con Lica de Dn Antonio Rodriguez, cura de dicha Parroquial puse los santos óleos y Bape solemn e a un niño qe nació en el Rl sitio de Sa Lorenzo en uno de dicho mes y año a las ocho y ma de la mañana á quien puse pr ne Antonio Pedro Natalio, hijo lemo de Bernardo Antonio

¹ J. de la Revilla, "Gil y Zárate," *Galería de españoles célebres contemporáneos o biografías y retratos de todos los personajes distinguidos de nuestros días*, publicada por D. Nicomedes Pastor Díaz y D. Francisco de Cárdenas (Madrid: Boix, 1846), III, 3.

² A. Ferrer del Río, *Galería de la literatura española* (Madrid, 1846), 113.

³ A. Gil y Zárate, *Obras dramáticas*, ed Ochoa (Paris: Baudry, 1850), VI.

⁴ E. de Ochoa, *Apuntes para una biblioteca de escritores españoles contemporáneos en prosa y verso* (Paris. Baudry, 1840), II, 89.

⁵ F. Blanco García, *La literatura española en el siglo XIX* (3rd ed., Madrid, 1909), I, 248; also (2nd ed., Madrid, 1899), I, 248.

⁶ Marqués de Valmar, Introduction to "*Guzmán el Bueno*," *Autores dramáticos contemporáneos y joyas del teatro español del siglo XIX*, con un prólogo de D. Antonio Cánovas del Castillo (Madrid, 1882), II, 224.

Gil, natl de Sn Ildefonso y Antonio Zárate Aguirre y Murguia natl de Barcelona: Abuelos paternos Basilio Gil natl de Santa Maria de Nieva obispado de Segovia y Ana Aguado, natl de Pinilla Ambras obispado de Segovia Mateinos Pedro Zárate Aguirre y Murguia y Franca Valles natles de dicho Barcelona: Fué su madrina Ana Aguado á quien advertí el Pareñco Espiritual y obligas y lo firmé. Dn. Laureano Gómez Mojena.

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MAISTRE ANDRÉ, ITALIEN

Ever since Armand Baschet called attention in his book, *Les comédiens italiens à la cour de France* (1882, p. 4), to "Maistre André, italien," who was commanded by the governor of Paris "de faire et composer des farces et moralitez les plus exquises" for a royal entry in 1530, it has been assumed that this charge was given to the leader of a company of traveling actors and that consequently the influence of the Italian on the French theater began at this early date. Sanesi, however (*La Commedia*, I, 433), suggested that the reference to Maistre André and to "Messire Mathée et ses compagnons" at the same time was possibly only to a group of artizans and merchants who gave amateur performances, not to stable companies of professional players.

The probabilities are, I think, against these guesses and in favor of identifying Maistre André with a Maestro Andrea in Rome in 1525, who was neither a professional nor an amateur actor, but a builder of pageants. The satirical witticism recorded of him in a Florentine document (from the *Archivio* of Florence, Carte Strozziene, under date, Feb. 11), which is quoted by A. Ademollo in *I teatri di Roma nel secolo decimosettimo* (1888, p. 3, n. 1), is described as follows:

Hieri Mo Andrea dipintore fece un carro dove erano tutte le cortigiane vecchie di Roma fatte di carta, ciascuna con il nome suo et tutte le buttò in fiume avanti al Papa. . . . Domane le cortigiane per vendicarsi frustano detto Mo. Andrea per tutta Roma.

What more probable than that this bold satirist, driven from Rome, should seek a field for his talents in the north, far from his enemies?

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GOETHE'SCHE VERSE IN EINER WIELAND'SCHEN DICHTUNG?

In einem Aufsatz mit obigem Titel vertritt Max Morris (Goethe-Studien, I, 133 ff.) die Ansicht, daß der Fischgesang in Wielands *Wintermärchen* nicht von Wieland, sondern von Goethe sei:

Der Pflicht vergessen
Wir Fische nie;
Haben viel Muh
Und karg zu essen,
Bau'n spät und früh
Uns luft'ge Schlösser,
Hättens gern besser
Statt immer schlimmer
Und rathen immer
Und treffen's nie.

Metrische oder andere objektive Gründe vermag Morris nicht anzuführen, er meint nur, hier sei "gar nicht Wieland's, aber ganz Goethe's Art." Er stützt seine Ansicht durch die Bemerkung daß Goethe schon in einem den 24. 12. 75 datirten Briefe an Karl August die zwei Verse

Der Pflicht vergessen
Wir Fische nie

zitiert, während das *Wintermärchen* erst 1776 (nämlich im Januar-Heft des *Merkurs*) veröffentlicht wurde.

Wieland hatte also den Beiden das Wintermärchen aus dem Manuskript vorgelesen und bei dieser Gelegenheit wird Goethe die Verse improvisirt haben. . . . In der Kunstgeschichte muß häufig über die Autorschaft aus inneren Gründen, aus dem Gesamteindruck geurtheilt werden. Warum soll ein solches Urtheil nicht auch in der Literaturgeschichte möglich sein? Goethe's geistige Handschrift ist wahrscheinlich nicht so schwer zu erkennen. Das Vorstehende beansprucht nicht die Frage zur Entscheidung zu bringen, sondern es soll die Anregung geben, daß Andere sich äussern, ob sie denselben Eindruck von unsern Versen erhalten.

Der oben nach Morris wiedergegebene Text entstammt der Ausgabe letzter Hand vom Jahre 1796 (C¹ 18. Bd. S. 231), während der ursprüngliche Text des *Merkurs* (1776, I, 64), der doch bei der Frage nach der Verfasserschaft allein in Betracht kommt, eine ganz andere Fassung aufweist:

Der Pflicht vergessen
 Wir Fische nie;
 Haben viele Muh,
 Sind spat und fruh,
 Rechnen und messen,
 Essen und vergessen,
 Und bauen Schlösser
 Und mahlen sie;
 Hätten's gern besser!
 Zählen die Sterne;
 Und rathen gerne,
 Und treffens nie.

Die ursprünglichen zwölf Verse wurden in 1796 auf zehn zusammengezogen, wobei nur die beiden ersten, von Goethe zitierten Verse, sowie der Schlußvers unverändert blieben. Falls nun jemand geneigt wäre anzunehmen, Goethe habe die ursprünglichen Verse von 1775 gedichtet, und dann auch 1796 die Umarbeitung besorgt, die Morris ihm zuschreiben möchte, so ist zu bemerken, daß die Verse 1-6 schon im Jahre 1785 in der endgültigen Fassung vorliegen (*Auserlesene Gedichte*, 5. Bd. S. 59), während die vier Schlußverse der von Morris benutzten Redaktion hier durch fünf andere vertreten sind:

und mahlen sie;
 sind große messer
 von wann und wie;
 hätten's gern besser
 und kriegen's nie.

Soll Goethe auch hier mitgeholfen haben? Dann wäre auch die Möglichkeit seiner Mitarbeit an vielen andern Stellen in Betracht zu ziehen, denn gerade im *Wintermärchen* hat Wieland bei jeder Gelegenheit gefeilt und geändert, sogar in der Ausgabe des Jahres 1791 (*Auserlesene Gedichte* 5. Bd.), die sonst nur den Text von 1785 wiederholt.

Der Morris'schen Annahme fehlt jede Begründung: man braucht nur anzunehmen daß Wieland im Dezember 1775 einen Teil des fertigen Gedichts in Goethes Gegenwart vorgelesen habe, das Zitat in Goethes Brief erklärt sich dann ganz einfach als Reminiszenz.

W. KURBELMEYER

REVIEWS

La Légende Arthurienne. Première Partie: Les Plus Anciens Textes. By EDMOND FARAL. PARIS: Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, 1929. Tomes 255, 257.

Three things M. Faral has essayed in these volumes. Two of them, as was to be expected, he has done brilliantly; the third, as was to be expected, is a failure.

A real contribution is his third volume in which he has brought together—not “les plus anciens textes,” since not a single Welsh text is included—but “les plus anciens textes latins”: the *Historia Britonum*, the *Annales Cambriae*, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* and *Vita Merlini*. Welcome is the printing for the first time of the Chartres text of “Nennius,” as well as the Harleian text; welcome, too, is an edition of Geoffrey's *Historia* from a new MS., Cambridge, Trinity College, 1125, which it is now possible to compare with the three used by Mr. Griscorn by his edition. To have in one volume these diplomatic texts of three Latin works so important for the history of Arthurian romance is a great boon.

Besides the texts M. Faral has given us a fresh and valuable discussion of the Latin material from Gildas to 1150. With indefatigable industry he has studied the original works and arrived at his own conclusions. Much of his space he devotes to historical and textual problems which have nothing to do with the Arthurian cycle, but which have great interest for the historian of the period of the Anglo-Saxon Conquest. Particularly valuable is his discussion of the relation of Geoffrey to the Latin authors known in his day; here M. Faral has gone far beyond his predecessors and has many an interesting suggestion to his credit. Of course, there is no question that Geoffrey was a learned man and took without scruple whatever he could fit into his scheme; the Breton book could have been only a partial source for the *Historia*. That has long been recognized. M. Faral effectively disposes of the claim that there is any reliable Celtic tradition in what Geoffrey has to say of the eagle of Sephton, of Bladud, of King Leir, and other deceptive tales. To the discussion of Latin texts and their non-Celtic relationships he has brought vast erudition and great acumen; and scholarship is thereby permanently enriched.

It is unfortunate that M. Faral has set before himself a third purpose, namely to demolish the theory that Arthurian romance is in large measure the heir of Celtic tradition, and to establish the thesis that it is mainly the fabrication of sophisticated literary men of the twelfth century. In order to do so he constantly ignores or warps the evidence, as I shall attempt to show. In “Nennius,”

though admitting that the story of the fatherless boy is obviously related to a story in the *Echtra Airt*, he merely demands, "Qui osera reconnaître avec assurance dans ce texte tiré d'un manuscrit du XV^e siècle le témoin d'une tradition antérieure à la même *Historia Britonum*?"¹ In view of the fact that the *Echtra Airt* is mentioned in a list going back to the tenth century,² that the memory of the Celt is long, and that there is nothing to show the derivation of the Irish version from "Nennius," it is more dangerous to deny than to assert the Celticity of this episode. M. Faral weighs heavily on the argument that Arthur was a "chef breton du Nord,"³ and relies for his evidence on the localization of the twelve battles by Mr. Anscombe.⁴ But by his own admission many of the sites cannot be identified, and most of the rest could not have been fought over by the Saxons until many years after Arthur's death. The list tells us nothing that can be relied on of Arthur's historic activities. If, therefore, Bede, writing in the North two centuries after Arthur, says nothing of him, it does not follow that there was then no legend of Arthur current in Britain. Both his activities and his early fame may have been confined to the centre and the south. In fact, the two marvels connected with him in the *Historia Britonum* are admittedly derived from South Wales. Both have the appearance of genuine local traditions; one mentions the hunting of the "porcus Troynt," famous in *Kilhwch and Olwen*, and the other mentions Arthur's son Anir, also found in the *Mabinogion*. M. Faral declares that he would be an audacious person who would find in the allusion to the famous boar evidence of an already developed legend;⁵ perhaps; but he would be far more audacious who asserted the contrary. M. Faral seems to believe that by challenging his opponents to assert what is highly probable, but not proved, he has established his own very unlikely hypothesis.

The same method of defiance is employed on the significant reference in the *Annales Cambriae* (A. D. 954-5) to the battle of Camlann, "at which Arthur and Medraut fell together." "Rien ne permet de dire . . . ni qui était Medraut, ni quelles étaient ses relations avec Arthur."⁶ "Tout ce dont l'existence est certaine se réduit à cette obscure et sèche note annalistique." But will M. Faral assert that this is all that existed in 955, and that every other Welsh reference to Medraut is a posterior invention? The probabilities are all against it. The well-known visit of the monks of Laon to Bodmin is disposed of thus:⁷ Though the account purports to be that of the monks themselves, several remarks are obviously later interpolations and the name of the Archbishop of

¹ I, 118.² *Ernu*, III (1907), 149. Cf. F. N. Robinson's article in *Kittredge Anniversary Papers* (Boston, 1913), p. 191.³ I, 153.⁴ Pp. 140-144.⁵ P. 235.⁶ P. 223.⁷ Pp. 225-233.

Canterbury is mistaken. Therefore, "il est interdit de s'appuyer sur le texte d'Herman de Tournai." Is M. Faral ready to accept the consequences of this statement that a single error destroys the credibility of a document? Finally, after passing over William of Malmesbury's testimony in 1125 to the existence of "Britonum nugae," "fallaces fabulae" concerning Arthur,⁸ as a matter unworthy of commentary, he surveys the status of the Arthurian tradition in 1135, and solemnly states that it consisted, apart from the semi-historical contribution of "Nennius," of three meager scraps of local legend, of some wholly unromantic passages in the saints' lives, and of a belief that Arthur would return.⁹ To this one may reply that *a priori* the Celtic imagination would abhor such a vacuum; of all peoples the Celts would not leave a hero, whose memory had outlasted six hundred years, without an adequate legend. In the second place the legend, or enough of it, is actually preserved in *Kilhwch and Olwen*, the Black Book poem, and the *Preiddeu Annwfn*.¹⁰ Here is a body of material, probably antedating Geoffrey, certainly independent of Geoffrey; and yet in his survey of the Arthurian legend in 1135 M. Faral does not give us a hint of its existence. No more does he mention the evidence for the spread of the legend on the Continent, the Arthurian and Celtic affinities of the *Pèlerinage Charlemagne*,¹¹ the mention of Avalon in the *Couronnement Louis*,¹² the personal names in Italy,¹³ the Modena sculpture,¹⁴ the curiously consistent testimony regarding Bleheris.¹⁵ It is hard to take such a survey as M. Faral's seriously.

In the same spirit M. Faral comes to Geoffrey of Monmouth. Of course, much of the *Historia* is a late fabrication or a manipulation of books we still possess; M. Faral believes this to be substantially true of all. There was no Breton book and little other Celtic tradition.¹⁶ One may forgive him for trying to connect Estrildis with Estritha¹⁷ and forgetting all about Isolt or Essylt, whose story in certain points strikingly corresponds with that of Estrildis;¹⁸ one may forgive the omission of all references to the curious hints in

⁸ Cf. *Speculum*, II (1927), 449.

⁹ Pp. 257-261.

¹⁰ On *Black Book* poem cf. *Aberystwyth Studies*, VIII (1926), 54-7. On both cf. R. S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance* (N. Y., 1927), 92, 105 f., 201.

¹¹ *MP.*, XXV (1928), 331 ff. *Speculum*, III (1928), 24 f.

¹² *Speculum*, III, 24.

¹³ *Romania*, XVII (1888), 161 ff., 355 ff.

¹⁴ On date cf. *Medieval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis* (N. Y., 1927), pp. 215-28; *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, ser. V, vol. XVIII, pp. 15 ff. On the subject cf. *RR.*, xv, 266 ff.

¹⁵ *Romania*, LIII (1927), 82 ff.

¹⁶ II, 400.

¹⁷ P. 96.

¹⁸ Tristram's visits to the *Salle aux Images* bear a marked resemblance to those of Loerinus to the subterranean chamber.

Arthurian romance that there existed Welsh stories of Belin and Bran quite independent of Geoffrey's Bellinus and Brennius,¹⁹ the failure to mention the birth of Mongan as a parallel to the birth of Arthur,²⁰ the failure to note the connections between Lucius Hiberus, and the Welsh Llwh and Irish Lug;²¹ the absence of any serious consideration of such significant name-forms as Morgan, Modredus, Hiderus, Eventus and Walwanus;²² the failure to mention, in connection with Morgan and her sisters, the nine princesses dwelling with their father in the Land beyond the Western Sea, or the nine sea-maidens in the depths between Ireland and Scotland,²³ and his failure to note other specific analogies between the Isle of Avalon and the Celtic Other World. But when it is gravely suggested that Geoffrey invented Urian, Merlin, and Morgan le Fay;²⁴ that the origin of the names Pridwen and Excalibur is unknown;²⁵ that Uther is a corruption of Petr;²⁶ but that Avalloc cannot be a corruption of Avallach or Aballach;²⁷ that nothing was known of Talhessin before Geoffrey's time except his name, and that his later fame is due to his prominence in the *Vita Merlini*;²⁸ then it is clear that M. Faral has neither given Celtic literature the attention which his thesis demands, nor has he the cool, scientific judgment to appraise its claims.

In sum, M. Faral in the rôle of Foerster *redivivus* has laid himself open to the following serious criticisms. His knowledge of Celtic literature is too limited to make his failure to see many

¹⁹ R. S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*, 197 f.

²⁰ *Transactions of Cymmrodorion Society*, 1912-13, pp. 72-80.

²¹ Loomis, *op. cit.*, 347 ff.

²² On Morgan cf. *ibid.*, 192 f. On Hiderus cf. p. 349. On Walwanus cf. p. 334 and *PMLA.*, XLIII, 395. On Modred, cf. *Romans*, xxv, 2. One would like to ask how, if Geoffrey knew only of Modred from the mention of Medraut in the *Annales Cambriae*, he came to hit upon precisely the Cornish form of the name. On Eventus cf. *ZfSL.*, XII, 233.

²³ S. H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, II, 238 ff. *Medieval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis*, p. 275.

²⁴ II, 44, 275, 306. Urien, of course, was no invention of Geoffrey's but a historic king, and is celebrated in much old Welsh poetry, together with his son Owain. Cf. *Cymmrodor*, xxviii (1918), 193 f.; J. E. Lloyd, *Hist. of Wales*, I, 163-5.

²⁵ Pp. 265 f. The source of Pridwen can be found in Bruce, *Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, I, 43 (though Prydwen is there a ship and not a shield), and the source of Caliburnus has long been recognized in Welsh Caledwylch, Irish Caladbolg.

²⁶ P. 248. This despite the fact that a gloss in a 13th century MS. of Nennius says Arthur was called "Mab uter britannice" because he was a fierce youth, and that a *Death-Song of Uthyr* is preserved in Welsh that has not the remotest suggestion that it was inspired by Geoffrey. It seems clear, and is in fact generally agreed, that the Welsh saying that Arthur was a fierce youth, "mab uter," was easily misunderstood to mean that he was a son of that Uthyr, whose name was already familiar in poetry.

²⁷ P. 300.

²⁸ Pp. 376, 384.

Celtic elements in a given author of much significance: what he does not know he cannot recognize. His knowledge of the literature about his subject shows equal limitations: I find no reference to Fletcher's *Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, Taylor's *Political Prophecy in England*, Morris Jones' *Taliessin*. He seems to believe that if a Welsh story of Arthur, Myrddin, or Taliessin occurs in MS. only after 1150, no matter how unlike anything of Geoffrey's, Geoffrey was the inspirer of that story; that it did not exist before him, and would not have existed but for him. His attempts to minimize the testimony to oral traditions concerning Arthur before Geoffrey are ineffectual. His mind, quick to detect the debt of one book to another, seems unable to perceive the more subtle relationships of folklore or even the signs of oral transmission. He gives no consideration worth mentioning to name-forms, which reveal rather more surely than any other kind of evidence the fortunes of the stories in which they are embedded. It is to be hoped for the sake of scholarship and his own high reputation that M. Faral will realize these grave limitations, and that, when he continues his work, it will reveal a real knowledge of Celtic literature and an understanding of how it would be affected by a long period of oral transmission.

ROGER SHERMAN LOOMIS

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RÉPONSE

Je vous remercie, Monsieur le Directeur, de m'avoir communiqué le texte de l'article consacré par M. Roger Sherman Loomis aux trois premiers volumes de mes études sur la *Légende arthurienne*. Si cet article ne me paraissait regrettable que par le ton et la témérité des affirmations, je n'y répondrais pas. Mais il est de nature à donner aux lecteurs une idée tout à fait fausse de mon travail, et c'est ce que je ne puis laisser passer sans protestation. Que M. Loomis me taxe, pour commencer, de prévention ou d'incompétence à l'égard des choses celtiques, et qu'il déclare que, sur ce point, mon échec était prévu ("as was to be expected"); qu'il me prête, ensuite, comme à un sot, l'imbécile opinion qu'il suffit de détruire la thèse d'autrui pour établir la sienne propre: ce sont des injures gratuites. Mais, quand M. Loomis écrit que j'ai récusé le témoignage d'Herman de Tournai pour la seule raison qu'il contenait une erreur (alors que j'ai relevé dans ce témoignage plusieurs éléments tardifs, dont personne ne saurait décider si ce sont de simples interpolations ou des vices inhérents à l'original); quand il écrit que j'ai passé sur le texte de Guillaume de Malmesbury daté de 1125 comme sur une matière indigne de commentaire (alors que j'ai consacré plusieurs pages à ce sujet): il fausse les faits d'une manière que je ne puis tolérer.

Je ne puis tolérer, surtout, certaines accusations d'ignorance qui sont de pures calomnies. M. Loomis, qui n'a pas trouvé dans mon livre la mention de trois critiques dont il cite les noms, ose déclarer formellement que mon information bibliographique est déficiente. Que mon information ait ses limites, il se peut; et je remercierai qui me le montrera. Mais je n'admets pas que M. Loomis accuse sans preuve. M. Loomis (qui, lui, cite plus volontiers les critiques que les sources) aurait dû s'apercevoir que, en dégageant volontairement du fatras bibliographique, j'ai évité de citer sans utilité les ouvrages dits "critiques" auxquels je n'avais pas de dette ou dont je n'ai pas jugé à propos de discuter les thèses. Il n'avait pas à s'étonner de ne trouver ici les noms ni de Fletcher, ni de Taylor, ni de Morris Jones: et il en a conclu, pourtant, que je les ignorais. Mais, à ce compte, et en raisonnant comme lui, que faudrait-il penser de sa propre information? Ce n'est pas de trois noms qu'il aurait dû constater l'absence: c'est de plus de cent. Ces cent noms connus, va-t-il donc falloir considérer qu'il ne les connaît pas?

Il y a pis, et c'est ici que j'élève la protestation la plus énergique. M. Loomis déclare que j'ai ignoré ou méconnu certains textes ou documents relatifs aux choses celtiques et prend argument de ce qu'il n'en a pas trouvé mention dans cette première série d'études. N'a-t-il donc pas lu ma préface? N'a-t-il pas compris (c'est pourtant notre métier de comprendre les livres) que ma méthode a été, évitant toute systématisation, de prendre les monuments un à un, dans l'ordre où les présentait la chronologie, et de les examiner selon cet ordre?¹ Le tour de chacun d'eux viendra. Il viendra au moment voulu. Et quand il viendra, je saurai dire pourquoi il n'est venu qu'à ce moment-là. Si M. Loomis s'était borné à exprimer son étonnement de ne pas trouver déjà dans ces premières études les textes qu'il attendait, si même il avait exprimé le doute que je puisse, plus tard, justifier mon opinion relativement à la date des documents qu'il considère, lui, comme anciens, il n'eût usé que de son droit. Mais, avant de condamner pour ignorance, son devoir élémentaire était d'attendre et d'entendre. Rien ne l'autorisait à me reprocher, comme il l'a fait, une insuffisante considération pour la littérature celtique et une insuffisante information dans ce domaine. Mes propres publications, s'il les connaissait mieux, et le livre même qu'il critique, s'il l'avait mieux lu, lui auraient fourni du contraire quelques indices dont je lui fais grâce.

Les procédés de discussion que je viens de relever sont tellement inusités parmi les historiens qu'ils me dispensent de relever une à une les assertions de M. Loomis; qu'il me suffise de dire que je n'en admetts aucune.

EDMOND FARAL

Collège de France

¹ J'ai manqué à cette règle en parlant primitivement, pour la commodité

REBUTTAL

I regret deeply that the tone of my review offends M. Faral. At the same time, I cannot but appeal to the readers of this journal to judge whose controversial style is the more offensive. To their learned suffrages also I am content to leave the decision whether my strictures are baseless slanders or sound criticisms.

Unlike M. Faral, I admit one error. He did discuss the *nugae Britonum* mentioned by William of Malmesbury. The only excuse I can offer for my mistaken impression is that the major part of the discussion was concerned with other passages, that the crucial word *Britonum* was neglected, and that no note was taken of Prof. Brown's plausible interpretation of the passage (*Speculum*, II, 449). As to the testimony of Herman de Tournai, I should willingly admit myself in the wrong if M. Faral had proved that these particular interpolations threw real doubt upon the narrative. Since only one interpolation does so, I regard my statement of the case as accurate. Indeed, M. Faral himself, who on pp. 230-2 is the complete skeptic, on pp. 258, 260 accepts the narrative just as I do, except that he makes a reservation regarding the date.

When he declares, "Rien ne l'autorisait à me reprocher une insuffisante considération pour la littérature celtique et une insuffisante information dans ce domaine," I can only refer the impartial reader to my list of the numerous Celtic matters which M. Faral has overlooked or slighted in dealing with Geoffrey of Monmouth. He entirely misinterprets me when he says that my charge is based on his failure to treat certain old Welsh texts. I have never thought or said that he did not know these texts and the other evidence commonly supposed to antedate Geoffrey. What I have said is, that he gave no hint of the existence of this material when he formally reviewed the evidence as to the status of the Arthurian legend in 1185. I do not question his right to upset the dates which other scholars have attached to these documents, if he can. What I do question is his right to pronounce a conclusion on this fundamental issue before he has considered the major part of the evidence against him.

What of the evidence he did consider? On pp. 223, 235, 251, he appraises the testimony of the *Annales Cambriae*, the *Mirabilia*, and William of Malmesbury, and though he does nothing to shake the probability that the references to the battle of Camlann and the "porcus Troynt" implied the existence of elaborate tales connected with Arthur, he denies the right to assert the existence of such tales on this evidence alone. So far, so good. But on p. 260, summing up his case, he asserts that they did not exist. Outside the Latin texts, he says, there existed nothing but a "tradition dispersée, flottante,

de l'exposé, de la *Vie de S. Goeston* et de quelques textes relatifs à Glastonbury; voilà sur quoi la critique aurait légitimement porté.

sans corps littéraire, du type des légendes topographiques . . . avec toutefois cette idée répandue . . . qu'Arthur n'était point mort." My characterization of this reasoning as establishing his own hypothesis by challenging his opponents to assert what is highly probable but not proved, still seems to me accurate. Whereas his version of my charge—"il suffit de détruire la thèse d'autrui pour établir la sienne propre"—seems to fit neither what I said nor what he has done; he has not destroyed the probability that tales like *Kulhwch* were told in the tenth century.

His argument that any reviewer who makes the charge of an inadequate bibliography cannot be consistent unless he supplies all the missing titles, needs no commentary; neither does his vindication of the right to ignore Fletcher and Morris Jones. If I have been mistaken in attributing to ignorance the failure to mention these works of first importance, I offer my apologies. But the gaps remain, and other scholars will draw the same natural inference. I am far from alone in my estimate of M. Faral's work. Arthurian specialists, we all have our defects in equipment and method. I have mine. And M. Faral, despite his brilliance and his assumption of an unparalleled scientific precision, is not exempt from some of the gravest.

ROGER SHERMAN LOOMIS

The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth with contributions to the study of its place in early British history. By ACTON GRISCOM, M. A., together with a literal translation of the Welsh manuscript No. LXI of Jesus College, Oxford, by ROBERT ELLIS JONES, S. T. D. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1929. Pp. xii + 672.

Mr. Griscom lists 185 MSS. of Geoffrey's *Historia* in 49 different libraries, and prudently remarks that in all probability others exist. Indeed, as a friend pointed out to me, a book that Mr. Griscom knows well, J. G. Evans, *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Language*, II, 2 (1903), on page 781, mentions another MS., "Llanstephan 196, vellum; 10¼ x 7½ inches; 176 pages; XVth century," and supplies a more recent description (p. 768) of "Llanstephan 176," which Mr. Griscom (p. 562), following Hardy (1862), calls "Phillipps 9162."

The only available text of the *Historia* has been that printed by San Marte in 1854, which was a reprint of Giles's text of 1844. Giles's text is called a critical edition based upon nine MSS., but it is suspected that it chiefly followed the edition of Commelin, of 1587. To Commelin is due the present division into twelve books.

Commelin largely followed the text of Bade, 1508, which was based, the editor said, upon four MSS. and corrected by himself. The MSS. that were used have not been identified.

Under these circumstances it is a boon to scholars to print any one of the better MSS. Mr. Griscom prints Camb. 1706, and gives variants from Bern 568, and Lord Harlech 17. Two of these MSS. are well chosen. For the selection of Lord Harlech's MS. no good reason exists.

So far as I can judge, the important part of the work, to wit, the faithful transcription of the manuscript, Cambridge 1706, has been accurately done. I have compared the printed Latin text with two facsimile plates (one is the frontispiece, and the other faces page 52), and have also checked two other pages against rotographs of the manuscript, and find no errors of any kind. Mr. Griscom's edition is the one¹ which will be used by scholars who are investigating the origins of Arthurian romance, because it is as accurate as a rotograph and of course more convenient and handy than a rotograph could possibly be.

Griscom's introduction is devoted to proving two points, first that ancient Welsh traditions were reproduced by Geoffrey, a point that has some truth in it; and second that traces of these lost Welsh sources which were used by Geoffrey, are present in the Welsh *Bruts*. Since these Welsh *Bruts* are all admittedly influenced by Geoffrey proof is nearly impossible. Griscom's arguments for this second point have been well answered by Faral.²

Mr. Griscom lists 58 MSS. of these Welsh *Bruts*, and prints on the same page with the Latin *Historia* a new and literal translation made by Canon Jones from one of these MSS. The service to scholarship would have been greater if Mr. Griscom, instead of asking Canon Jones to translate a MS. of the late fifteenth century, Jesus College, Oxford, LXI, a manuscript which had been translated into English before, had chosen to reproduce for us one of the more ancient and inaccessible Welsh MSS.

The significant thing, however, is that Mr. Griscom has given us an accurate reproduction of two good MSS. of the Latin *Historia*. It may be that, since a critical text based upon all the MSS. would be a colossal task, this edition will serve the needs of scholarship. What might be done, perhaps, would be to compile an onomasticon of proper names giving the readings of all the MSS. Such an onomasticon is needed for Arthurian research.

ARTHUR C. L. BROWN

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¹ Another edition, Faral, *La Légende Arthurienne*, vol. III, Paris, 1929, has recently appeared, which, because the text has been normalized, is more readable than Griscom's.

² *Romania*, LV (1929), 521-527.

Briefe von und an August Wilhelm Schlegel. Gesammelt und erläutert durch JOSEF KÖRNER. 2 Bde. Zürich, Leipzig, Wien: Amalthea Verlag, 1930. Pp. xi, 652; xv, 450. Geh. M. 40, Geb. M. 56.

Ludwig Tieck und die Brüder Schlegel. Briefe mit Einleitungen und Anmerkungen herausgegeben von H. LUDEKE. Frankfurt a.M.: Joseph Baer u. Co., 1930. Pp. 252. Geh. M. 7.

"Seines Fleisses darf sich jedermann rühmen," wrote Lessing in 1768. And Josef Körner, looking back upon years of patient, exacting labor, may well be proud of his exemplary industry and of the latest fruits thereof, the eleven-hundred-page work, *Briefe von und an August Wilhelm Schlegel*. Here he has at last made accessible to scholars and general readers everywhere the second of the three great sources from which much of our knowledge of German literature between 1785 and 1845 springs—the A. W. Schlegel-Nachlass. The first and foremost source, the Goethe-Nachlass, has long been an open book; the third, the multifarious Varnhagen von Ense collection, still remains to be completely brought to light.

The importance of A. W. Schlegel as a figure in the great republic of letters need hardly be stressed in this place. His significance as a friend and collaborator of Goethe, Schiller and Tieck, as a leader of German Romanticism, as a scholar and littérateur, as a critic, publicist and patriot, is generally known, despite Heinrich Heine. Nor need it be emphasized that outside of Germany, in France and England particularly, he is still looked upon as one of Germany's most representative men of letters.

Körner's collection of about 450 letters, most of them from the *Nachlass* in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek, but some from a variety of scattered sources, is particularly valuable because it tells virgin soul throughout. The editor, for reasons of space if on no other grounds, had to refrain from publishing anything which was already available. On the other hand, he felt compelled to discard countless unedited letters of minor importance. But insofar as these contain information of value, they have been incorporated in the second volume, which, besides a bibliography, a table of all previously published letters to and from August Wilhelm, and an index, contains some three hundred pages of notes.

It would be impossible, in the scope of a review such as this, to give a conspectus of all the new data presented by these letters. But the reader may be assured that a perusal of this work will leave him with a remarkably clear impression of the elder Schlegel, his complex interests and activities, and his wide circle, not of friends but of acquaintances. We can here select as an illustration

but a single incident in Schlegel's life—his monumental translation of Shakespeare. Although a rich literature has grown up around this subject, we have not been able to get an absolutely complete, accurate picture of this important undertaking, and of its vicissitudes, until now. The correspondence of Schlegel and the publisher Reimer clearly shows a certain unbending arrogance and unfairness on Schlegel's part, a bungling dilatoriness but at the same time an honest spirit of coöperation on Tieck's part, and an admirable indulgence on Reimer's part. Had it not been for Tieck's live interest and Reimer's patience, the translation would never have been completed; indeed, Schlegel himself would not have done as much with it as he did.

The letters are arranged in chronological order, beginning with 1786 and ending with 1845. They fall quite naturally into three periods, which the editor characterizes by the titles "*Kosmopolit der Kunst und Poesie*," "*Weltfahrer und Patriot*," and "*Der deutsche Professor*." In the first section, extending as far as March, 1804, the names of C. J. Heyne, G. J. Goschen, C. G. Schütz, C. A. Bottiger, J. F. Reichardt, Fouqué, and J. D. Gries figure prominently. The second section takes us as far as May, 1818, and adds such names as Helmina von Chézy, the younger Heinrich Voss, Carl von Hardenberg, and Friedrich Wilken. The last section reveals Schlegel corresponding with Baron von Altenstein, the Paulus family, K. J. Windischmann, Sulpiz Boisserée, Jacob Grimm and many others more or less prominent.

There are twelve first-rate illustrations, the most notable being a newly discovered portrait (1820) by the Rhenish painter H. C. Kolbe, and a forgotten bust (1816) by Friedrich Tieck.

It is the reviewer's sincere hope that this most recent monument which Josef Körner has erected to his own scholarship and for the glory of the whole scholarly world, will be accorded that reception which it deserves.

The letters exchanged by Tieck and the Schlegels—August Wilhelm, Friedrich and Dorothea—are published separately by Henry Lüdeke. This undertaking, not nearly as important as that of Körner, is none the less of considerable significance from the literary historian's point of view. For the first time we have here, in compact form and between two covers, all the relevant letters so far as they have been preserved in any form. They are 108 in number. Of these, 39 are from August Wilhelm to Tieck (the earliest Dec. 11, 1797), 34 from Tieck to August Wilhelm (the earliest Dec., 1797), 16 from Friedrich to Tieck (the earliest Nov., 1797), 9 from Tieck to Friedrich (the earliest Mar., 1801), 4 from Dorothea to Tieck (the earliest Dec. 17, 1801), 2 from Tieck to Dorothea (the earlier one Feb. 23, 1829), 3 from Tieck to his sister and August Wilhelm jointly (the earliest Sept., 1802), and one of August 27, 1836, from August Wilhelm to Countess Finkenstein.

But by no means are all these letters published here for the first time. According to my count, 61 were published before and 47 are new. Of the 61 old letters, 54 are found in Holtei. Of these, 13 had to be copied from Holtei because the originals are lost. The originals of the other 43 Holtei documents were accessible to Ludeke and are published in accurate transcripts for the first time.

Some of this information, which I have verified, can be gathered from Ludeke's preface and notes. But the editor says nothing about 7 other letters which, though he publishes them from original manuscripts, had previously appeared in other places. They are Nos. 5 and 16, published by J. Frankel in *Aus der Blutezeit der Romantik* (the former also in *Vossische Zeitung*, Beilage 45, 1907); No. 48 by G. Klee in *Program-Bautzen*, 1895; Nos. 78, 88, and 90 by Finke, *Briefe an Friedrich Schlegel*; and No. 86 by Krebs in *P. O. Runge's Entwicklung unter dem Einfluss Ludwig Tiecks*.¹

The editor calls attention, on p. 10, to the present reviewer's article in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* of January, 1928, but not to his supplementary remarks in the same journal of July, 1928. Nor does he seem to take sufficiently into account that these articles restrict themselves to the earliest relations of Tieck and the Schlegels, which are admittedly not marked by any sincere friendship between Tieck and Friedrich. Such friendship was to follow later.

Apart from the undoubted fact that we get a much clearer picture of the Schlegel-Tieck relations through the availability of the letters in a single volume, where formerly we had to consult half a dozen works, the principal one of which, Holtei's, is notoriously unreliable, much fresh light is shed by the new letters, especially upon the contacts of August Wilhelm and Tieck. We are not so fortunate with regard to Friedrich, whose correspondence with Tieck has for the most part been destroyed.

Ludeke's twelve-page introduction and his notes, which observe the style perfected by Körner in his voluminous collections, are adequate. There can be no doubt but that the editor, with his painstaking philological accuracy, has contributed a standard work, which no library interested in German Romanticism and no student of German literature could well afford to miss.

The work appears as No. 13 in the Ottendorfer Memorial Fellowship Series of New York University.

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¹ Cf. also the fragments published by Waitz in *Caroline und ihre Freunde*, Leipzig, 1882.

Sachwörterbuch der Deutschkunde. Unter Forderung durch die Deutsche Akademie herausgegeben von Dr. WALTHER HOFSTÄETTER und Prof. Dr. ULRICH PETERS. B. II: K-Z. Leipzig u. Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1930. viii u. 683 pp. Index 44 pp. Mk. 34.

Der zweite Band des Sachwörterbuchs interessiert in erster Linie durch das nunmehr vorliegende Namen- und Sachworterverzeichnis, das durch ein praktisches System sowohl das Aufschlagen der ganzen Artikel wie der darin enthaltenen Einzelheiten erleichtert und auf diese Weise die Brauchbarkeit des Werkes erst eigentlich erweist.

Von der Reichhaltigkeit des Wörterbuchs, die schon in der Besprechung des ersten Bandes (*MLN.*, XLV, 481) hervorgehoben wurde, geben Stichproben ein gutes Bild, z. B. *Katholizismus* mit den Unterabteilungen Idee, Gehalt, Gestalt, Weltanschauung und Lebensauffassung, Autorität und Freiheit; *Mittelalter* (20 Spalten); *Musik* (20 Spalten); *Nachkriegszeit* (12 Spalten), *Religion* (22 Spalten). Aber auch kürzere Artikel wie diejenigen über *Vers* oder verwandte metrische Themen zeigen eine glückliche Konzentration des Notwendigen mit der Berücksichtigung auch der jüngsten Theorien.

Dagegen bricht die Information betreffs Übersetzungsliteratur etwas plötzlich mit Bodenstedt, Heyse, Simrock und Hertz ab. Was der Impressionismus auf diesem Gebiete gezeitigt hat, verdiente mehr als flüchtige Erwähnung. Wenn auch bei den französischen Symbolisten wenigstens im Artikel *Frankreich* darauf verwiesen ist (Rilke), so ist wiederum (vergl. die oben angeführte Besprechung des ersten Bandes) die Übersetzung aus dem Englischen zu kurz gekommen. Der Name Whitman ist im ganzen Werke nicht genannt.

Es sei aber auch noch einmal betont, daß der Germanist hierzu-lande nicht ohne dieses reichhaltige und schöne Werk rechter Hand von seinem Schreibtische wird auskommen können.

ERNST FEISE

Deutsche Literatur. Reihe Barock: Barockdrama, Band 1. Das schlesische Kunsldrama. Herausgegeben von Univ.-Prof. Dr. WILLI FLEMMING, Leipzig, 1930. Verlag von Philipp Reclam jun. 332 Seiten. Geheftet 7 Mk., Ganzleinen 9 Mk., Halbleder 15 Mk.

This represents the first of five volumes which shall cover in the new series, *Deutsche Literatur in Entwicklungsreihen*, the German drama of the seventeenth century (period of the Barocco). Vol. 2

is to give a picture of *Das Ordensdrama*; Vol. 3, *Wanderbühne und volkstümliches Drama*; Vol. 4, *Die Komodie*; Vol. 5, *Oper, Sing- und Festspiele*. All five volumes are to be edited by the well-known specialist in the field, Professor Willi Flemming, Rostock.

Following an introduction of 54 pages by the editor, this first volume brings first a few significant passages on the theory of tragedy, selected from the works of Scaliger, Heinsius and Opitz, then fairly copious selections from the 1625 translation of Seneca's *Trojan Women* by Opitz. The body of the work consists of three representative tragedies, two by Andreas Gryphius: *Cardenio und Celinde* and *Aemilius Paulus Papinianus*, and one by Lohenstein: *Sophonisbe*. A few pages of notes (322-331) conclude the volume.

As was to be expected the *Introduction* is admirable. In concise form, almost too concise, it gives a full and vivid picture of the social conditions in which these dramatists lived and worked, the influences which affected them, both literary and technical, and their ideals in art and in life. Certain statements seem perhaps questionable or somewhat over emphasized, but on the whole I do not hesitate to declare it the best presentation of seventeenth century German tragedy which we have. The greater the pity then that the type is so small and the printed page so over-crowded. I also greatly regret the omission of even a brief bibliography.

The dramas selected are also excellent, though the prominence given to *Cardenio und Celinde* is a little surprising. It is, to be sure, the most modern of all seventeenth century dramas, but it does not, as Gryphius himself was the first to admit, possess the technical requisites of a tragedy on which the seventeenth century placed so great stress. In fact, though entitled *Trauer-Spiel*, it is no tragedy, rather *ein bürgerliches Schauspiel*. Nevertheless, I should have been sorry had it not been included. It was perhaps not necessary to reprint the introductions of the original authors (only in the case of the *Cardenio* is a portion given) but especially in the case of Lohenstein's *Sophonisbe*, with its large number of characters and complicated action, a brief introduction by the editor would have been decidedly helpful.

Of the notes I can only speak with regret. The constant repetition in so brief space (less than ten pages) puzzled me, until I turned to the annotated editions of Palm in the Stuttgart *Litterarischer Verein* and in Kürschner's *National Litteratur*. Flemming characterizes these (p. 36, notes): "zumal in den Lesarten unvollständig und unzuverlässig; die Angaben von Palm (on Gryphius' life) sind gänzlich überholt." And yet without, so far as I could discover, a word of acknowledgment, the notes to *Cardenio* and to *Papinianus* are taken almost verbatim from Palm. To be exact, of the 48 explanatory notes to *Cardenio* 43 come directly from the editions of Palm and of the 70 notes to *Papinianus* 60 from the same source. And not always even correctly transferred:

p. 323, Cardenio 2. Akt, 68, insert *des* after Gemahlin (*Vide* Palm, *Andreas Gryphius Trauerspiele*, p. 291, note 2).

The misprints are rather numerous. In addition to those mentioned in the brief review *AfdAuDL*, XLIX, p. 159, I noted the following: p. 20, 2d line of 3d paragraph, for *Bildungsweise* read *Bildungsreise*; p. 50, end of 1st paragraph, for *brauendes* read *brausendes* (?); p. 100, l. 178, for *Abgrung* read *Abgrund*; p. 102, l. 246, for *und* read *nun* (*Vide* Palm, *Trauerspiele*, 299, note 1 and the, for me at least unintelligible, reference, p. 328, *Sophonisbe*, 2. Akt, 40); p. 108, l. 153, wrong placing of apostrophe; p. 247, l. 95 f., either misprint or note necessary—does *bist* = *bittest*?); p. 260, l. 511, *Alpheus* with *ph*, but *Anmerkungen*, p. 329, with *f*. The line reference in the *Anmerkungen* are occasionally not exact, errors of but one line I omit, but p. 325, 2. Akt. for 243 read 253. Also p. 325, 3. Akt, 81, I fear the reference to the *Insel Zocotera* would be sought in vain. The spelling is taken from Gryphius' own note, it should read *Sokotra*. P. 326, 4. Akt, 182, for *trugt* read *tragt*; p. 329, 3. Akt, 437, for *sagt* read *tagt*; p. 330, 5. Akt, 10 and 27, punctuation lacking in both notes; p. 331, 248, for *Acidens* read *Alcidens*.

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Sidney's Arcadia. A Comparison Between the Two Versions. By R. W. ZANDVOORT. Amsterdam: N. V. Swets & Zeitlinger, 1929. Pp. xiv + 316.

When in 1907 the late Bertram Dobell discovered several manuscript copies of an earlier form of Sidney's *Arcadia*, he raised a problem that highly needed to be solved—I mean the problem of the relation between the two forms with its inevitable corollaries: what are the respective merits of the two versions and what were Sidney's intentions in rewriting his romance? An answer to these questions is now offered by Dr. R. W. Zandvoort. Dr. Z. was already favorably known as co-editor of *English Studies*, an excellent little Dutch periodical of English philology and literature. But this, his first important venture in the field of scholarship, certainly places him at once among those who are destined to contribute valuable additions to our knowledge of Elizabethan literature.

The subtitle accurately defines the purport of the book: it is primarily a comparison between the two versions of *Arcadia*. It begins with a minute description of the MSS. and of the printed editions of 1590 and 1593. The characteristics of the different texts are brought out and the arbitrary modifications made by the

Countess of Pembroke set in their true light. In Chapter II Dr. Z. examines the two forms with a view to settling the already vexed question of their respective literary values. After a careful comparison the author comes to the conclusion that the later version shows a clear advance in characterization, in verisimilitude, and in narrative technique. I do not see how the force of the proofs here adduced can be resisted, and this chapter, compact and well-balanced, is probably the best in the book.

The third chapter, on the contrary, "Sidney's Progress as a Thinker," is a little disappointing. Irritated by Prof. Brie's narrow systematizations in the otherwise learned book, *Sidney's Arcadia*,¹ Dr. Z. engages in a refutation of the theory developed in that book, according to which Sidney in *Arcadia* wrote a political and personal allegory. And carried away by the controversial spirit (always a bad guide!) he is led to minimize the political significance of the second form. He thus misses the essential point of the comparison he is making. In the space allotted to me here I cannot present the case with full details; but, put in brief, what essentially distinguished the later form from the earlier one is this. The "old *Arcadia*," as described by Sidney himself was "but a trifle . . . triflingly handled," a story of love and adventures, in the manner of the Greek romances, written (in a somewhat humorous vein) for the amusement of his sister and of a group of ladies. This trifle, however, because the young author could not help being the most earnest of the Elizabethans, was sprinkled over with many a touch of wisdom and learning. And as he was writing the last "act" of his romance Sidney had already realised the value which these serious passages imparted to the story. So he began rewriting his manuscript with the evident desire to develop and emphasize that more weighty part of the romance. And so important were the additions thus made that the very signification of the book was totally changed. The "toyful book" was turned into one of those ambitious undertakings, characteristic of the spirit of the Renaissance, into which the author infused the wide knowledge he had of state affairs and more generally of life. Sidney meant no less than to write a book in which would be exemplified the rules of conduct necessary to be known by anyone who was destined to take a part in the government of men. The story was preserved, but from being the principal thing it became only a peg on which to hang the precepts which the author wanted to inculcate. In other words Sidney was realizing in prose his idea of the "heroical" poem as defined in his *Defence of Poesie*: he wanted with "the lofty image of . . .

¹ The great weakness of Prof. Brie's book is rather that it professes to be based on a comparison of the two versions, whilst it is evident that the author had at his disposal only the very insufficient article by Dobell and S. L. Wolff's analysis of the "Old *Arcadia*" in *Greek Romances*.

worthies" to inflame "the mind with desire to be worthy and inform with counsel how to be worthy." His ambition was to write a modern *Cyropaedia*, than which he saw no model better able "readily to direct a prince." In this radical transformation of the purpose, and, consequently, of the character of the book, lies the chief interest of a comparison between the two versions. It shows that Sidney did not mean to write an allegory proper. But as he delineated the princes and governors in the plot he certainly thought of the rulers he had met in the European courts. Whether this process, used by all fiction writers, should be called allegory or not is a matter of definition.

The last chapters rise to the same level of excellence as the first two. Dr. Z. has ably shown the considerable differences in the stylistic methods of the two forms. And summing up the sources used by Sidney in *Arcadia*, he gives a valuable analysis of the contents of a dissertation in manuscript by William Vaughn Moody. All things considered, this is a remarkable contribution to a difficult subject, and one which will prove indispensable to whoever wishes, in the future, to study the development of Sir Philip Sidney's mind.

ALBERT FEUILLERAT

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Shakespeare's Haunts Near Stratford. By EDGAR I. FRIPP. Oxford University Press, 1929. Pp. viii + 160. 5s.

The little book before us is with *Master Richard Quynne* (1924) and *Shakespeare's Stratford* (1928) the third of a series of contributions by Mr. Fripp to a reconstruction of the Warwick background of Shakespeare. Shottery, Clopton, Snitterfield and other towns in close proximity to Stratford with which the poet must have been familiar, Shakespeare's relatives and their neighbors and the Cloptons, Lucys and other influential families of Warwickshire, whom Shakespeare doubtless knew, form the principal topics of the book. Under Mr. Fripp's guidance we are able to enter into the life of sixteenth and seventeenth century Warwickshire, with its religious quarrels, its new and oppressive landlords, its sports and its visiting players. Especially interesting is the author's argument that Shakespeare's marriage was free from any irregularity (pp. 15-24). Additional reasons, too, are presented for believing that the Geneva Bible was the version with which the dramatist was familiar (p. 86, n. 1), and that no ill-will existed between Shakespeare and Sir Thomas Lucy (pp. 82-86, 113, 119-20).

Mr. Fripp's argument (developed more fully in the two earlier works of the series) that Shakespeare spent his early youth as a lawyer's clerk (pp. 4, 6, 9, 54, 136) will probably not meet with

wide acceptance. The general question has, of course, been argued so often elsewhere that it need not concern us here. Mr. Fripp, however, must show, before his arguments based upon Shakespeare's use of a legal vocabulary can be admitted, that these terms could not have been acquired in that litigious age by a layman, especially if he were the intelligent son of a public official who was himself fond of going to law.

The index of the book is very good. The thirty-one illustrations (including sixteen excellent photographs by the author's son, Paul Fripp) are interesting and valuable. The work, though it contains no startling discoveries, by its careful assembling of facts pertaining to his background helps to bring the man William Shakespeare a little closer to us.

EDWIN E. WILLOUGHBY

The Newbury Library, Chicago

Shakspeare and "Sir Thomas Moore." By SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM. New York: The Tenny Press; London: T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., 1929. Pp. 64.

In 1916, Sir Edward Maunde Thompson published his *Shakespeare's Handwriting*, concluding that three pages (folios 8a, 8b, 9a) of the MS. of the play of *Sir Thomas Moore* (Brit. Mus. Harl. 7368) are in the handwriting of Shakespeare. Sir Edward's study was followed by a veritable flood of notes, articles, and books. Of this literature a considerable portion may be dismissed as the work of mere freaks wasting paper upon fantastic theories. Scholars of competence have, however, busied themselves in the fray; and their arguments cannot be ignored or lightly dismissed. There are, it appears, at present, two principal schools of belief. One, led by Dr. Greg and Dr. Dover Wilson, advocates the theory that Shakespeare had a hand in *Sir Thomas Moore* and that the debated Three Pages are in his autograph. The other, led by Dr. Tannenbaum and Professor Kellner, as stoutly opposes these views. And a third and larger class, in which seems to be numbered Sir E. K. Chambers, might be formed from those whose verdict, for one reason or another, is "Not proven."

As time has passed, some clarification of the problem concerning authorship of the play has come about, chiefly through the labors of Dr. Greg, Professor Oliphant, and Dr. Tannenbaum. It appears to be the consensus of scholars that the MS. of *Sir Thomas Moore* presents the work of six different authors as collaborators or revisers or both. It is generally agreed that two of these dramatists are Anthony Mundy—principal author—and Thomas Dekker. A third co-author, Dr. Tannenbaum identifies positively as Thomas

Heywood. Upon bibliotic grounds, Dr. Tannenbaum assigns two other portions of *Sir Thomas Moore* to Henry Chettle and to Thomas Kyd, as authors respectively. He believes further that Kyd in the capacity of "playhouse reviser" for Lord Strange's Men copied portions of *Moore* which he did not compose and made some effort to whip the disorderly script into shape for its presentation. Dr. Tannenbaum refuses, however, to assign the Three Pages to Shakespeare.

In his preface to the present work Dr. Tannenbaum defines its purpose. He proposes to

show, among other things, that (1) the "bibliographic method" in the study of some of the . . . problems has been applied without proper regard to facts or to reason; (2) the conclusions reached by the English bibliographers are untenable; (3) properly applied, the bibliographic tests prove that Shakespeare did *not* write the revised resurrection scene, (4) Tom Heywood *was* one of the authors and revisers of the play; (5) not a single fact has yet been produced to invalidate . . . [his] identification of Thomas Kyd as copyist and author (and book-keeper) of part of *Sir Thomas Moore*; (6) . . . [his] former identification of Philip Massinger as the author and writer of a scene in the manuscript of *The Faithful Friends* is correct, and (7) the bibliotic method, applied to literary problems, yields results which are not only reliable but of great value.

Shakespeare and "Sir Thomas Moore" is divided into twenty-two (misprinted twelve) sections. Dr. Tannenbaum first discusses Sir Edward Maunde Thompson's arguments for the attribution of the Three Pages to Shakespeare and points out the subsequent weakening of Sir Edward's case as admitted even by Dr. Greg. Then Dr. Greg's reviews, in *The London Times Literary Supplement* for November 24 and December 1, 1927, and in *The Library*, for September, 1928, of Dr. Tannenbaum's "*The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore*" and his *Studies in Shakespeare's Penmanship* come in for consideration. Dr. Tannenbaum replies to the objections urged by Dr. Greg. Among the points treated are the word "seriant" (pp. 18-19, 23-24, 26); Dr. Greg's arguments based upon inks, blotting paper, and sand (pp. 25-28); his disbelief in Kyd's authorship of a scene in the play (dealt with in a number of scattered passages); and his scepticism as to Heywood's having a hand in *Sir Thomas Moore* (pp. 34-39). Dr. Tannenbaum points out (pp. 24-25, 28) oversights of Dr. Sisson in his *Modern Language Review* (April, 1928) criticism of the former's books. Professor Baldwin's arguments against Kyd's participation in the play are opposed (pp. 30-33). Dr. Wilson's bibliographic arguments for the Shakespearian authorship of the Three Pages are taken up by Dr. Tannenbaum in some detail (pp. 44-59), and specific points are advanced in refutation. After replying to Dr. Wilson, Dr. Tannenbaum adduces various facts, calligraphic and bibliographic, with which he strengthens his case against the theory of Shakespearian part-authorship (pp. 54-60). In his final section (pp. 60-

61), Dr. Tannenbaum opposes Professor Schucking's suggestion that the Three Pages are possibly not in the hand of their author but in that of a copyist. Two "Postscripts" conclude the volume. In the first of them Dr. Tannenbaum summarizes certain of the points made in an earlier article (*PMLA.*, September, 1928): and in the second he casts some doubt upon the utility of a reference in *Sir Thomas Moore* to the scouring of Moorditch in aiding to fix its date of composition. In section 19 (pp. 39-44), Dr. Tannenbaum turns aside from *Sir Thomas Moore* and its authors to defend against Dr. Greg and Professor Sisson his belief that a scene in the manuscript of *The Faithful Friends* is in the handwriting of Massinger.

At this time something of an impasse seems to have been reached in the controversy concerning Shakespeare's hand in *Sir Thomas Moore*. The principal controversialists yield only the scantest of inches and that but seldom. For example, Dr. Wilson in his article, "Thirteen Volumes of Shakespeare: a Retrospect" (*MLB.*, Oct., 1930) says (p. 411) that Sir Edward Maunde Thompson's arguments "together with the bibliographical clues . . . , convinced me that the Three Pages in *Sir Thomas Moore* were in Shakespeare's autograph, and nothing that has since appeared has in any way shaken that conviction." This is the expression of a deeply rooted opinion; Dr. Tannenbaum is as firmly convinced of the truth of the contrary view.

Students of Shakespeare would be glad to have the question of the authorship of *Sir Thomas Moore* settled. That they can see it finally decided upon the evidence to be drawn from materials now available is too much to hope; Dr. Tannenbaum's acuteness, his readiness, and his store of learning displayed through his articles and books have done much to make clear the inadequacy of the grounds for assigning the Three Pages to Shakespeare. The reviewer, who is not an expert in calligraphic matters but who hopes to have common sense enough to weigh evidence (see *Shakespeare* and "*Sir Thomas Moore*," p. 10), inclines toward accepting as the soundest statement of the situation at present Dr. Tannenbaum's own pronouncement in his "*The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore*" (p. 63, n. 10):

. . . it is impossible to say definitely that Shakespeare could not have been the writer of the "Addition" in *Sir Thomas Moore*. All that can logically be said is that at present the evidence from the handwriting is overwhelmingly against the theory that folios 8a, 8b, and 9a of Moore are a Shakespeare holograph.

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A Game at Chesse, by THOMAS MIDDLETON. Edited by R. C. BALD. Cambridge University Press, 1929. Pp. x + 173. 12s., 6d.

"It is no exaggeration to say that more is known about *A Game at Chesse* than about any other pre-Restoration play." The new editor of Middleton's excellent piece of political satire provides a pleasantly-written historical introduction (in which the identification of the characters is ably discussed), an account of the stage history of the play, with the documents relative to its suppression and other allusions printed in an appendix, and quotes several new sources for passages in the text from contemporary pamphlets. But perhaps our chief debt to Mr. Bald is for his demonstration, by means of the dedication page of the Malone MS. of the play, that part of the Bridgewater-Huntington MS. and all of the MS. in Trinity College, Cambridge, are in Middleton's own hand. The editor has also adequately performed the necessary bibliographical work in distinguishing the three printed editions; and, utilizing the discoveries of Mr. F. P. Wilson, has shown that the Lansdowne and Malone MSS. are transcribed by the poet-scrivener Ralph Crane.

But here our debt of gratitude to the editor is cut prematurely short. Mr. Bald has—rightly—chosen to reprint the Trinity MS. *verbatim*, with the exception of two or three specified changes, such as the normalization of speech-headings and making each line begin with a capital letter. It would have been much wiser to have followed the principles of the Malone Society reprints; very little, it seems to me, has been gained by these concessions to ease in reading. "The punctuation is, in the main, left intact, though it is admittedly very careless," says the editor. In view of this ambiguous statement, it is impossible to test the editor's accuracy on this score; however, if consistency was aimed at, the omission of some 37 commas found in *T* cannot have been intentional.

I have checked through the text with rotographs of *T* and find the following misreadings: II, i, 162, I for Ile (in the textual note, "I'll" is recorded as a variant, but from *M* only; whereas all the texts—I have not seen quarto 1, quarto 2 however is a reprint of 1—have this reading). II, ii, 26, glut for glue; 149, first for fixt; 153, infested for infested (no note on the variants is given; Q2, *L*, *M*, have the latter, Q3, the former reading, omitted in *B*); 177, forenamde: aforenamde; 288, Discouerie: Discouerer. IV, i, 16, knowe: knewe (the note gives the variant "knewe" in *L*, whereas *B*, *L*, Q3 have it also; Q2 alone has "knowe"). IV, ii, 17, T'as: h'as (no note is given. *L*, Q3: "hath"; *B*, Q2: "has"; *M* omits). IV, iv, 66, *L* and Q2 have "deliverer," Q3, "Deliuer" (an error for "Deliuerer" ?), and *B*, "Deliuererance," which Bald prints silently as "Deliuer-

ance;" the reading of *B*, however, may represent the original reading plus an alteration by the scribe. V, ii, 15, the: her. V, iii, 112, the: a; 125, Monasterie: Monasteries. In the above instances all of the texts agree against the reading of the editor.

Besides these there are some 82 departures from the spelling of *T* and its use of the apostrophe. The list is too long to give here and an example or two must suffice. Thus in Prologue 5 distinguish't for distinguisht (here a part of the long *s* has been misread as an apostrophe). III, i, 144, Countries: Cuntries. III, ii, 32, Munckes ordinarie: Monckes ordinarie. V, iii, 210, malapert: malepert. In fifteen cases, final *e* is omitted (e. g., I, i, 39, comly for comlye). Moreover in V, ii and iii, though the editor is giving a *verbatim* reprint of *T*, he quite arbitrarily introduces a number of Middleton's own variant spellings from the Bridge-water-Huntington MS., which contains these scenes in the dramatist's hand.

If Mr. Bald's list of variants appears to the average reader

Much like the Ladie in the lobsters head,
A great deale of Shell and Garbidge of all colours (II, ii, 6-7),

it will, I fear, prove the same to the textual critic. In view of the several texts of *A Game at Chesse*, a textual commentary that would classify and discuss the variants (such as Dr. Greg supplies for *Orlando Furioso* in his *Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements*) would be extremely valuable, as it is the reader is left, to quote the Black Knight, "to pick out Sillables . . . As children pick out Cherriestones." In lieu of this, the editor should have provided, at the least, an accurate and complete list of the variations of the other texts. As has already been indicated, the collations are far from complete; they are also occasionally incorrect or misleading. A notable example is the collation of the Malone MS. Mr. Bald says (p. 121), "*M* has no stage-directions except those mentioned in these notes," and yet omits to note 19 of them (e. g., II, i, 168, with the erroneous note "Exit: found only in III"). In regard to the admission of stage-directions into his text from other sources than *T*, the editor will not, I think, be found at all consistent. In IV, iv, though he supplies a necessary direction from *L*, he omits one equally necessary (l. 81, "Enter White King") which is found in all texts but the one he is here following.

According to the publishers' note on the jacket, "the MSS. of this play offer exceptional material for the study of the texts of Elizabethan dramas." It is therefore peculiarly unfortunate that, apart from its perfunctory text, the present edition should obscure so much of this material and thus defeat one of the chief reasons for a new edition.

BERNARD M. WAGNER

Cambridge, Massachusetts

The Elizabethan Fairies: The Fairies of Folklore and the Fairies of Shakespeare. By MINOR WHITE LATHAM. New York, Columbia University Press, 1930. Pp. viii + 313. \$3.75.

The literature of art is not the literature of the folk, and when one obtrudes upon the other a hybrid product invariably results which belies the true essence of each. Our present conception of fairies as "pleasant myths and fanciful heroines of childrens' stories" may be traced back to just such a cross-breeding. The fairies of England in Elizabeth's time and long before were the unique property of the folk, obscure in origin, but living, ever-present entities, an important part of that vast, popular lore which transforms giants, dragons, and ghosts into fearful realities. These genuine fairies of the folk belong to the category of wicked spirits. Their reputation was an evil one. They were of the size and general appearance of mortals and resided in the hills of the countryside. They tormented people, stole babies, consorted with witches, and were not above causing the death of unfortunates whom they disliked. If one were inclined to be sceptical of their acceptance among the people as real creatures, a mere perusal of the witchcraft trials of the Elizabethan period would set at rest all doubts. Obviously then, our own conception of the fairies as imaginary, infinitesimal beings who can curl up to sleep in a flower, as the Queen of the fairies in *Iolanthe*, is quite at variance with the beliefs of popular fairy lore. An explanation of this conflict provides the main thesis in *The Elizabethan Fairies*.

The author of this book, after a careful study of the pertinent outstanding literature of the 16th and 17th centuries, reaches the conclusion that the modern conception of fairies owes its origin to Shakespeare's imaginative treatment of them, especially in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. There is not the slightest reason to doubt the validity of this conclusion. From literary works preceding Shakespeare, and from contemporary treatises on demonology and witchcraft, the writer obtains an abundance of material for presenting a clear picture of the fairies and their world as they existed in the popular beliefs of the day. They were, as described above, wicked spirits, of the stature and general proportions of human beings, and very much feared by the folk. But the imagination of Shakespeare in a playful mood transformed them into beneficent spirits, infinitesimal in size, and valued by the folk for their helpfulness and their occasional presents of gold. And with this conception went the delightful, fanciful nature and airy movements which Shakespeare imparted to his fairies.

Shakespeare's contemporaries were not slow in succumbing to the ineffable charm of his creation, and with the passing of time the original folk conception of the fairies gave way before the more

attractive fairy world of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. It is interesting to observe, as the author points out, how the 17th and 18th centuries lost almost completely any proper understanding of the original fairy lore. We even find Dr. Johnson defining the fairy as, "A fabled being supposed to appear in a diminutive human form, and to dance in the meadows, and to reward cleanliness in houses" This, of course, is Shakespeare's fairy. In fact, it was not until Walter Scott made a study of the subject that the wicked fairy of purely popular origin was rediscovered.

The book has a threefold value since it concerns material important to the student of Shakespeare, of the Elizabethan period, and of folklore. The latter, however, comes off least happily, for the author wisely eschews delving into the complex question of the origin of the English fairy and of fairies in general. Although the author again employs pardonable discretion in limiting the material for the investigation of such a broad field, yet the general excellence of the work suffers a little from ruling out of consideration the popular ballad. Despite their "timelessness," much valid evidence could have been obtained from the ballads in support of the author's views on the fairies of popular lore. Successors in this field of investigation will be aided by an excellent bibliography of the works employed in the present study.

E. J. SIMMONS

Harvard University

Lewes Lavater: Of Ghosts and Spirites Walking by Nyght, 1572.

Edited with Introduction and Appendix by J. DOVER WILSON
and MAY YARDLEY. Printed for the Shakespeare Association
At the University Press, Oxford, 1929. \$6.00.

This treatise by Ludwig Lavater, the Swiss Protestant priest, is the most important document in the theological controversy which was carried on with vigor during the last half of the sixteenth century. The views expressed in it formed an important part of the intellectual milieu of Shakespeare and his contemporaries. This line-by-line reprint of R. H.'s English translation of the work in a volume of the Shakespeare Association, makes the document for the first time easily accessible to all students of Elizabethan thought. Equally indebted are they to Miss Yardley's skillful resumé of Pierre Le Loyer's *III Livres des spectres*, 1586, the authoritative Catholic reply to Lavater, which serves as an appendix to the volume.

Mr. Dover Wilson has written an introductory essay called "The Ghost-scenes in *Hamlet* in the Light of Elizabethan Spiritualism." Here he advances new views about the ghost in *Hamlet* so effectively that he almost persuades us to accept them, without rigorous

scrutiny. His thesis is that Shakespeare consciously made *Hamlet* an epitome of the ghost lore of his age. In so doing he appealed to an interest already active in the minds of almost all the members of his contemporary audiences. Consequently his play reflects not only current superstitions regarding ghosts, but also current philosophical and theological opinions about them. Of these there were three distinct views abroad in his world. The first was that expressed by Reginald Scot in the essay called "Discourse upon Devils and Spirits" at the end of his *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584). He believed that spirits existed, but was completely skeptical of their power to assume any material form. Apparitions, therefore, were either illusions of minds unsettled by melancholy or tricks of knaves. Horatio, when he first appears in the play, is a skeptic of this order. He is sure that the reported ghost is but a fantasy, an hallucination of the watchers.

The second view of the time, that of folk superstition and Catholic tradition, was that Ghosts were spirits allowed for special purposes of the Divinity to return from Purgatory. The ghost, in *Hamlet*, is in this respect a good Catholic and the only one in the play. For dramatic purposes, to be sure, Shakespeare is with him. He insists that we accept the ghost as a spirit.

The third view was that of the Protestants, most vigorously expressed in Lavater's work. By rejecting Purgatory the new theology of necessity abandoned the idea that ghosts were the spirits of dead men. They had gone directly either to Heaven or Hell, "from whose bourn No traveller returns." Between the Catholic and Protestant views *Hamlet* vacillates. He has no doubt about the objective reality of the apparition, but he has grave doubts whether it is his father's spirit returned from Purgatory. It may be, as Lavater suggests, a devil who has assumed the shape of a man lately departed. Indeed Mr. Wilson would have us believe that *Hamlet's* vacillation about the ghost was between the two orthodox opinions of Elizabethan thought. Therefore, he had much more excuse for this mental conflict than most of his modern critics realize. The first act, Mr. Wilson infers, thus "possesses something of the character of a Shaw discussion drama without the discussion."

All this is brilliantly argued by the author. Yet he fails to show that the characters represent as clearly as he believes the three contesting contemporary views about ghosts. Horatio's skepticism, for example, is expressed in so cursory a fashion as to leave no permanent impression on anyone in the audience. It disappears at his first view of the ghost. This swift abandonment of a skeptical attitude is one of the dramatic devices by which Shakespeare convinces his audience that, whatever *Hamlet* may think, it must not doubt the authenticity of the spirit. Nor does *Hamlet's* dilemma about the ghost assume for him the psychological importance that Mr. Wilson suggests. In the play he expresses now the one, now

the other opinion: but he never devotes a soliloquy to balancing his mind between these two convictions. He never considers this particular question with his characteristic subtlety. He never makes a debate with himself on this subject his contribution to Mr. Wilson's drama of discussion. The truth is that, as the critic himself admits, Shakespeare has etched in the typical opinions about the ghost so economically that few members of even an Elizabethan audience would turn from other more obvious appeals to their interest, even to recognize a dramatic version of this favorite theological debate and to delight in it as such.

Mr. Wilson's essay accomplishes, nevertheless, a solid result. It establishes the importance of setting the ghost in *Hamlet* against the contemporary conflicting opinions of "spirites walking by nyght." Most persons in the first audiences who saw the play firmly believed in the reality of apparitions. They would differ only in their conception of the cause of these phenomena. Consequently Hamlet's problem about the authenticity of his father's spirit must have awakened among Elizabethan spectators a sympathetic curiosity, which we can best realize by reading this reprint of Lavater's work, in the light of Mr. Wilson's entertaining essay.

University of Michigan

OSCAR JAMES CAMPBELL

Thomas Killigrew: Cavalier Dramatist, 1621-38. By ALFRED HARBAGE. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930. Pp. ix + 247. \$3.00.

This is a useful and conscientious study of a minor but interesting Restoration dramatist, a book that wanted doing and has been well done by Mr. Harbage. Slightly more than half the volume is devoted to a careful tracing of Killigrew's life, and the remainder to his plays, classified as amateur, semi-professional, and closet drama. The author gives bibliographical and theatrical notes, summarizes plots, discusses sources, and indicates the special significance of Killigrew's pre-Commonwealth plays in the development of English drama—"paleo-heroic" plays, he calls them. The study is well documented and usually cautious. An exception is the implication that the stage directions of *Bellamira Her Dream* go to show that elaborate scenery was employed in the London theatres at an earlier date than is generally supposed. As Mr. Harbage himself points out, we have here a closet drama. There is no reason for believing that Killigrew did not visualize its non-existent stage-effects from what he had seen on the Continent or from English court masques. That he himself was not a writer of court masques is scarcely pertinent.

In the biographical portion Mr. Harbage is more concerned with Killigrew's private life than with his career as a theatrical magnate. He seems obsessed with the ethical bias against which Sir Sidney Lee warns in his recently reprinted essays on "The Principles of Biography." Mr. Harbage certainly throws Killigrew's life into a new perspective, but justly or not he gives the impression of being out to whitewash his subject. Most of his statements about Killigrew's morals are pretty general. Was he, for instance, or was he not, the Merry Monarch's pandar? On the other hand, a strong presumption is raised by Mr. Harbage that some of the escapades attributed to Tom actually belong to his graceless son, Henry, with whom later generations confused him. There is a real need for such studies as this of the secondary figures among the Restoration dramatists, and for the reprinting of their plays. It is to be hoped that Mr. Harbage will make some of Killigrew's texts more accessible than they now are.

HAZELTON SPENCER

Epsom Wells and *The Volunteers* or *The Stock-Jobbers*. By THOMAS SHADWELL. Edited by D. M. WALMSLEY. New York, D. C. Heath and Company [1930]. Pp. lxx + 387. \$1.

During the past dozen years there has been a renewed interest in the drama of the late seventeenth century. The complete works of several of the more important playwrights have been published, and numerous studies of individual writers have appeared. To these have now been added two of Shadwell's comedies ably edited by Dr. D. M. Walmsley in a volume which in every respect upholds the high standards set by the earlier publications in the Belles-Lettres series. Students of the drama should be grateful to Dr. Walmsley for making available in an inexpensive edition two plays which are not contained in the Mermaid volume of Shadwell's comedies.

The texts are carefully prepared; the notes are full and adequate. There is also a brief biography and an excellent introductory essay. In the latter Dr. Walmsley emphasizes "the remarkable versatility of Shadwell" and shows the important position he holds in the development of operatic drama in England, but the greater part of the essay naturally deals with Shadwell as a writer of realistic comedies. Although he was a ceaseless admirer of Ben, his plays are "by no means slavish imitations of Jonsonian models"; in his earliest work, *The Sullen Lovers*, there are passages which point forward to the Congrevian type of comedy of manners. This "combination of the humors type and of the manners type of comedy" is exhibited in *Epsom Wells*, whereas in *The Volunteers*

with these types is blended the sentimental, faintly visible in the character of the country-loving Eugenia. Dr. Walmsley is most enthusiastic in his praise of the latter play: "Inspired professedly on the comedy of Ben Jonson, Shadwell's work reveals a fresh vitality, his humors are invested with a greater human interest than his master's stiffly drawn figures usually possess, whilst his dialogue is more natural and spontaneous than either Jonson's or Congreve's." Although not all students of the British drama would be willing to subscribe to this opinion *in toto*, few would disagree with the statement that "in range of humors Shadwell was without rival in his time" or that his merits as a dramatist are to be found in the truthfulness of his descriptions and in his skillful characterizations.

The reviewer is not convinced by the evidence submitted that the Anne Gibbs who married Shadwell had been "previously the wife of Thomas Gaudy, of Claxton, Norfolk" (p. x; note also pp. xvii, 189). It is known that an Anne Gibbs, the daughter of "Thomas Gibbs, of Norwich, Gent.", married Gaudy at St. Clement Danes on July 12, 1662, and that Shadwell in his will refers to his "dearly beloved wife, Anne, the daughter of Tho. Gibbs, late of Norwich, deceased, proctor and public notary." It is possible that the same father and daughter are meant in both instances; but is it not also possible that a town the size of Norwich had two citizens by the name of Thomas Gibbs, each of whom had a daughter Anne? Is a mere similarity in names and town of residence sufficient evidence upon which to base the assertion that Mrs. Anne Shadwell had at one time been married to Thomas Gaudy? There are a few slips in proof reading: p. vii, l. 12, for "1636" read "1639"; p. xlv, l. 8, for "1673" read "1672"; p. xlv, l. 9, for "1680" read "1681." On p. xxiii, it is said that "only one revival of *Psyche* is recorded"—on April 8, 1697. The *Impartial Protestant Mercury*, No. 79, mentions a performance of this opera on January 19, 1682, and Genest lists a presentation at Drury Lane on June 10, 1704. It is to be hoped that this edition may indicate a revival of the Drama Section of the Belles-Lettres series, and that much needed texts of plays by Lee, Southerne, and Cibber are to follow.

New York University

ALBERT S. BORGMAN

Restoration Tragedy, 1600-1720. By BONAMY DOBRÉE. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1929. Pp. 189. \$3.00.

Professor Dobrée has followed his notable study of Restoration comedy by a companion volume on Restoration tragedy, written in the same lively and incisive style as the earlier work. His new book pretends to deal only with certain critical and literary aspects

of the subject and is in no sense a careful historical summary of the dramatic writing of the period. It is in form a series of related essays built around a threefold object: first, to define the outstanding quality in Restoration tragedy, its "heroic" tone, and to explain the birth of that tone; second, to consider the individual characteristics assumed by this "heroic" tragedy in the hands of the writers most influential in its development, Dryden, Lee, and Otway, and of those most indicative of its decline, namely Rowe, Congreve, and Addison (for to Professor Dobrée the failure of *Cato* marks the final submergence of the "heroic" emphasis under a new wave of literary fashion and critical feeling); third, to draw from a study of the strength and weakness in Restoration tragedy some conclusions regarding the necessary elements to be possessed by such tragedy as should be written in the present age.

This last objective has naturally resulted in an exposition of the author's credo concerning the fundamentals in the high art of tragedy, and their proportionate values. It is however an exposition which is scattered throughout the volume, and in a large measure must be pieced together by the reader. Yet such a method of presentation is not at all disturbing, for it continually gives Professor Dobrée the opportunity to proceed entertainingly and effectively from the actual illustration of a point of dramatic art as contained in a particular Restoration tragedy to a discussion of the literary ideal involved. Thus his book as a whole becomes a stimulating inquiry into tragedy in general, which he defines as "the realm where man explores his daring against the overwhelming odds of life, and tests the depth of his acceptance."

Of course the inquiry is patently colored by several strong opinions of the critic. Professor Dobrée finds the present a sterile age for tragedy. He believes there is now "notoriously lacking a common metaphysic, or general impulse" upon which tragedy, to reach a successful issue, must be based. The advance of democracy has made "increasingly unpopular, indeed incomprehensible" the tragic portrayal of life, which is essentially concerned with man's trial of his individual strength against the inevitable forces of existence. Moreover, Professor Dobrée holds that in tragic drama "character is only the secondary symbol, meant to give life to the poet's main symbol, which is plot." Restoration tragedy, he points out, gave the foremost place to plot. Its form and structure are in consequence admirable, though the choice of human emotional material laid upon the form is faulty. Modern tragedy, on the other hand, suffers greatly from too much literalness in its rendition of human experience and is not literary enough. Perhaps it is due especially to the two currents of opinion just outlined that Professor Dobrée sets forth a critical estimate of Restoration tragedy somewhat more favorable than might be expected. He appears to go rather far when he says one or two tragic plays of

this period are "superbly successful" with here and there "some adequate ones." He becomes even more extreme at the close of his survey by concluding that Restoration tragedy "does occupy a high place, higher than that to be claimed by any drama that has succeeded it, with the exception of Ibsen's and Strindberg's." It is hard to understand how Professor Dobrée can make such a claim in the face of his own penetrating analysis of the tragedy of the age in question, in which he finds "the structure of tragedy was threatened at its base, since love was the main element relied upon to produce pity." In the same vein also he summarizes the whole tragic drama of the time as "an art of escape, not of profound realization."

Yet it is curious that this blatant note of artificiality, which at times Professor Dobrée fully recognizes, does not seem to reach his ears continuously. For example, his comment on Dryden betrays a strange contradiction. He stresses at first the labored prettiness and sheer artifice of Dryden's plays, the fact that Dryden is scarcely concerned with the great statement of tragedy—"This is what happens to man"—and then he later sums up Dryden's attitude toward literary art by the remark that "for him, as for Hardy the thing made was to be a presentation of life." Is that not an absurd comparison and conclusion? Only an extraordinary use of phraseology could possibly explain away the glaring illogic of Professor Dobrée's critique at this point. Thus throughout the book Professor Dobrée wavers between a complete awareness of the hollowness in the Restoration age and its writers, and apparent periods of obliviousness to their true spiritual state, when he treats with utter seriousness their pronouncements and creations as if they proceeded from an honest heart. Where there is no real sincerity of the artistic spirit in the writing of tragedy, as confessedly there was not in the Restoration period, it is difficult to comprehend how Professor Dobrée can pass over at times this great flaw of soul so lightly. It is in such moments that he deems modern tragedy mean in comparison to its perhaps more shapely, but surely far less genuine predecessor of two centuries ago. The seeming inconsistency of Professor Dobrée's critical attitude constitutes for this reviewer the one important weakness of the book. Nevertheless his study is to be highly enjoyed and valued by all interested in Restoration literature, in English drama, or even in the general subject of Tragedy.

WILLIAM S. CLARK

Amherst College

Cross Currents in English Literature of the XVIIth Century.
The Messenger Lectures on the Evolution of Civilization, Cornell University, 1926-7. By H. J. C. GRIERSON. London, Chatto and Windus, 1929.

At a moment of schism and strife, when the word is tearing its disciples asunder, it is pleasant to come upon a critic who writes *humanely* of Humanism! It is doubly pleasant to find that critic conscious of both the positive and the negative aspects of his use of the word, so that he is careful to define it in terms not only of its synonyms, but of its antonyms. It is finally complete refreshment to the jaded spirit to discover this critic of Humanism considering the movement as a *student*, rather than as a teacher, preacher, or disciple. Mr. Grierson's approach to his problem is historical; he has no party to uphold, no antagonist to condemn. The reader, weary of propaganda and argument, may approach this volume with relief and anticipation, and may let himself be carried along by sheer pleasure in the author's deft manipulation of his theme.

It is inevitable that even Mr. Grierson's treatment of so complex a subject as "the conflict between the spirit or temper of the Renaissance and of the Reformation" should be uneven. He has declared frankly in his preface that he is not a philosopher or theologian; and though his admirers may insist that in the past he has shown himself a better theologian and philosopher than many who claim the titles, yet it is true that as we turn from the luminous comments upon the poets to Mr. Grierson's discussion of the churchmen and philosophers, we feel that we turn from men among whom the author has lived to men about whom he has read. The most serious limitation of the volume is Mr. Grierson's almost complete neglect of the part played in the seventeenth-century mind and the seventeenth-century imagination by the developing scientific movement with all its implications. It is not enough to say that the subject does not make part of his plan; he himself is aware that it should do so. (Cf. pp. 299-300). Unfortunately, in his far too brief treatment of the matter, he seems to follow the traditional notion that the new scientific spirit was something that about 1660 sprang full-grown from the brain of Zeus—or of Satan! We must continue to regret the loss of a fuller and deeper consideration of the whole scientific question.

One misses, too, in his treatment of contemporary theology the richness of interpretation so apparent elsewhere. Although he pays lip-service to the Cambridge Platonists and estimates more or less accurately their service to that confused generation of which they were a part, his treatment of them lacks the depth of understanding of much that he has written, though his fine tribute to Ralph Cud-

worth's great *Sermon* (pp. 225-30) serves to offset his curious inclusion among the Cambridge Platonists of Joseph Beaumont (p. 280), who was actually one of the bitterest enemies More and Cudworth ever knew.

But if these are limitations of Mr. Grierson's treatment, certainly they are amply compensated by virtues common to all Mr. Grierson's work, which make this volume in many ways the best single treatment of seventeenth-century literature we possess. He brings to his interpretation of most of the writers acute perception, sane judgment, richness and fulness of understanding, most of all, ripe and leisurely wisdom. As might be expected, it is in his treatment of Donne and of Milton as poets that he excels. His Donne is the real man of the century, a mature man of "passionate feeling and curiously analytical mind," not the tortured adolescent which the Romantics made in their own image, and which the neo-Romanticists are daily developing. So too his Milton emerges a more complete individual than the nineteenth-century critics believed, a less provocative figure than many contemporary psychological writers suggest. Mr. Grierson holds the balance admirably between an interpretation of Milton which would dismiss too easily the autobiographical elements in his work, and one which would over-sentimentalize the work in order to detect the man. His Milton is an artist who, in contrast to Donne, remains somehow aloof and apart through his own fastidiousness, as notable in his life as in his art, solitary, thoughtful, scholarly, an onlooker at life—in the fine phrase which his contemporary John Norris used of the "Angel of Christ's" forever the "Intellectual Epicure."

Yet both Donne and Milton emerge as humanists in the sense in which Mr. Grierson has used that term, humanists in their sharing in that point of view (p. 18) "which the revival of learning was bringing back, a fairer estimate of man's nature, his natural capacities and virtues, the legitimate instinct of enjoyment." Diverse as they are, they are brought together into the stream of humanism, illustrating in their different ways Mr. Grierson's sane and competent definition (p. 18):

Humanism was an acceptance of human life and values as right and reasonable and, if controlled by a sense of measure, needing not in themselves to be repented of, a revival of values and ideals on which the best thought of antiquity had set the seal of its approval; and among these values is pleasure, the enjoyment of life and its good things, and chief among them the arts—the great decorators of man's life, the fullest and finest expression of his sense of the joy of life, the beauty inherent in all that is.

BRIEF MENTION

Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature. Vol. ix. 1928. Edited for the Modern Humanities Research Association by E. SEATON and M. S. SERJEANTSON. Cambridge, Bowes & Bowes, 1929. Pp. 228. 6 s. 6 d. The ninth issue of this valuable bibliography is the work of Miss Everett and Miss Serjeantson. The retirement of the former, which is announced in the preface, will be regretted by all who know how faithfully she has assisted in the undertaking since its conception. Miss Serjeantson, who is well known for her studies in the Middle English dialects, will assume full responsibility for next year and the Association is to be congratulated on securing so competent an editor to carry on its fine work.

The most important innovation in the present number is the omission of the date from items where the date is that of the current year, and its insertion at the head of the page. A small saving of space and effort is thus effected, but the system provides no way of indicating whether a book bears the date of publication on its title page or is without date. A minor change in the arrangement of the sections on "Word Study" and "Name Study" will considerably facilitate reference. Each of these sections now consists of a sub-section headed *Miscellaneous* and a sub-section in which the words and names are arranged alphabetically. Not the least of the merits of the bibliography is the adequacy with which the work of foreign countries is covered. Such an achievement is possible only through the cooperation of a number of contributors in Europe and America. Professor Broughton's contribution alone, as the editors generously acknowledge, regularly amounts to one-half of the whole material.

At the risk of seeming ungracious, the writer cannot refrain from again voicing the wish that the publishers will continue their experiments in an effort to find a cover that will not curl when exposed to the air.

ALBERT C. BAUGH

Heath Manual of the Literature of England Based upon the Text of Heath Readings in the Literature of England. By IRVING GARWOOD. Boston: Heath, 1930. Pp. x + 256. Except for a few pages of general "topics for review or research" this volume consists entirely of questions on selections such as are often read in sophomore survey courses in English literature. There are many "recognition passages" to be identified. Questions like the more searching and suggestive of these and like those on Shakespeare

prepared by Professor Odell Shepard, should stimulate teachers and keep them from slipping into ruts.

R. D. H.

Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola On the Imagination; the Latin Text, with an Introduction, an English Translation, and Notes. By HARRY CAPLAN. Cornell Studies in English, vol. xvi, 1930. 114 pp. \$1.00. Students of psychology and ethics will be grateful for this modern edition of the younger Pico's treatise *On the Imagination*, revised and translated by a competent scholar. The Latin is not easy, and the precise meaning is not always clear. The notes are scholarly and sound. They show that Pico's main source is Aristotle's *De Anima*, but that he draws also from Plato and the Neoplatonists, and from Christian theology.

W. P. MUSTARD

Wilhelm Meister and his English Kinsmen. By SUSANNE HOWE. New York, Columbia University Press, 1930. Pp. 331. \$3.00. This book traces the establishment by Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* of a type of novel which has since had a continuous and vigorous life in English literature. *Wilhelm Meister* is primarily a story of self-culture by experience, which differentiates itself from Rousseau's *Emile* and other education novels by the emphasis it places upon organic development according to inner capacity as opposed to a training directed from without. Miss Howe studies briefly the origins of Goethe's novel in the eighteenth century cults of the genius and the virtuoso, and in the educational theorizing of the time. She then devotes a chapter to *Wilhelm Meister* itself.

Her chief subject, however, is the influence of the great novel in England, at first only upon critics and romantic poets, but soon upon fiction. Beginning with Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* and several of Bulwer's novels, this influence developed a type of novel which soon ceased to recognize its own ancestry. Disraeli, Sterling, Lewes, Froude, Geraldine Jewsbury, Kingsley, Mrs. Humphrey Ward, Samuel Butler, Meredith, Bennett, Beresford, Walpole, Mackenzie, Maugham, and Wells are the chief novelists who have carried on the tradition, with many variations which Miss Howe traces.

The most interesting part of the book is its successful attempt to define the origins and characteristics of the self-culture novel. This material contributes both general ideas and valuable technical distinctions in the theory of prose fiction. The treatment of English novels influenced by *Meister* suffers by comparison with the earlier part of the book, largely because the objects of study have less intrinsic interest. Miss Howe's criticism is sympathetic and intelligent throughout, and it is based upon wide reading.

University of Nebraska

THOMAS M. RAYSON

The French Literature of Louisiana. By RUBY VAN ALLEN CAULFEILD. New York: Institute of French Studies, Columbia University, 1929. Pp. xv + 282. Miss Caulfeild's monograph is little more than a *catalogue raisonné* of the subject, and, like so many other studies of provincial literature, suffers from a lack of critical perspective. Aside from the unexpected extent of French literature in Louisiana, the most interesting aspect of the subject is that this literature is overwhelmingly romantic. Miss Caulfeild, however, does not go into the question of sources and influence to any degree. There is a useful bibliography.

University of Michigan

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES

Chief Contemporary Dramatists: Third Series: Twenty Plays from the Recent Drama of the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Austria, France, Italy, Spain, Russia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the Yiddish Theatre, and Scandinavia. Selected and edited by THOMAS H. DICKINSON. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1930. Pp. ix + 698. \$3.75. The third volume of this excellent series gives plays by O'Neill, Green, Howard, Milne, O'Casey, Wedekind, Kaiser, Hofmannsthal, Vildrac, Lenormand, Pirandello, Benelli, the Álvarez Quinteros, the Martínez Sierras, Andreyev, Yevreinov. Molnar, Čapek, Ansky, Sigurjónsson. An appendix supplies a working book list for the whole field, a reading list by countries, brief notes on the original productions of the plays, a short biographical sketch and list of plays for each author, and an index of characters. In an incisive introduction Professor Dickinson reviews the state of the drama at the time each of his anthologies appeared, that is, in 1915, 1921, and 1930. In the first volume the British Isles were represented by eight plays, in the second by five, in the third by one. The conclusion is plain, and must be painful to all who speak the English tongue. Frank Vernon was right in holding (in *The Twentieth Century Theatre*) that the War ended the second great renaissance of British drama. When Shaw leaves the stage, even the epilogue will be over. On the other hand, not the number but the quality of the American plays in the third volume is impressive. They are *The Emperor Jones*, *In Abraham's Bosom*, and *The Silver Cord*. When one reflects that the second volume offered nothing better than *The Easiest Way*, *The Piper*, and *The Yellow Jacket*, and that when the first appeared the best American drama could muster was the fantastic *Scarecrow* of Mackaye and the sorry stuff of Fitch, Moody, and Augustus Thomas, one perceives that, if drama was the last department of American literature to grow up, its rise in the last decade has been rapid and encouraging.

H. S.

Dryden and Howard: 1664-1668. the Text of An Essay of Dramatic Poesy, The Indian Emperor, and The Duke of Lerma: With Other Controversial Matter. Edited by D. D. ARUNDELL. Cambridge University Press, 1929. Pp. xiv + 288. \$3.50. The editor states that he has taken his texts from the first editions; but he corrects silently, and on pp. 129-133 I find seven variations from Q 1667 of *The Indian Emperor*. Thus, for Mr. Arundell's "seasons in a timely birth" (p. 131), the editions of 1667, 1668, 1681, 1686, 1692, 1694, 1696, 1701, 1703, 1709, and 1732 all have *ssuson*. Mr. Arundell's reading agrees with the Scott-Saintsbury edition, but with only the third (Q 1670) of the earlier editions. I need not give further citations, for though it bears a distinguished imprint, this book is not a scholarly performance. "To collect the whole of the controversy on *Dramatic Poesy*, and to give in the same cover a practical example of each of the protagonists' theories—that is my aim." It is useful to have these materials brought together; but the editor's introduction is negligible, he gives no notes, and apparently his text can not be relied upon, even allowing for its modernized form. The repunctuation is sometimes very odd; for, "to avoid the impression of regular metre [in *The Indian Emperor*], which with rhyme becomes manifestly sing-song," the editor sprinkles his text with dots (. . .), in "hope that these pauses may help the reader to realize the emotions of the characters more easily. Yet I have not invented these pauses out of my head. They are all represented (intentionally or not) by commas, colons and semi-colons in the original." Why the editor supposes that replacing three varieties of stops by one will conduce to sharing the characters' emotions he does not explain.

H. S.

Brawny Wycherley: First Master in English Modern Comedy. By WILLARD CONNELLY. New York, Scribner's, 1930. Pp. xii + 352. \$3.00. Despite some parade of original research, this is a popular biography, not a contribution. The author is content to take most of his facts (and sometimes his phraseology) from secondary sources, which he cites without much discrimination; and he embroiders pretty freely. Many of his statements about the theatres, for example, betray his lack of exact information. The merit of the book lies, not in any notable penetration of Wycherley's character or grasp of his significance, but in a lively style and the vividness with which the Restoration and later scenes are imagined.

H. S.

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THE ORIGINALITY OF *ABSALOM AND ACHITOPHEL*

Ever since Scott published his edition of Dryden's works, there has been little disposition to attribute any great degree of originality to *Absalom and Achitophel* in respect to the Biblical story selected to carry the satire. For Scott shows that not only had a Bible story been previously used in a poem, closely resembling Dryden's, for political purposes but that the very story of Absalom had been employed in 1680 to represent Monmouth's revolt against Charles.¹ Yet the extent to which the life of King David had been applied to political situations in the seventeenth century, and especially the degree to which "Achitophel" had become, prior to Dryden's poem, a conventional term for disloyal politicians have hardly been sufficiently recognized.

The work largely responsible for the popularity of this Biblical episode in political writings was Nathanael Carpenter's *Achitophel, or the Piolure of a Wicked Politician*, the contents of which were first contained in three sermons preached before the University of Oxford. These, Wood says, were very much applauded by all the scholars that heard them, and were eagerly desired to be printed.² The first edition was published in Dublin in 1627, but was immediately withdrawn in order that certain passages suspected of attacking Arminianism might be deleted. The popularity of the work is evidenced by its enjoying five more editions, three published at London, 1629, 1633, 1638, and two at Oxford, 1640, 1641. In the dedication Carpenter defines his composition as "a sacred Tragedy, consisting of four chief Actors, viz. *David* an anointed King:

¹ *Works of John Dryden*, 1808, IX, 197-207.

² *Athenae Owoniensis*, ed. P. Bliss, 1815, II, col. 421.

Absolon an ambitious prince: *Achitophel* a wicked politician, and *Hushai* a loyal subject: a passage of history for variety pleasant, for instruction useful, for event admirable." The author's purpose, however, is much the same as that of the "character" writers of the period, though his method is different. By thoroughly analyzing the story of Absalom and Achitophel as it is revealed in the Scriptures, he draws a "character" of a crafty politician, and applies it to local conditions, especially to the machinations of the Catholics.

It seems that Achitophel first became a popular term with the Puritans on the eve of the civil war to designate what they considered to be the evil influences surrounding the king. One speaker in supporting certain puritan policies characterized his time as an "Age (Mr. Speaker) that hath produced and brought forth Achitophells, Hammans, Woolsies, Empsons, and Dudlies. . . . And I doubt not, but when his Majesty shall be truly informed of such matters, as we are able to charge them withall, we shall have the same justice against them, which heretofore hath been against their Predecessours, in whose wicked steps they have trodden." ³ About the same time another puritan orator in speaking of the enemies of parliament proclaimed that all members of the latter had banded together "To defeat the Counsels of these Achitophels, which would involve us, Our Religion, our being, our Lawes, our liberties . . . in one universall and general desolation, to defeat I say, the Counsels of evil Achitophels." ⁴ Achitophel, as the representative of the whole tribe of wicked politicians, became so popular that he passed into ballad literature. After portraying with great gusto the imminent destruction of the bishops, the puritan poet concludes,

Thus did the counsell of Achitophell
Unto these Doctors prove a dismal Cell ⁵

Naturally the story proved popular in the pulpit, and due application was made of it to contemporary conditions, both from the puritan and the royalist points of view. In a sermon preached before the House of Commons, Sept. 24, 1645, and ordered printed

³ *Mr. Grimston's Speech, In the High Court of Parliament, 1641, p. 15.*

⁴ *Densell Hollis, Speech at the delivery of the Protestation to the Lords of the upper House of Parliament, 4 May, 1641, p. 7.*

⁵ *The Prentices Prophetic, 1642, p. 3.*

by that body, Samuel Gibson first discussed the narrative and then applied it to the political crisis of his own day, with the fervent prayer that "all the enemies of the King and Parliament be as that young man *Absolom*, and that old Fox *Ahitophel*."⁶ But the story could serve both parties equally well. The same year a Royalist thoroughly analyzed it, with a running application to the sad state to which the Puritans had reduced England, and concluded in this manner: "This is the true Story of this Rebellion, faithfully extracted out of the Holy Writ, where it is Recorded; Scarce to be paralleld untill these unhappy Times, whence it seemes they have taken their President. *It needs no other Application.*"⁷

Thus we see that in the unsettled conditions preceding and attending the civil war both Royalist and Puritan utilized the Bible story, or at least made use of the name of Achitophel to express their political condemnations. The restoration of Charles provided

⁶ *The Ruine of the Authors and Fomentors of Civil Warres*, p. 27. This is one of the very few instances where the spelling of the name follows the authorized version. Richard Garnett (*Age of Dryden*, p. 21n.) thinks it "worth remarking that although not yet a Roman Catholic, Dryden in this name employs the orthography, not of the authorized version, but of the Vulgate." Needless to say, Dryden was merely following the usual spelling of the name in the seventeenth century.

⁷ The italics are the author's; see *Absolom's Rebellion. As it is Recorded in the 2 Sam. Chap. 15, 16, 17, 18 & 19. With some Observations upon the Severall Passages thereof. Too fit a Patterne for the present Times, whereinto we are Fallen*. Oxford, 1645. Other examples of the conventional use of Achitophel are found in certain royalist effusions such as Francis Wortley's *Characters and Elegies*, 1646, p. 27, in which the author compares the treason of Britanicus [Marchmont Needham?] to that of Achitophel, and expresses the wish that all traitors may meet Achitophel's fate; and *Mercurius Britanicus His Welcome to Hell: With the Divills Blessing to Britanicus*, 1647, in which occur the lines

Nay thou shalt set thy house in order too,
And in thy death Achitophell out-do,

* * * * *

And therefore, in thy death thou shall excell
That great grave Councillor Achitophell.

And another Royalist advises the puritan "Masters of Wit and State-craft to have before their eyes the unsuccessful ends of Achitophel, the Oracle of the times he lived in." Peter Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, 1652, "To the Reader."

an even closer parallel with certain episodes in David's life, especially his exile and restoration,⁸ which was seized upon with avidity by preachers and poets eager to stand in the good graces of their sovereign. One ecclesiastical congratulator says, with the air of a man making a new discovery, "If we compare the example of that king who is the present subject of our admiration with King David, as to those things we have spoken of him, we shall find them extremely like one unto another," and the whole purpose of his sermon "is only to shew you the admirable conformity that is between those two Kings."⁹ In some sermons of the day the parallel was developed to the farthest possible limits, one preacher listing and discussing fifteen particulars in which the lives of the two kings were similar. He even compares the cave in Engedi in which David took up his abode, with the hollow oak where Charles is said to have hidden.¹⁰

⁸ Verrall says the "parallel was obvious enough, and it was indeed a common habit in political sermons to compare Charles with David." He also refers to such a comparison in Dryden's *Astraea Redux* and in Lee's verses prefixed to *The State of Innocence*, in which the latter urges Dryden to develop the parallel (*Lectures on Dryden*, pp. 56-58). A. W. Ward states that the parallel "was a commonplace of restoration poetry" (*Cam. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, VIII, 41). Scott refers (*op. cit.*, IX, 200n.) to John Rich's *Verses on the blessed and happy Coronation of Charles the II*, 1661, in which occur the lines,

Preserve thy David, and he that rebels,
Confound his Councells, like Achitophels.

Other poems that may be cited are John Quarles' *Rebellion's Downfall*, 1662, and an undated ballad, probably of this period, entitled *His Majesties miraculous Preservation By the Oak, Maid, and Ship*.

⁹ Anthony Hulsius, *The Royal Joy. Or, A Sermon of Congratulation*, p. 11. This was preached at Breda, May 23, 1660, the day before Charles' departure for England. In a sermon preached June 28, 1660, William Creed claims that "The Author of this book of *Samuel*, or the *Kings*, seemes to have been a Register of our times, and to have foretold of these same changes, we in our days have lived to see," and he elaborates upon the comparison of the modern with the ancient king. *Judah's Return to their Allegiance, and David's Return to his Crown and Kingdom*, 1660, p. 1.

¹⁰ R. Feltman in a sermon preached May 29, 1660, and entitled *David's Recognition, with a Parallel betwixt his and our present Sovereigns Sufferings and Deliverances*. For another elaborate comparison consult Clement Barksdale's sermon delivered May 24, 1660, *The Kings Return*.

The sermons which have just been cited are sufficiently numerous to compel the conclusion that the association of the English sovereign with David must have accompanied the former until his death, though his life as king hardly conformed to scriptural teachings. Indeed, Charles himself seems to have courted the comparison. While his fate was still in the balance, the monarch addressed a letter to the peers of England in which he sought to make political capital of the parallel: "Again we call upon our Peers, who cannot be insensible that the Streams of your own Honour must necessarily fail, when the Fountain which should feed them is diverted; We advise you to learn of the Hebrews, who after that absence of their *King David* (more than seven times doubled by our sufferings) grew to contention for bringing home their persecuted Prince."¹¹ While it is quite possible that Charles gave the cue to his clerical adulators, the inference is unnecessary in view of the well established tradition regarding the use of the comparison. This letter, however, assumes some importance in the light of a widely accepted account, which has its origin in the 1716 edition of Tonson's *Miscellany Poems* (II. 1), that Dryden undertook his poem at the instigation of Charles, for it strengthens this account, and indicates that the king may have been responsible for the form of the satire as well as its purpose.

Although the story of David's exile and restoration comprises the greater part of the parallels cited, Achitophel is by no means slighted, but is used generally to designate the enemies of the king.¹² As the poems mentioned in a previous note show, he still represented the false politician; in fact, he became so widely and frequently used as the prototype of traitors that a verb was coined from his name, the surest evidence of the identification of a type

See also James Buck's *St. Paul's Thanksgiving*, May 10, 1660; R. Mosson's *England's Gratulation For the King and his Subjects Happy Union*, May 10, 1660; George Willington's *The Thrise Welcome and happy Inauguration of our most Gracious Sovereign, King Charles*, 1660. The sermons and other references cited in this article, for the majority of which I am indebted to my wife, are only representative, and their number could easily be augmented by further investigation.

¹¹ *A Letter from His Maty King Charles II^d. To his Peers the Lords in England*, 1660. Since Thomason gives March 20 as the date of publication, this letter preceded all the sermons that have been noticed.

¹² See especially W. Creed's *Judah's Return*.

with a name. In a poem of the period, the failure of the Puritans is ascribed to their plotting against each other:

So all their Projects broke, not any held
One by another out-Achitophel'd.¹³

And for a number of years Achitophel served a useful purpose in affording a term of reproach to be leveled at the discomfited Puritans. In speaking of the way in which the puritan leaders had misled the ignorant people, Samuel Parker remarks, "So easie a thing is it for your crafty Achitophels to arm Faction with Zeal, and to draw the Multitudes into Tumults and Seditions under Colour of Religion."¹⁴ George Vernon applies the name more specifically in his attack on John Owen, when he says the latter "crept into his [Cromwell's] favour, was nourished in his bosome, and continued his Achitophel to his dying day."¹⁵

One might say that any political disturbance of any importance during this period was sure to inspire reference to the Biblical traitor. In a sermon preached on the anniversary of the gunpowder plot and largely inspired by the recent popish plot, Henry Dove introduces the deadly parallel, concluding with the words, "I shall leave it to your memories to run the parallel between David's Conspirators and these Traytors, in the secrecie of their Counsels, designs laid deep as Hell, and black as utter darkness, in the maliciousness of their calumnies and imbitter'd slanders, in the insolence of their insurrection and bold-fac'd Rebellion."¹⁶ But no political situation could possibly furnish so close a parallel as Monmouth's disaffection. Here was the story of a king's son egged on by politicians to revolt against his father and adopting practices

¹³ H. Beeston Winton, *A Poem to His most Excellent Majesty Charles the Second*, 1660, p. 6. Two years later Wither, in *Verses intended to the King's Majesty*, expresses a desire for

So much worth, at least, as did commend
His loyalty, whom David call'd his friend,
And wit enough to make a parallel
Of evry traytor with Achitophel.

¹⁴ *A Letter to a Friend Concerning some of Dr. Owen's Principles and Practices*, 1670, p. 27.

¹⁵ *A Defence and Continuation of the Ecclesiastical Politie*, 1671, p. 684.

¹⁶ *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons . . . November 5, 1680.*

suggestive of the Scriptures. The application of the Biblical story to the affair was inevitable. We are not surprised, then, to find one who signs himself C. F. addressing a *Letter*¹⁷ to Monmouth, which urges him to desist from his treasonable course, and makes the most out of the example of Absalom and his wicked politicians. In a very short tract published the same year an ever closer parallel is traced between the scriptural characters and Monmouth and Shaftesbury.¹⁸ Certainly by the time Dryden's satire appeared, the comparison had been considerably overworked. It is not strange, then, to hear one of Shaftesbury's adherents say, evidently in scorn of Dryden's originality,

Let them with their Poetick Malice swell.
Falsely apply the Story, known so well,
Of Absalom, and of Achitophel.¹⁹

It is not hard to understand why the vicissitudinous life of King David, and especially the episode of Absalom and Achitophel, should have figured prominently in the treatises, sermons, speeches, and poems of a period so troublesome for English kings as the seventeenth century. Even though it was not until the last years of the reign of Charles II that a clear parallel for Absalom was furnished, he could very well be used to represent rebellion in general. As for Achitophel, political strife was so intense and feeling ran so high that every faction needed some term into which could be packed all the hatred and contempt inspired by the supposedly wicked and deceitful practices of the other factions. Such

¹⁷ *A Letter to his Grace the Duke of Monmouth, this 15th of July, 1680. By a true Lover of his Person and the Peace of this Kingdom.* This is to be found in the *Somers Tracts*, ed. Walter Scott, VIII, 216. See also Scott's edition of *Dryden's Works*, IX, 199-200.

¹⁸ *Absalom's Conspiracy; or The Tragedy of Treason*, London, 1680. See the *Harleian Miscellany*, 1811, VII, 530. Malone pointed out that several months before the appearance of Dryden's poem, a satire entitled *The Badger in the Fox-Trap*, applied the name Achitophel to Shaftesbury:

Some call me Tory, some Achitophel,
Some Jack-a-Dandy, some old Machiavel.

See *Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works of John Dryden*, ed. E. Malone, 1800, I, 141n. Malone, although he was familiar with Carpenter's book, thought Dryden was entirely original in his choice of the Biblical story.

¹⁹ *A Loyal Congratulation To the Right Honorable, Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury*, London, 1681.

a term as Achitophel was all the more useful when it was expedient to attack the counsellors of a ruler rather than the ruler himself, as in the case of Charles I, to castigate living Puritans for the deeds of Cromwell who was beyond punishment, and to show some tenderness to the son of a king. Yet when everything is taken into consideration, the wide use of the story is still remarkable. Dryden or possibly Charles, could not have shown less originality in the selection of the vehicle for the satire. This fact, of course, does in no way detract from Dryden's originality in his treatment of the parallel, nor from his vigorous satire and energetic verse.

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DRYDEN AND THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

In the *London Mercury* for March, 1930, Mr. Roswell G. Ham has reprinted a prologue and two epilogues by Dryden which have hitherto remained uncollected. This in itself is an important contribution to the Dryden canon and will earn Mr. Ham the gratitude of the lovers of Dryden's poetry—now a growing number. He has, however, also added a commentary on the Epilogue spoken at Oxford, March 19, 1680/1, in which he presents some far-reaching conclusions regarding Dryden's life. They are challenging enough to deserve careful examination.

Mr. Ham's theory as to the importance of this epilogue is somewhat complicated. On the one hand, Dryden is represented as courting the good-will of Oxford with an eye to ecclesiastical or academic preferment; on the other, he is represented as undergoing at Oxford, before writing this epilogue, a sort of crisis in political sympathies, and returning to London after the dissolution of Parliament "with his political and religious horoscope cast." The two strands are interwoven in Mr. Ham's account, but for convenience I shall discuss them in turn.

Dryden's Oxford ambition, Mr. Ham thinks, was "clearly in mind by July, 1676." It is revealed in the Prologue beginning

Though actors cannot much of learning boast,

which has hitherto been assigned conjecturally to 1681, but which

Mr. Ham, with great plausibility, assigns to 1676 on the strength of a note in the Bodleian manuscript, *Eng. Poet. B.4.*¹ "We may," he says, "begin to suspect his hidden motives" from the concluding lines:

If his Ambition may those Hopes pursue,
Who with Religion loves your Arts and you,
Oxford to him a dearer Name shall be,
Than his own Mother University.
Thebes did his green unknowing Youth ingage,
He chuses Athens in his riper Age.

Mr. Ham does not find these hidden motives in the other Oxford prologues and epilogues hitherto printed, which he passes over with the general comment, entirely correct, that "in style and temper they stand apart." But the epilogue for the occasion of the Oxford Parliament in 1681, now "reprinted for the first time since its delivery," reveals Dryden in the full career of his "ambition." "Here, in his official capacity, he transformed his stage into a pulpit and composed what might well have served as the invocation to the momentous parliament." This ecclesiastical imagery may puzzle the reader who first scans the epilogue with an unprejudiced eye, but Mr. Ham explains it: "Just what was signified by his long and assiduous cultivation of Oxford's good will stands revealed in an unnoticed news letter of June 30, 1687. Here it is announced that

A mandate is said to be gone down [to] Oxford for Mr. Dryden to go out Doctor of Divinity, and also that he will be made President of Magdalen College. *Rept. of Royal Hist. MSS. Com.* Downshire, I, l. 251."

It is evident, then, that Mr. Ham has built up his theory of Dryden's ambition, and his interpretation of the epilogue and the prologue, on this passage from a news letter, which, though he omits to mention the fact, was addressed to Messrs. Goodwin and Martin, Merchants in Marseilles. The writer was evidently retailing current London gossip. The occasion of the gossip does not appear to be known to Mr. Ham. He says that "though Magdalen College, in particular, sturdily resisted the 'Popish' designs of James II, when he came to the throne four years later, the chances

¹ See also W. J. Lawrence, "Oxford Restoration Prologues," *TLS.*, Jan. 16, 1930.

are that his continuance in power would have seen the attainment of Dryden's ambition," and then he goes on to quote the news letter as above. But the resistance of Magdalen came, not in 1685, as Mr. Ham implies, but at the very time of the news letter, in 1687. Dr. Henry Clerke, the President of Magdalen, died on March 24. On April 5 a mandamus was issued by James requiring the College to elect to the place a Catholic, one Anthony Farmer. The Vice President and Fellows petitioned against this mandamus, and on April 15 elected John Hough. For their disobedience they were on May 28 cited before the Ecclesiastical Commission, which on June 22 declared Hough's election void and suspended the Vice President and one Fellow. On August 14 the Royal mandate went down for the admission of Samuel Parker, Bishop of Oxford, to the place of President, but not until October was Hough ejected, his doors broken open, and Parker put in possession of the President's lodgings.² It was on June 30, after the Fellows had been before the Ecclesiastical Commission, that, so far as we know, rumour first mentioned Dryden in connection with the affair. We are not, however, without a contemporary evaluation of this rumour. It is a passage in a letter of August 2, unnoticed by Mr. Ham, but on the face of it of more authority than an ordinary news letter, addressed as it is to Sir R. Verney. "The Ecclesiastical Commissioners sat on Friday.—They have put off the fellows of Magdalen College, who were removed for contempt till Friday next. What was charged against Farmer [some scandalous accusations], was proved against him by near 20 witnesses. . . . I suppose he is laid aside. There is talk of Dryden, but I believe without ground."³

The talk about Dryden's Oxford ambitions in 1687 has therefore the semblance of being entirely occasional. Only after the disreputable Farmer had been rejected by the College and dropped by the King, and the town stirred to expectation of the next step, was the name of Dryden mentioned. But even if we should grant that Dryden might have pressed for this appointment in June, 1687, and had desired the degree of Doctor of Divinity to qualify him, it would be imputing prescience to him to say that this was precisely what was signified by his prologue of 1676 and his epi-

² *Magdalen College and King James II.* Ed. J. R. Bloxom. Oxford, 1886.

³ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 7th Rep. (1879), *App.*, 504b.

logue of 1681. Nor is there any ground for supposing with Mr. Ham, that in spite of his failure in 1687, Dryden's plans were entirely feasible, so much so that he would undoubtedly have had the headship of an Oxford college had James continued on the throne longer. But speculation on such a topic is idle.

But this was not the only case where London gossip connected the name of Dryden with an Oxford vacancy. Mr. Ham might have made good use of the rumour current earlier the same year. Dr. Thomas James, warden of All Soul's, died on January 5. A letter to Robert Harley reports under date of February 1:

Mr. Leopold Finch is by the Queen's interest, his brother marrying one of the maids of honour, step in to be Warden of All Souls College, Dr. James dying soon after you went hence, to the disappointment of Dr. Plot, for whom Walker made all his interest, and of Dryden, for whom others did stickle.⁴

But this report should be compared with that of Wood, who in his diary under date of January 21 says:

Leopold Finch, M. A., and regent ad placitum, was admitted by the fellows warden by virtue of a mandamus from the King . . . One [William] Harrington, a junior Master of that house, offer'd 250 guineas to Robert Brent of the Treasury to get a mandamus, but could not effect it. [Matthew] Tindal also of that house, put in to get another, but prevail'd not. Mr. [Obadiah] Walker endeavored to get Dr. [Robert] Plot in, but was too late. Dr. Plot then promised if he could get it he would declare.⁵

It is apparent that the rumour about Dryden's candidacy either did not reach Wood, who was otherwise very circumstantially informed, or else that he did not think it worth writing down.

It might, of course, be objected that the persistence of this sort of rumour constitutes evidence of a sort that Dryden was at this time urging the King to give him some lucrative and honorable Oxford appointment. Fortunately, it seems possible to bring Dryden's own testimony in to settle the matter. His letter to Etherege on February 16, 1687, is a series of variations on the theme of idleness.

"I have made my court to the King," he says, "once in seven months, have seen my Lord Chamberlain [Lord Mulgrave] full as often. I believe, if they think of me at all, they imagine I am very proud, but I am

⁴ *Hist. MSS. Comm., Portland MSS*, III (1894), 397.

⁵ *Wood's Life and Times*, III, 208.

gloriously lazy. . . . I might probably get something [evidently for his son] at court, but my Lord Sunderland, I imagine, thinks me dead while I am silently wishing him all prosperity. For wishes cost me no more than thinking."

For Dryden to bend his energies to be made Warden of All Soul's in January, and write in this strain to Etherege in February, was only to incur the risk of making himself sublimely ridiculous to his best friends. More than this, however, Dryden lets escape in the same letter a pointed criticism of the precipitous policy of James:

I cannot help hearing that white sticks change their masters, and that officers of the army ["alluding," says the editor, "to the dismissal of Lord Rochester from the Treasury and Lord Lumley and Shrewsbury from their colonelcies"] are not immortal in their places, because the King finds they will not vote for him in the next sessions. Oh, that our Monarch would encourage noble idleness by his own example as he of blessed memory did before him, for my mind misgives me that he will not much advance his affairs by stirring. I was going on, but am glad to be admonished by the paper.*

This important passage throws light not only on Dryden's supposed courtiership, but also on the political aspects of *The Hind and the Panther*, over which Dryden must at that very time have been laboring. We cannot enter, however, on that subject; the question here is simply whether Dryden was at this time seeking, through influence at the Court, to satisfy his supposed ambition regarding Oxford.

To return to the prologue and epilogue, it should be remarked that, if Dryden desired a divinity degree or an academic position, he chose a strange avenue towards either by writing prologues and epilogues for Wood's tennis court. He might have submitted to Oxford a specimen of the epic poem he longed to write; or have dedicated to them some work of scholarship or criticism by way of attracting attention to his learning and abilities. And he might have sought the intervention of his friend, the Duke of Ormond, the venerated Chancellor of the University. But Dryden appears not to have thought of doing these things. It is possible after all that when Dryden in the Prologue of 1676 referred to his "ambi-

* Sybil Rosenfeld, *The Letterbook of Sir George Etherege*, Oxford (1928), 355-7.

tion," he had in mind solely his poetical ambition, and it is possible that what he most desired from Oxford was an appreciation of his literary genius. The lines of the Prologue seem to indicate just that.

Mr. Ham's other theory, that the Epilogue of 1681 is connected with a crisis in Dryden's political views, may be dismissed more briefly. He thinks that Dryden, as Poet Laureate and Historiographer Royal, must have made the trip to Oxford with the players. "We may imagine him in the centre of things," says Mr. Ham, "with his powerful prologues." It is possible, I suppose, that Dryden was in Oxford during those tumultuous days and that he came rather suddenly to the conclusion that the Whigs were carrying matters too far, even to the verge of Civil War, and that a powerful epilogue after the play on Saturday night was necessary to ensure success to the Tory cause in the parliamentary session beginning Monday morning. But the Epilogue calls for no such explanation. It might very well have been finished in London two weeks before. It is very definitely addressed, not to the University, but to the members of parliament and their retainers. It expresses a hope that the peacefulness of Oxford might quiet the turbulence of political faction—but this had been the hope of the Court party since January; in the meantime, says the poet,

Some vacant hours allow to your delight;
Mirth is the pleasing bus'ness of the night,
The King's Prerogative, The People's Right:
Were all your hours to Sullen Cares confin'd,
The body would be Jaded by the mind.
'Tis Wisdom's part betwixt Extremes to steer,
Be Gods in Senates, but be Mortals here.

Thus it ends. "He was not weakened by this prayer over the ill-starred assembly," comments Mr. Ham, who is in the next sentence hastening on towards the news letter of 1687 about the divinity degree. But it is equally inept to call it a prayer and to suggest that Dryden might have been weakened by its failure to control the turbulent parliament. The King himself delivered a speech on Monday morning, which failed in the same sense; but return to Windsor weakened he certainly did not. The dissolution of the parliament was a Tory triumph which left the Whigs stunned; it was not Charles or his Poet Laureate, it was the Whigs who

were weakened,—so much in fact that in little more than three months Shaftesbury was in the Tower. Mr. Ham therefore inverts matters when he suggests that Dryden, on perceiving the political ineffectiveness of his epilogue, turned for consolation to his secret Oxford ambitions. In short, there is no warrant for attributing such biographical importance to this epilogue or for speaking of its occasion as casting Dryden's "political and religious horoscope." It is a counsel of peace and moderation such as Dryden gave also at other moments of stress. But the most important fact about it probably remains that it is excellent poetry; and we shall probably come nearest to the truth about Dryden if we proceed on the theory that his dearest ambition was not to be a politician or pamphleteer, divine or critic or even dramatist, but to be a poet.

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SMOLLETT'S VERSES AND THEIR MUSICAL SETTINGS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In his admirable study¹ of Smollett's verse, Mr. Buck recently favored the old conjecture, first advanced by Robert Chambers, that *The Tears of Scotland* in its initial appearance was called *The Groans of Scotland*. No one, however, has pointed out that in *The General Advertiser*² for July 16, 1746, the following six-penny pamphlet was advertised: *The Groans of Scotland, or The Lamentations of the Ancient Genius of Caledonia for the Miseries of that Country. Infandum Regina jubes removare [sic] dolorem. Virg. Printed for M. Cooper, at the Globe in Pater-noster-Row. This Day is published. Price 6 d.* Unfortunately no copy of this publication is available for examination, but there is not the slightest doubt that it was this piece which was listed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*³ for July 1746, as *The Groans of Scotland, 6 d. Cooper*. It is possible that this composition was Smollett's first publication,

¹ *Smollett as Poet* by Howard S. Buck, Yale University Press, 1927, pp 22-33.

² The same notice is repeated on July 17, 1746.

³ *Gentleman's Magazine*, xvi (1746), 388.

because a few weeks later the same publisher, M. Cooper at the Globe in Pater-noster-Row, was dispensing copies of *Advice* to the London public. Moreover Smollett's *The Tears of Scotland* is in effect the lament of "Caledonia for the miseries of that Country." It is equally possible that *The Groans of Scotland* was another treatment of the same subject by a forgotten author. In any event we shall see that *The Tears of Scotland* was provided with a musical setting as early as December, 1746.

Regarding the music for this poem Mr. McKillop⁴ has contributed a pertinent bit of information in pointing out that according to Newbery's *Art of Poetry on a New Plan* (London, 1762, I, 76-78), Smollett's lyric was "set to music by Mr. Oswald, just after the late rebellion," and that there was a collection of songs "set to music by James Oswald" listed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July, 1751, an anthology also cited by Mr. Noyes.⁵ Concerning James Oswald a fair amount of information is available. According to Kidson,⁶ Oswald left Edinburgh for London in 1741, and was associated with John Simpson in a music shop near St. Martin's Church. During the period 1740-1750 there flourished the Society of the Temple of Apollo attended probably by Oswald, Charles Burney, Capt. John Reid, the Earl of Kelly, Mallett and Thomson. It is quite likely that Smollett frequented this circle, as it was composed chiefly of Scots, who were of course closely associated during the parlous days following the Rebellion of 1746. Under the patronage of Frederick, Prince of Wales, the society apparently flourished; some of Oswald's numerous musical collections were dedicated to the Prince, and when in 1761 Frederick's son became king, Oswald was made Chamber Composer to his Majesty. Oswald was both a pleasing musician⁷ and a considerable composer, whose work is marked by refinement and a charming simplicity, and much of his music survives in contemporary English and Scotch

⁴ "Notes on Smollett" by Alan D. McKillop in *PQ.*, VII (1928), 368.

⁵ *The Letters of Tobias Smollett*, M. D., ed. E. S. Noyes, Harvard University Press, 1926, p. 118.

⁶ Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London, 1927, III, 778, article by Frank Kidson. For a fuller account of Oswald see an essay by Kidson in *The Musical Antiquary*, II (1910-11), 34-41.

⁷ For the tribute of Benjamin Franklin in 1765, see Tytler, A. F. T., Lord Woodhouselee's *Memoirs of Kames*, Edinburgh, 1807, II, 25.

magazines, and in the collections of the British Museum and of The National Library of Scotland. Among his works is a pleasing air⁶ composed for Collins' imperishable "Ode Written in 1746," also occasioned by Culloden. That Oswald was a friend of Smollett is more than likely, for, as we shall see, he set to music at least four lyrics by the author of *Roderick Random*.

We do not know exactly when Oswald's music for *The Tears of Scotland*, with or without the words, was first published. The earliest reference is that given in the *General Advertiser* for Dec. 3, 1746:

This Day is published Price 1s. The Land of Cakes Book the First. Containing Six Songs set to Musick in the true Scots Taste To which is added, The Tears of Scotland Printed for R. Williams, and sold by Mr. Oswald in St. Martin's Church-yard, J Newberry in St. Paul's Church-yard; and W. Owen, next Door to the Devil-Tavern, Temple-Bar.

If a copy of this publication should become available, it would be interesting of course to collate the poem (assuming that the words as well as the music were published) with the version printed in the imperfect leaflet⁹ at the Harvard Library, as well as with the standard version. It seems very likely that the above publication presented Oswald's music for the first time. There are, however, two accessible versions of Oswald's music for *The Tears of Scotland*. Without implying any chronological sequence we may designate as version A that printed in Oswald's *The Caledonian Pocket Companion Containing a favourite Collection of Scotch Tunes with Variations for the German Flute or Violin. Bk. IV. London—Printed for the Author and sold at his Musick Shop in St. Martin's Church Yard in the Strand.*¹⁰ n. d. (Date conjectured in Br. Mus. Cat. 1750-60). Version B is found in *English Songs*.¹¹ The music in these two anthologies is virtually identical. Version B gives the first two stanzas of the poem, and in the second stanza we find "where late they fed their wanton flocks," as in the Harvard leaflet. The music itself, in E Minor, with its simple

⁶ In *The Musical Magazine by Mr. Oswald and other celebrated Masters*, London [1761-2?], Br. Mus. E. 1747a., p. 60.

⁹ See Buck, *op. cit.*, 25.

¹⁰ Br. Mus. e. 1290 (Bk. iv, p. 14).

¹¹ Br. Mus. i, 530, p. 100 [London, 1750?].

but effective themes, shifting occasionally into major strains, is not unworthy of the spirit of the poem.

Another musical setting for Smollett's first poem was composed at an uncertain date during the eighteenth century by Allan Masterton: "Mourn, Hapless Caledonia, Mourn Written upon the Battle of Culloden by Tobias Smollet Air—The Tears of Caledonia,—composed for this work by Allan Masterton, Edinburgh."¹² Here the musical treatment, in D minor, is inferior to Oswald's.

Next in order of publication are certain lyrics which first appeared in *Roderick Random*. In the second volume¹³ we have the following verses recited by the hero:

On Celia playing on the harpsicord and singing

I.

When Sapho struck the quiv'ring wire,
The throbbing breast was all on fire:
And when she rais'd the vocal lay,
The captive soul was charm'd away!

II.

But had the nymph, possess'd with these
Thy softer, chaster pow'r to please;
Thy beauteous air of sprightly youth,
Thy native smiles of artless truth;

III.

The worm of grief, had never prey'd
On the forsaken, love-sick maid:
Nor had she mourn'd an hapless flame,
Nor dash'd on rocks her tender frame.

It is not surprising to find that this pleasing lyric was set to music in the eighteenth century, and that it is still preserved. At the top of the sheet of music one reads: "When Sappho Tun'd the Raptur'd Strain Sung by Mr. Webb, in the concert for the New Musical Fund, at the King's Theatre, Haymarket: Written by Dr. Smollet Set to Music by Dr. Hayes."¹⁴ Entered at Sta-

¹² Br. Mus G. 370 *Scottish Airs*—Pleyel (Set 4, No. 87), ed. G. Thomson, Edinburgh.

¹³ *Roderick Random*, 1748, II, 31.

¹⁴ Philip Hayes, Mus. D. (1738-1797), organist at New College and at Magdalen College, Oxford, professor of Music at Oxford.

tioners Hall Lond. Printed by Skillern, St. Martins Lane, for the Author & may be had at the Music Shops. Price 1 s."¹⁵ Hayes' air, with its sensuous theme in E Major, and elaborate accompaniment, is of intrinsic merit, but more interesting still to the student of Smollett are the words, which seem to be a survival of another version of the poem:

When Sappho tun'd the raptur'd strain,
The listening wretch forgot his pain,
With ait divine the lyre she strung
Like thee she play'd, like thee she sung, like thee she sung;

For while she struck the quiv'ring wire,
The eager breast was all on fire;
And when she join'd the vocal lay,
The captive soul was charm'd away, . . .

But had she added still to these
Thy softer, chaster power to please,
Thy beauteous air of sprightly youth,
Thy native smiles of artless truth, . . .

She ne'er had pin'd beneath disdain.
She ne'er had played and sung in vain;
Despair had ne'er her soul possest,
To dash on rocks the tender breast, . . .

Here we have not only an additional stanza at the beginning, but frequent variations in all the other stanzas. Where did Hayes obtain such a version, and, if it is Smollett's, which version represents his revision? Or was Hayes responsible for the changes? The presence of an extra stanza would not be surprising, but it is not easy to account for the numerous other variants or to say which version had priority.

Both Oswald and Hayes wrote music for another lyric in *Roderick Random*. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July, 1755, one finds Oswald's setting to "A Favourite Air Sung at Vauxhall." The stanzas beginning, "Thy fatal shafts unerring move" were sung in charmingly effective lyrical phrases in D Major. As Mr. Buck¹⁶ observed, the words alone appeared in the *Scots Magazine*¹⁷ a few months later. Oswald's music, with words, was printed

¹⁵ Br. Mus. G. 366 *Songs*, No. 10. Date conjectured in the catalogue 1795.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, 48.

¹⁷ *Scots Magazine*, September, 1755.

again in 1757.¹⁸ Hayes' music¹⁹ in *A Major* with lively syncopated rhythms is in the musical collection of the British Museum under the following heading: "Thy Fatal Shafts Sung by Mrs Munday. Written by Dr Smollet. Set to Music by Dr Hayes With accompaniments by violins, Ger. Flute & Guitar. . . ." In the settings of both Oswald and Hayes, the words follow those of the first edition of the novel.

The elegy in imitation of Tibullus first printed in *Roderick Random*, Ch. 61, and often referred to as the "Love Elegy," was also given a rather fine musical treatment in *E Flat*, which must have added much to the vogue of the poem, by a Mr. Buswell.²⁰ This music dates from approximately 1750. If a marginal note on the music may be trusted, the composer was "of the Chap. Royal, afterwards D. Mus."

No reader of *Roderick Random* has forgotten the lieutenant's amusing rendition of "a fashionable air,"²¹ the first stanza of which he pronounced thus:

Would you task the moon-ty'd hair,
To yon flagrant beau repair;
Where waving with the poppling vow,
The bantling fine will shelter you, etc

Mr. Buck has offered us an ingenious reconstruction²² of this travesty, but the complete background of this mutilated fragment remains to be elucidated. One must go back to John Dalton and his adaptation of Milton's *Comus*,²³ which was first produced in 1738. In the second act of this typically eighteenth century adaptation there is a "Song. By a Woman in a Pastoral Habit." As the lieutenant in the novel parodied the entire song, it will interest the modern reader to see the complete version, the work of Dalton, in his "improvement" of Milton:

¹⁸ *The Literary Magazine*, II (Oct.-Nov., 1757), 494.

¹⁹ Br. Mus G. 360 (24) 1790?

²⁰ Br. Mus. G. 313 (165) 1750?

²¹ *Roderick Random*, Ch. 53.

²² *Op. cit.*, p. 43.

²³ *Comus, a Mask: (Now adopted to the Stage) As Alter'd from Milton's Mask at Ludlow-Castle . . . London . . . 1738.*

I.

Would you taste the noontide Air?
 To yon fragrant Bower repair,
 Where woven the poplar Bough
 The Mantling Vine will shelter you.

II.

Down each side a Fountain flows,
 Tinkling, murmuring, as it goes
 Lightly o'er the mossy Ground,
 Sultry Phoebus scorching round

III.

Round, the languid Herds and Sheep
 Stretched o'er sunny Hillock sleep,
 While on the Hyacinth and Rose
 The Fair does all alone repose.

IV.

All alone—and in her Arms
 Your Breast may beat to Love's Alarms,
 Till bless'd and blessing you shall own,
 The Joys of Love are Joys alone.

Would that Smollett had given us the complete rendition by the facetious officer! Thanks to Dr. Arne's music, however, Dalton's adaptation enjoyed a place on the stage for many years, and possibly it was one of the first musical pieces heard by Smollett on his arrival in London in 1739. This particular piece²⁴ was printed separately, and became a favorite song of the day.

It is perfectly clear from what has been adduced so far that Smollett's youthful lyrics, fortunately for their immediate recognition and popularity, were married to appropriately Lydian airs, and it must have cheered the sensitive and proud soul of their author to hear them sung at Vauxhall, and of course at Ranelagh almost within sight and hearing of Monmouth House. And it is also pleasing to find that his friend James Oswald on at least two other occasions came forward with more music for lyrics appearing in *Peregrine Pickle* and *The Reprisal*.

²⁴ Br. Mus. (H 1994a) *English Songs*, No. 98, has "Would you taste the noon tide air. Sung by Mrs Pinto in the Masque of Comus with graces by Dr Arne" For another version, "As sung by Miss Catley" . . . see Br. Mus. (H 1994c), No. 8 [1745?]. See the *Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*, Vol. xi (July, 1752), for an imitation, "Would you taste the morning air."

The song ²⁵ beginning "Adieu, ye streams that smoothly flow," addressed to Celia, must have been often sung in the music halls, as there are three copies of Oswald's version ²⁶ representing at least two distinct printings. His music as usual is a very graceful setting, in G Major. There is further evidence of the vogue of this song in the survival of another musical setting, this time by Philippo Palma,²⁷ and entitled "A New Song Set by Sigr. Philippo Palma." This piece, also printed c. 1750, has a text with a few slight variations ²⁸ from the lyric as printed in *Peregrine Pickle*. It is quite possible, indeed, that this song was sung and printed as sheet music at some time prior to its appearance in the novel. The same possibility, of course, holds good for the lyrics in *Roderick Random*. Unfortunately most of the sheet music of this period is undated.

As to the songs in *The Reprisal*, we know of course more definitely here when their music was written and by whom and where it was first sung. There is ready access today to "The Tars of Old England as Sung by Mr Beard in The Reprisal at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane,"²⁹ "Let the nymph still avoid, Sung by Miss Macklin in ye Reprisal,"³⁰ and "From the Man whom I love, A favourite Song in the Reprisal Sung by Miss Macklin . . . set by Mr. Oswald."³¹ Although the composer for "The Tars . . ." remains unknown, the music in C Major has plenty of zest. Anonymity still conceals the writer of the plaintive melody in D Minor, of "Let the nymph still avoid,"³² but since Oswald did the music

²⁵ See *Peregrine Pickle*, vol. I, ch. 21.

²⁶ See Br. Mus. G. 806, d (16) [1750?]; H. 1994c (56) [1745?]; and H. 1994b (1) [1750?].

²⁷ Br. Mus. I, 530 (126) [1750?].

²⁸ The novel (1st ed.), Stanza 1 has "thro the shade"; Palma's text has "thro the glade." Stanza 2 (novel), "Celia's charms to part"; Palma, "Celia's smiles to part." Stanza 3 (novel), "balmy breeze"; Palma, "gentle Breeze." Stanza 4 (novel), "divinely bright"; Palma, "divinely Sweet." These same variations from the text in the novel are found beneath Oswald's music for "The Adieu Sung at the publick Gardens." See n. 27 above.

²⁹ Br. Mus. H. 1994 (54), 1757.

³⁰ Br. Mus. G. 310 (69, 84) 1757. See also *Literary Magazine: or Universal Review*, II (1757), 396.

³¹ Br. Mus. G. 316 (112), 1757.

³² There is in the last line of stanza three an amusing variant, "His Tale is so tender—he Cooes like a Dove."

for the third song, it is possible that he was concerned with that of the other two. At any rate Smollett's debt to Oswald was a considerable one accumulating as it did from 1746 to 1757.

In view of these facts concerning the contemporary favor in which Smollett's lyrics were held, one is brought to a more adequate realization of how tenderly the young physician-poet must have cherished them. He was, after all, justified in a youthful pride in them. The immediate success of *The Tears of Scotland*, the "Love Elegy," and presumably of other similar verses now lost in the shadows of anonymity meant little remuneration, but indicated nevertheless the auspicious beginning of a literary career. It was natural, therefore, that Smollett should make a place for them in his novels, plays, and in the early numbers of the *British Magazine*. To the modern reader their appeal is usually limited because he rarely hears them properly read, and almost never experiences the pleasure of the combined charm of the words and the music. In some future anthology of both the words and the music of representative eighteenth century lyrics, the collecting and editing of which should bring much pleasure both to the compiler and to students of that period, we shall certainly find the songs of Tobias Smollett, M. D., sometime favorite in the music halls of London.

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"AGAINST TWO THINGS I AM FIXED AS FATE"

Probably no portion of Burns's published correspondence, with the exception of his deliberately cryptic references to Highland Mary, has occasioned more editorial discussion than the fragmentary letter to James Smith of Mauchline of which the opening words form the title of the present article. The letter was first published by Lockhart¹ in 1828, in the course of his account of Burns's relations with Jean Armour in the early months of 1786. "Burns's worldly circumstances," says Lockhart, "were in a most miserable state when he was informed of Miss Armour's condition;

¹ *Life of Robert Burns* (Everyman ed.), 58.

and the first announcement of it staggered him like a blow. He saw nothing for it but to fly the country at once, and, in a note to James Smith of Mauchline, the confidant of his amour, he thus wrote:

Against two things I am fixed as fate—staying at home, and owning her conjugally. The first, by Heaven, I will not do!—the last, by hell, I will never do!— A good God bless you, and make you happy, up to the warmest weeping wish of parting friendship. . . . If you see Jean, tell her I will meet her, so help me God in my hour of need.

Lockhart's assignment of the letter to the occasion of Burns's first learning of Jean's pregnancy, and his treatment of it as the prelude to the poet's giving her, at the end of March or the beginning of April, the marriage lines which were destroyed about April 13 by her father's command, are accepted without question in most of the standard biographies. A few commentators, however, M'Naught among them,² have pointed out that the letter appears rather to refer to the period after the lines had been given and destroyed.

The holograph of the letter is still extant. Besides confirming the suspicion that Lockhart's conjectural date is wrong, the complete text sheds additional light on Burns's feelings towards Jean during the summer of 1786, and also raises a question as to Lockhart's intelligence or discretion as biographer of the poet. The full letter, which is addressed to "Mons. James Smith, Mauchline," is as follows:³

My friend,

I need not tell you the receipt of yours gave me pleasure.—

O Jeany, thou hast stolen away my soul!

In vain I strive against the lov'd idea:

Thy tender image sallies on my thoughts,

My firm resolves become an easy prey!

Against two things, however, I am fix'd as Fate: staying at home, and owning her conjugally.—The first, by Heaven I will not do! the last, by Hell I will never do!

² D. M'Naught: *The Truth about Burns*, Glasgow, 1921, 79. M'Naught commits at least as many errors as he corrects, but in this instance he happens to be right.

³ From the original MS. in the collection of Mr. John S. Gribbel, Philadelphia.

The inclosed may divert you.—

A good God bless you, and make you happy up to the warmest, weeping wish of parting Friendship!

For me, I am witless wild, and wicked; and have scarcely any vestige of the image of God left me, except a pretty large portion of honour and an enthusiastic incoherent benevolence.—

If you see Jean tell her, I will meet her, So help me Heaven in my hour of need!

Farewell till tomorrow morning!

Robt. Burns

Twelve o'clock

Though "twelve o'clock" is small help towards fixing the date, and though we can only guess at the nature of the letter from Smith mentioned in the opening sentence, internal evidence shows that the letter belongs to the period after the estrangement, when Burns was trying his hardest to forget Jean—and not succeeding. It is possible, in fact, to set fairly narrow limits of time within which it must have been written.

Two dates are possible. If we guess the diverting enclosure to have been *The Court of Equity*, the date is mid-June. One of the manuscripts of *The Court* is dated "this fourth o' June." It is the only important humorous poem by Burns which can be definitely dated in the late spring or early summer of 1786, and Smith is given prominent place in it as "Fiscal" of the Court. Jean, after spending some weeks with relatives in Paisley, returned to Mauchline on the 7th, as we learn from Burns's letter of 12 June to David Brice.⁴ At that date he had apparently not yet seen her. On 9 July he told John Richmond⁵ that he had "waited on Armour since her return home" and had been forbidden the house by Mrs. Armour—some little time, it would seem, before the date of writing. His reception had intensified his resolve to have no more to do with any Armour. Hence if the reference in the letter to Smith is to the visit so rudely terminated by Jean's mother, or to a clandestine meeting after it, the letter was probably written between 12 June and 1 July.

On the other hand, the reference to parting from Smith seems to point to a date near the first of August, when the poet's plans

⁴ Chambers-Wallace: *Life and Works of Burns*, Edinb., 1896; i, 345.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 368.

for his Jamaica voyage were maturing. On 30 July he wrote to John Richmond⁶ that he had booked passage in the *Nancy* brigantine, which was to sail from Clyde "within three weeks at farthest"—though the sailing was later postponed until 5 September, before which date Burns had changed his mind and transferred his prospective passage to another ship. When the letter to Richmond was written Burns was "wandering from one friend's house to another" in dread of the writ *in meditatione fugae* which James Armour had prepared in hopes of compelling the poet to provide for the maintenance of Jean's expected child. The existence of this warrant, says Burns, "they keep an intire secret, but I got it from a channel they little dream of"—i. e., from Jean herself. It is quite possible, then, that the meeting with Jean which Smith had been asked to arrange was the one at which she warned her lover about the warrant. This would place the date of the letter between 22 and 30 July. On the former date Burns executed the deed of assignment⁷ conveying to his brother Gilbert (who in return undertook to provide for Burns's daughter Elizabeth) his whole rights in the partnership of Mossgiel farm; on the latter, Burns was already in hiding in a friend's house at "Old Rome Foord." The apparent urgency of Jean's plea for a meeting might be regarded as an additional reason for assigning the letter to July rather than June.

But whichever date we incline to, it is clear that Lockhart's theory is wholly untenable. Furthermore it is clear that Burns had made a dismal failure of his effort to forget Jean in what conventional pride told him was proper resentment of her "perfidious" conduct. The blank verse—apparently extemporised on a line from Addison's *Cato*—is bad poetry, but good evidence that Burns still loved Jean in spite of himself, and the whole letter is another blow to those who hold that "the love of the Highland maiden [Mary Campbell], which had survived the Armour ordeal, fell like balm on his wounded soul."⁸ Anything less like the words of a man whose heart is being soothed by the balm of another woman's love it would be difficult to imagine. The protests by

⁶ *Ibid.*, 384 and note.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 382-3.

⁸ M'Naught: *op. cit.*, 91.

Heaven and Hell are too loud to be convincing; the whole letter leaves us little doubt that if Jean's parents had relented their hostility the poet would have reaffirmed his marriage lines in very short order.

It is needless to labor this point. More interesting is the glimpse which Lockhart's treatment of the text affords of his conduct as Burns's biographer. This letter is one of the few documents not previously published which Lockhart used in his *Life*. We cannot blame him overmuch for his failure to date it correctly, inasmuch as a number of other letters bearing on the Armour affair were not in print in 1828. Neither, perhaps, ought he to be censured for omitting some portions of the text, since the scope of his *Life* hardly admitted of extended verbatim quotation of documents. But what are we to say of a biographer who selects the most violent sentence of such a letter while totally suppressing the blank-verse rhapsody on Jean and the qualifying "however" which links that rhapsody to the vows by Heaven and Hell? Had Lockhart deliberately set out to depict Burns as a complete cad in his dealings with Jean, such editing would have been an excellent means to the end. He may have had no such intention, but as we observe what he did here we cannot help remembering that Lockhart also, once on a time, reviewed Keats's poems.

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ADONAI: THE SOURCE OF XXVII-XXVIII

So far as I am aware, no one has pointed out that the ideas expressed in stanzas xxvii and xxviii of *Adonais* originated in a letter written by Byron to Shelley on April 26, 1821. The stanzas and letter may speak for themselves.

"O gentle child, beautiful as thou wert,
 Why didst thou leave the trodden paths of men
 Too soon, and with weak hands though mighty heart
 Dare the unpastured dragon in his den?
 Defenceless as thou wert, oh, where was then
 Wisdom the mirrored shield, or scorn the spear?
 Or hadst thou waited the full cycle, when
 Thy spirit should have filled its crescent sphere,
 The monsters of life's waste had fled from thee like deer.

"The herded wolves, bold only to pursue;
 The obscene ravens, clamorous o'er the dead;
 The vultures, to the conqueror's banner true,
 Who feed where Desolation first has fed,
 And whose wings rain contagion;—how they fled,
 When, like Apollo, from his golden bow
 The Pythian of the age one arrow sped
 And smiled'—The spoilers tempt no second blow,
 They fawn on the proud feet that spurn them lying low."

Pisa, April 16, 1821.

[*Shelley to Byron*] ¹ Young Keats, whose *Hyperion* showed so great a promise, died lately at Rome from the consequences of breaking a blood-vessel, in paroxysms of despair at the contemptuous attack on his book in the *Quarterly Review*.

Ravenna, April 26, 1821.

[*Byron to Shelley*] ² I am very sorry to hear what you say of Keats—is it *actually* true? I did not think criticism had been so killing. Though I differ from you essentially in your estimate of his performances, I so much abhor all unnecessary pain, that I would rather he had been seated on the highest peak of Parnassus than have perished in such a manner. Poor fellow! though with such inordinate self-love he would probably have not been very happy. I read the review of *Endymion* in the *Quarterly*. It was severe,—but not so severe as many reviews in that and other journals upon others.

I recollect the effect on me of the *Edinburgh* on my first poem; it was rage, and resistance, and redress—but not despondency nor despair. I grant that those are not amiable feelings; but, in this world of bustle and broil, and especially in the career of writing, a man should calculate upon his powers of *resistance* before he goes into the arena.

"Expect not life from pain nor danger free,
 Nor deem the doom of man reserved for thee."

You know my opinion of *that second-hand* school of poetry [*i. e.*, the school of Leigh Hunt]. You also know my high opinion of your own poetry,—because it is of *no* school.

Pisa, May 4, 1821.

[*Shelley to Byron*] The account of Keats is, I fear, too true. Hunt tells me that in the first paroxysms of his disappointment he burst a

¹ References to Shelley's letters are to the Julian edition of *Shelley's Works*. The two letters partially quoted here are numbered 517 and 522, and were written before *Adonais* had been conceived.

² Byron's letter is taken from R. W. Prothero's edition of *The Letters and Journals*, v, p. 267 (in *The Works of Lord Byron*, 1904).

blood-vessel; and thus laid the foundation of a rapid consumption.³ There can be no doubt but that the irritability which exposed him to this catastrophe was a pledge of future sufferings, had he lived.⁴ And yet this argument does not reconcile me to the employment of contemptuous and wounding expressions against a man merely because he has written bad verses. or, as Keats did, some good verses in a bad taste. Some plants, which require delicacy in rearing, might bring forth beautiful flowers if ever they should arrive at maturity.⁵ *Your* instance hardly applies. You felt the strength to soar beyond the arrows; the eagle was soon lost in the light in which it was nourished, and the eyes of the aimers were blinded.⁶ As to me, I am, perhaps morbidly indifferent to this sort of praise or blame: and this, perhaps deprives me of an incitement to do what now I never shall do, i.e., write anything worth calling a poem.⁷ As to Keats' merits as a poet, I principally repose them upon the fragment of a poem entitled *Hyperion*, which you may not, perhaps, have seen, and to which I think you would not deny high praise. The energy and beauty of his powers seem to disperse the narrow and wretched taste in which (most unfortunately for the real beauty which they hide) he has clothed his writings.⁸

In *Adonais*, Shelley echoes Byron's thought more clearly than he does his own. Stanza xxvii may be thus paraphrased: "Oh, Keats! why did you venture so soon to publish? to dare the unpastured dragon (the reviewer) in his den? You were defenceless; you were morbidly sensitive, and had neither the indifference of Wisdom to calumny, nor the defence of satire (scorn the spear). Had you waited until your genius was matured, the critics (or criticism) would have fled from you like deer."

In reply to Byron's account of his first experience with the reviewers, Shelley writes: "*Your* instance hardly applies. You felt the strength to soar beyond the arrows; the eagle was soon lost in the light in which it was nourished, and the eyes of the aimers were blinded." This triumph over the reviewers is the subject of stanza xxviii. But Shelley reverses the figure of speech: in the letter, Byron, the eagle, soars beyond the arrows of the reviewers;

³ Reply to Byron's "is it *actually* true?"

⁴ Reply to Byron's "Though I differ . . . been very happy."

⁵ Reply to Byron's "I read the review . . . upon others"

⁶ Reply to Byron's "I recollect . . . despair."

⁷ Shelley applies to himself Byron's statement, "I grant . . . the arena."

⁸ Shelley defends Keats, on the basis of the later *Hyperion*, from being classed with "that second-hand school of poetry," i.e., the school of Leigh Hunt.

in the poem, the reviewers (ravens and vultures) are slain by the arrows of Byron, the Pythian of the age. Though the figure is altered, the soaring bird, shot at with *arrows*, remains. In the two letters there is a strong contrast between the reactions of Keats and Byron to the reviews of their first works, and stanzas xxvii and xxviii repeat this contrast.

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UNPUBLISHED VARIANTS IN S. T. COLERIDGE'S POETRY

Recently through the courtesy of Mrs. Sherman Post Haight of New York City, I had the privilege of examining her copy of the second edition of S. T. Coleridge's *Poems* (1797), which had once been in the hands of his beloved Bowles, as on the verso of the first fly-leaf is inscribed: "Lucy Bennett given her by the Revnd W. L. Bowles." Who this Miss Bennett was, I have been unable to determine; but long before the volume passed to her it had been in Coleridge's possession, and in it he has made many revisions of his work, a few of which have never appeared in any published version, though the others were printed in the 1803 edition of his poems. His initials appear twice in the book. Over the title, "Song of the Pixies," he has written "Stuff, S. T. C."; and in "To a Young Friend on his Proposing to Domesticate with the the Author" he has crossed out lines 49-60 and added a marginal note which, with the exception of a few letters and the initials S. T. C., was cut off in the process of rebinding the book.

In "Religious Musings" he has eliminated lines 66-79 and has written a revised version of this section on a former fly-leaf of the volume. When the book was rebound this page was cut about one-half inch on the right edge and inserted between pages 122-123. From published variants of the text one may judge what a few of these words were at the end of each line, but some of the lines differ so much from any version that conjectures as to the probable endings are futile. Only the unpublished lines are given here:

They cease to dread created might,	(who love)
God the Creator, a thrice holy	(thought)
It lirts and swells the heart,	(and as I muse,)
Imaginations, that embody Truth	(. . . . ?)
Gather within me, and a Vision	(. . . . ?)
Voice, of shadowy shapes'	(In human guise)
He leaps with bleeding feet, & o'e	(r?)
The quicksand & the hissing wil	(derness,)
Hurries, a mad ey'd wretch! But	(lo).....
While Faith's whole amour girt, h	(.?)
Transfigur'd, with a deep & drea	(dless awe,)

No edition of the "Monody on the Death of Chatterton" includes the following change of line 73:

And Joy's wild gleams, light flushing o'er thy face?

It is quite likely other copies of this edition exist in which may be found similar changes by Coleridge, as it was his custom to send his friends revised texts of his poems; but obviously his editors had never come across in his manuscript material the alterations noted here.

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UN TOURNANT DE LA CARRIERE DU VALET DE COMEDIE¹

Si l'on s'en rapporte aux jugements reçus, *Turcaret* fut l'aube d'une ère nouvelle pour le valet de la comédie, et Frontin est la tête d'une file de laquais de tout autre trempe que les joyeux drilles qui les précéderent dans l'emploi:

c'est une nouvelle incarnation du valet, le père direct de Figaro . . . il a déjà l'allure et l'aplomb de l'homme qui se sent destiné à être bientôt maître à son tour.²

Les critiques qui soupçonnèrent que dans quelques pièces de la

¹ Travail entrepris sur le conseil de M. Chinard, je saisis cette modeste occasion pour lui offrir l'assurance de ma gratitude.

² Lenient, *la Comédie en France au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1888, I, 147. Cf. M. Monnier, *les Aïeux de Figaro*, Paris, 1868, p. 229, 235.

fin du XVII^e siècle il était des valets participant du caractère de leurs successeurs n'ont pas laissé d'adjuger à ceux de Lesage les prémices de la révolte.³

La lignée de Figaro remonte, néanmoins, par delà Frontin et Crispin, jusqu'à certains domestiques de l'âge précédent pour qui la livrée a été habit d'occasion. Avant le *Turcaret* et le *Crispin* l'ambition avait troublé les antichambres. Il y a eu dans le XVII^e siècle Pasquins et Scapins qui, mécontents de s'employer pour des maîtres ignares, entreprirent de travailler pour leur propre compte. Ils déclarent qu'au génie que l'on exige d'un valet les valets peuvent aspirer à être maîtres . . . à moins qu'ils n'aient déjà plus intérêt à le dire.

Une arlequinade de la fin du XVII^e siècle marque qu'il ne faut pas se faire illusion sur les valets :

He fy, Monsieur . . . vous mocquez-vous de faire des civilitez à ce coquin-la ? Ce n'est qu'un Laquais.

—C'est pour cela que je prens mes mesures de loin. On ne sçait pas ce que ces Messieurs-là peuvent devenir. . . .⁴

C'était parler d'expérience puisque l'on voyait

le sous-Fermier Boursoufflé, à peine échappé de la mandille, ne jurer que par sa table.⁵

Ces parodies des tréteaux italiens ne faisaient d'ailleurs que consacrer des données des scènes françaises. Depuis quelque temps en effet le théâtre jouait les défections de la classe domestique. Je ne saurais dire quand il a commencé ; il suffira de voir que vers le milieu du siècle il représentait déjà les valets sortants, et que peu après il raillait les recrues de la noblesse et de la finance.

La seule famille des Philipins a parcouru toute une étape du sujet. L'un des premiers du nom, le Philipin de Boisrobert,⁶ est

³ Cf. L. Celler (Leclerc), *Les Valets au Théâtre*, Paris, 1875, p. 24-5, 40, 42, 45. L. de Loménie (*Beaumarchais et son Temps*, Paris, 1880, II, 349-351) a seulement noté la croissante insolence des valets de Regnard ; il est vrai qu'il n'accorde guère plus à ceux de Lesage ; il retarde jusqu'à Figaro le phénomène du valet qui "va passer maître et entrer dans les affaires."

⁴ *Le Théâtre Italien ou le Recueil de Toutes les Scènes Françaises* . . . Mons, Antoine Barbier, 1696, p. 65.

⁵ *Id.*, p. 300. Cf. *id.*, p. 341.

⁶ *La Folle gageure* (impr. en 1653).

si bien payé pour avoir consenti à jouer le personnage d'un chevalier qu'il n'a plus qu'à continuer en cette charge:

Avec de si grands biens et si belle Meurie,
Tu peux te maintenir dans ta chevalerie.⁷

Les avis qu'il donne à sa maîtresse disent comme il entend gérer sa nouvelle dignité:

Qu'on change de jargon, aussi bien que d'atour,
Et que l'on prenne l'air d'une Dame de Cour. . . .⁸

Le Philipin de Quinault⁹ est lui aussi bénéficiaire d'une fortune impromptue. La générosité de ses maîtres n'a cependant pas tout fait: il a jugé lui-même qu'il se devait de "changer d'habit." Au surplus sa soudaine élévation n'a point troublé son esprit, et quelque philosophie se mêle à son orgueil:

La vie est une farce, et le monde un théâtre . . .
Hier je servois un maître, aujourd'hui j'en suis un.¹⁰

Avec le Philipin d'Hauteroche¹¹ c'est une autre affaire. Celui-ci est, pour employer le langage de nos rebelles contemporains, tout à fait "conscient." Le succès jusqu'ici ne lui a pas souri, et la pièce finit sans qu'il soit seulement proche de son but; mais son dessein est net:

Quelque jour, à mon tour, je prétends être Maître.¹²

Voilà certes une manifestation précise de l'esprit nouveau, et le Frontin de Lesage n'en dira pas plus. C'est un refrain que le théâtre reprendra bien des fois, avant le XVIII^e siècle, au cours de sa première chronique de la "crise des domestiques."

Pilotant des maîtres qui sans eux n'arriveraient à rien, les valets de la comédie seront de plus en plus conscients de leur propre mérite et du sort qui leur est dû: .

Ah! qu'un maître est heureux quand un valet habile
A la conception et légère et facile!
Il peut se fourvoyer sans rien appréhender;
Et de tels serviteurs sont nés pour commander.¹³

⁷ *Id.*, sc. dern.

⁸ *Id.*

⁹ *Les Rivaux* (1653).

¹⁰ *Id.*, v, 6.

¹¹ *Le Soupé mal-apprêté* (1669).

¹² *Id.*, sc. 4.

¹³ *Ragnard, le Distrain*, iv, 10.

L'ingratitude des maîtres pousse à la rébellion :

Ce n'est pas petite affaire pour un valet d'honneur d'avoir à soutenir les intérêts d'un maître qui n'a point d'argent. On s'accoquine à servir ces gredins-là . . . ils ne paient point de gages, ils querellent, ils rossent quelquefois; on a plus d'esprit qu'eux, on les fait vivre . . . avec tout cela nous sommes les valets, et ils sont les maîtres. Cela n'est pas juste . . . je veux devenir maître à mon tour¹⁴

L'habile valet sait, pour avoir conseillé, secondé et, à l'occasion, remplacé son maître, que lui aussi

Peut, tout comme un Marquis, devenir Courtisan.¹⁵

S'il vise à un état plus solide, il peut, tout comme un autre, avoir

La Gloire d'être un jour le Gendre d'un Bourgeois.¹⁶

Tout cela c'est affaire d' " imaginative," et l'on ne saurait douter que des gens qui ont " fait tant de métiers d'après le naturel " ne soient à la hauteur de toutes les situations. Au reste les moyens de parvenir sont mis à l'essai, car voilà longtemps déjà que l'ascension a commencé, et la classe des valets a des aînés à presque tous les étages de la société.

La folie des maîtres parfois subvient aux premiers frais, et maint gentilhomme qui présentement court fêtes et bals a commencé par faire danser l'anse du panier :

C'est par là qu'un Maître-Valet gagne de quoi acheter une noblesse, qui sert d'époussette à toutes les ordures de sa vie. Nombre de mes Camarades sont déjà bien époussetez. . .¹⁷

Ces valets "époussetez," ou "revestus," comme on disait encore, nous les retrouvons un peu partout dans la comédie de l'époque; ils font figure parmi les vicomtes et les marquis (excusez du peu) qui grossissent les rangs des gentilshommes "de la nouvelle fabrique."¹⁸

¹⁴ Regnard, *la Sérénade*, sc. 12.

¹⁵ Hauteroche, *les Bourgeoises de qualité*, III, 5.

¹⁶ Champmeslé, *Crispin chevalier*, sc. 1.

¹⁷ Donneau de Vizé, *les Dames vengées*, III, 8.

¹⁸ Cf. Regnard, *l'Homme à bonnes fortunes*, I, 1, et *le Joueur*, I, 6. Dans les *Eaux de Bourbon* (sc. 23), la *Femme d'intrigues* (II, 1) de Dancourt il est chevaliers et capitaines qui mènent grand équipage, et qui seraient fâchés qu'on leur rappelât leur premier nom de Lépine ou La Ramée.

Mais de toutes les voies qui s'ouvrent au valet pressé d'arriver, la plus prompte à brusquer la fortune est la carrière de finance proprement dite. Les traitants sont précisément en train de mettre la main sur le pays. Des privilèges sans nombre attestent leur science de toutes les affaires. Heureux les disciples de tels maîtres ! Aussi leurs livrées sont-elles fort convoitées :

Ne serais-je jamais laquais d'un sous-fermier ? . . .
 Je ferais mon chemin : j'aurais un bon emploi.
 Je serais dans la suite un conseiller du roi,
 Rat-de-cave ou commis ; et que sait-on ? peut-être
 Je deviendrais un jour aussi gras que mon maître . . .¹⁹

Ces aspirations (sauf peut-être la dernière) n'ont rien de démesuré. L'ambitieux Hector sait que

. . . tel change de meuble et d'habit chaque lune,
 Qui, Jasmin autrefois, d'un drap du Sceau couvert,
 Bornoit sa garde-robe à son justaucorps vert.²⁰

S'il ne l'eût pas su la comédie courante lui aurait appris que le "régiment des laquais," qui a mérité d'être nommé "le régiment de Arc-en-Ciel," a fait dans le monde des affaires des conquêtes qui justifient tous les rêves :

. . . c'est là qu'on tire les officiers pour remplir les postes les plus lucratifs. Je connais vingt commis en chef qui n'ont jamais fait leurs exercices que dans ce corps-là. . .²¹

Et ce n'est pas assez dire, et au delà des vingt commis en chef on lui aurait encore montré un "Mathurin-Blaise Sotinet, sous-fermier, ci-devant laquais."²²

Le justaucorps vert se pendait à tous les clous.

Cette charge n'est du reste pas chose neuve. Dans la première moitié du siècle le théâtre a noté combien il était aise aux domestiques ambitieux de se faufiler parmi les nobles de la cour :

Le désordre est si grand qu'on n'y peut rien cognoistre.
 On y prend le valet bien souvent pour le maistre.

D'Ouville, *les Trahisons d'Arbiran* (pub. 1638), IV, 1.

¹⁹ Regnard, *le Joueur*, I, 1.

²⁰ *Ib.*

²¹ Regnard et Dufresny, *la Foire Saint-Germain*, I, 8; cf. Dancourt, *les Vacances*, sc. 14.

²² Regnard, *le Divorce*, III, 6. Cf. Dancourt, *le Retour des officiers*, sc. 1. Le théâtre est encore au-dessous de la réalité; cf. Desnoiresterres, *la Comédie Satirique au XVIIIe Siècle*, Paris, 1885, pp. 14-15. Parmi les

Les œuvres qui ont été citées témoignent à tout le moins que la donnée de rébellion du valet n'est pas un apport de la comédie du XVIII^e siècle. Si Molière, quoi qu'en ait dit M. Davignon, n'a pas eu dans sa conception de la vie l'idée d'un triomphe de la démocratie,²³ quelques dramaturges du siècle de Molière n'ont pas manqué d'observer que les cadres sociaux s'affaiblissaient, et en particulier que l'emploi de laquais servait de noviciat aux carrières de l'argent et du marquisat; ils sont allés jusqu'à dire que pour qui sait se débrouiller "de condition ou en condition, c'est à peu près la même chose."²⁴

Sans doute les passages que j'ai recueillis ne font que signaler une inflexion de la comédie du valet. Les sourdes ambitions du mécontent, les éclatantes réussites du parvenu sont indiquées en passant dans des pièces dont le sujet est ailleurs. Si l'on y trouve de quoi imaginer un Crispin gentilhomme et un Frontin financier, néanmoins, les personnages ne sont pas composés. Mettre en pied la figure du laquais intrigant pour soi et celle du ci-devant laquais jouissant de son industrie sera la tâche de Lesage. Assemblant les matériaux épars de ses prédécesseurs,²⁵ Lesage représente en bonne forme les agissements du valet sur la brèche et la ripaille de l'ancien valet, qui débutait justement (à la scène) à l'époque dont nous parlions. Venant à une heure où les frénésies, d'une part, et d'autre part, les préjugés commençaient de s'apaiser, Lesage a pu peindre en outre l'arriviste repu songeant à se reposer et faire souche d'honnêtes gens dans une société plus accueillante que celle où s'exerçaient les premiers transfuges. Il n'en reste pas moins que c'est de la fugue des Philipins, qui est comme qui dirait la Fronde des laquais, que date la légende du valet aux "inclinations preneuses," et que les laquais *fin de siècle* de Vizé, de Dancourt, de Regnard sont l'avant-garde des Frontins et Figaros du nouvel âge.

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brillants sujets de la classe domestique on compte le financier Gourville qui épousa la sœur du duc de La Rochefoucauld, son ancien maître; cf. Monnier, *op. cit.*, p. 245-246, et E. Lintilhac, *Lesage*, Paris, 1893, pp. 49-65

²³ Cf. *Molière et la Vie*, p. 231, et la réfutation par M. F. C. Roe (*French Quarterly*, vol. 7, pp. 177-178).

²⁴ Dancourt, *les Fêtes nocturnes du cours*, sc. 12.

²⁵ Il convient de noter cependant que les *Ménachmes* et le *Légataire* de Regnard contiennent quelque profil du valet parvenant.

REVIEWS

The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to That which is to Come.

By JOHN BUNYAN. Edited by JAMES BLANTON WHAREY.

New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1928.

Pp. cxiii + 352. (Oxford English Texts.)

Strange as it may well seem, it is nevertheless literally true that for 250 years there was no reliable edition of *Pilgrim's Progress*, of which the First Part appeared in 1678, and the Second Part in 1684. Robert Southey's edition issued in 1830 was indeed epoch-making in that "a correct text" appeared to him so important that he undertook a laborious "careful collation of it" so as to present it "in Bunyan's own vigorous vernacular English, which has been greatly corrupted in the easiest and worst of all ways—that of compositors and correctors following their own mode of speech." But Southey was hopelessly and fatally handicapped by not having access to any edition earlier than the eighth (1682), and he could not even ascertain the date of the first edition! Subsequent editors have been similarly handicapped, though to a lesser degree, and without adequate previous comparisons, have usually based their own varying texts mainly on some edition chosen almost at random, partly because it happened to be "around" as Mr. Dooley said of the candidates for honorary degrees on a memorable occasion. Nevertheless two of these editors well deserve very honorable mention: 1. George Offor (1787-1864), a retired bookseller, whose Hanserd Knollys Society edition of *Pilgrim's Progress* was published in 1847, followed by others in 1856 and 1861, and by his edition of Bunyan's Works in three volumes, 1852-54; reprinted in 1862. Offor's Advertisement to his 1847 edition stated that its text "is carefully corrected from Bunyan's first copy [the Holford copy of the first edition], which is followed literally, in the orthography, capitals, italics, and punctuation. Every omission or alteration that the author made during his life is noted, as well as the edition in which such alterations first appeared." The result, accordingly, was, as Professor Wharey says, "a text that has no parallel in any of the editions and that at times makes Bunyan guilty of grammatical anomalies of which he was innocent. . . . Many of the variants reported as having been introduced in the eighth edition were introduced in the fifth, and not infrequently as early as the fourth. It looks as though Offor, not finding them in the seventh, inferred that they were

added in the eighth," and Offor seems not to have seen at all the 4th, 5th, 6th and 11th editions. 2. The other notable editor was Bunyan's best biographer the late Rev. Dr. John Brown, whose edition published in the Cambridge English Classics Series, by the Cambridge University Press, in 1907, chose as the basic text of the First Part the eleventh edition, "which being the last to appear before the author's death was supposed to represent his last revision, and as the basic text of the Second Part the second edition, 1687. . . . No attempt was made to discover the relationship of the early editions to one another or their relative value. Obviously much still remained to be done towards a critical edition. The excessive rarity of the early editions has been the chief hindrance to any thorough study of them" (Wharey).

Even the now rare so-called "Fac-simile Reproduction" of the First Editions of both Parts published by Stock in 1875 is really only a type reprint, and its preface says blandly "it has been thought needful to incorporate the conversation between Christian and Mr. Worldly-Wiseman which first appeared in the second edition"; but there is no indication whatever that neither the portrait nor any of the 14 crude woodcuts reproduced were in the first edition. We find that at least two of these woodcuts (Christian's fight with Apollyon, and Vanity Fair) must have been copied from some edition of Part I even later than the 11th, 1688. Stock, like Offor, used the Holford copy of Part I [it is said to belong to some "Philadelphia collector" now], and, not knowing of the Lenox copy (bought from W. Pickering before July 1855; now NYPL; four leaves are in facsimile from the Holford copy), called the former unique; but he himself later acquired a perfect copy (now in the John Rylands Library, Manchester; in its 1899 general catalogue) and in 1895 published a real facsimile of it, with a preface by Dr. John Brown. Meanwhile the British Museum in 1884 bought a perfect copy of the first edition of Part I, exhibited in the King's Library gallery (facsimile, 1928, in the Noel Douglas "English Replicas" series; New York: Payson & Clarke).

Professor Wharey finds that the first edition, though certainly very rare, is strange to say the least rare of all the editions issued before Bunyan's death, more than a dozen copies being now located, half of them being in America. Lenox (NYPL), Huntington Library, Morgan Library, C. W. Clarke, Holford copy (? Philadelphia collector) and one or two others bought by the Rosenbach Company.

At last in 1928 there appeared the handsome edition by Professor Wharey (of the University of Texas), of which the full title is given above. The illustrations are 18 excellent facsimiles of title-pages and frontispieces. The extensive Introduction is

devoted mainly to Part One, and includes: A.—I. An elaborate enumeration and description of the various editions 1678-88 (calling themselves editions 1-11, but the "Fifth" 1682—see below—is distinct from that of 1680, and the "Ninth" 1684 is really the Tenth, since it was wholly reset); II. Doubtful Copies and Editions; III. Interrelationship of the Genuine Editions. B. The Second Part: First Edition, and Second Edition (and the 1687 edition) and further Explanations. The edited text itself is followed by Notes, a Bibliography (i. e. list of editions, and works consulted, and Tercentenary Publications), and finally an Index to the text.

The Introduction gives the results of a very minute and critical examination of all of the various editions issued before Bunyan's death, several copies of each having been examined in most cases, and the present location of all known copies being given. Among the many facts ascertained in the course of this exhaustive bibliographical and philological investigation are these:

"Many of the most familiar passages in the 'Pilgrim's Progress' are lacking in the first edition. It makes no mention of Christian's return home and fruitless endeavour to explain his woeful state to wife and children; of his meeting with Mr. Worldly-Wiseman and being turned aside by him to the town of Morality; of his second meeting with Evangelist and being reproved for hearkening to Worldly-Wiseman; of his confession to Good-Will; of his folly in allowing himself to be so misled; of Charity's talk with Christian about his wife and children; of Evangelist's meeting with Christian and Faithful and warning them of the troubles in store for them in Vanity Fair; of their recollection of this warning while imprisoned in the cage at Vanity Fair; of By-end's long discourse with his three friends—Mr. Hold-the-World, Mr. Money-love, and Mr. Save-all, in which the pilgrims later participate; of the monument to Lot's wife and the talk between Christian and Hopeful concerning it; of Giant Despair's wife and the cruel treatment of Christian and Hopeful which grew out of her counsel to her husband; and finally of the King's Trumpeters who came out from the Celestial City to greet Christian and Hopeful."

As to the unique frontispiece portrait of the Dreamer (with "Vanity" instead of "Destruction" on the city in the background) in the Nash-Church-Huntington copy of the first edition, Professor Wharey agrees with those who think that it was very probably engraved for a later edition, perhaps the third, in which the corrected state appears (both states are now finely reproduced). The third edition, 1679, enjoys the distinction of being virtually the first complete edition. It was the first to insert the long discourse between Mr. By-end and his companions and their subsequent talk with Christian and Hopeful—the last addition of any consequence Bunyan made to the text. After the third edition the

additions consist of a few phrases inserted in the text, of marginal notes, and scripture references. The outstanding feature of the fourth edition, 1680, is the publisher's warning against pirated editions, printed on the back of the portrait. The first illustration of the text and the first mention of "Copper Cutts" occur in the fifth edition, 1680. The "1682" copies of the Fifth Edition are either spurious or of doubtful authenticity (see below). The Seventh Edition, 1681, is the rarest of all the editions issued during Bunyan's lifetime. The distinctive feature of the Eleventh Edition, 1688, is the insertion of the thirteen illustrative woodcuts reproduced from the copperplates which first appeared in the problematical "Fifth Edition," 1682. The composite and therefore deceptive copies now exposed by Professor Wharey are: Lenox (NYPL) Third (Offor copy; title genuine; 7th & 4th editions; partly defective); British Museum Fourth (Lockhart-Wilgess); defective Lenox copy without title, calling itself (in the advertisement of the plates) "this Sixth Impression" (really the 1681 6th edition without plates and the 1683 9th edition); British Museum 9th 1683 (press-mark C.58.a.38). The versions apparently spurious are: two varieties of the "Fifth Edition" dated "1682," namely: the Morgan copy (unique in having a portrait of the Dreamer with the usual positions reversed) variety; and the copies in the British Museum and Bunyan Meeting, a third variety of it (Offor-Lenox copy) even if genuine has no integrity as an independent text, and therefore has no bearing on the relationship of the genuine editions to each other.

This most important question of the *de facto* inter-relationship of all the genuine editions has now at last been ascertained definitely by Professor Wharey for the first time as follows: All the evidence, both external and internal, justifies the twofold grouping: first, second, third, fourth, and seventh editions composing the one group; the sixth, eighth, and subsequent editions the second group. The testimony of the variants proves that both the fourth and seventh editions were printed from the third, the fifth from the fourth, the sixth from the fifth, the eighth from the sixth, the first ninth 1683 from the eighth, the second ninth 1684 from the first ninth, the tenth from the second ninth, and the eleventh from the tenth; and that within the second group the sixth, eighth, and first ninth form a sub-group, the tenth and eleventh a second sub-group, with the second ninth as intermediary between the two. The better reading will almost invariably be found in the earlier group. Much evidence goes far towards substantiating Offor's suggestion that the seventh edition "is very probably the last edition corrected by the pen of the author."

Thus obviously the basic text for a new edition must come from the first group, restricted to the third, fourth, and seventh edi-

tions, since the first and second did not contain the complete text (however their text is most important in checking subsequent alterations perhaps not intended by the author). The fourth can claim no superiority over the other two, and contains important errors of which they are free. The seventh, set up from the third, omits some marginal notes added to the third, and two-thirds of those added to the fourth, and it is marred by numerous misprints. Hence the third edition (British Museum) has been chosen as the basic text, every departure from it, except a few corrections in punctuation, has been carefully indicated. The textual notes list all significant variations. There is every reason to believe that all of Professors Wharey's vast work on Part I was done most conscientiously and judiciously.

As to Part Two he says: "The choice of a basic text for the Second Part has proved a simple matter. There were but two editions issued during Bunyan's life. The text of the second edition (1686) rarely differs from that of the first (1684), and then only in petty details. It adds, however, numerous marginal notes," and again: "Of the Second Edition of the Second Part there were apparently two issues. The British Museum copy [no other located] which claims to be the Second Edition bears the date 1686. The Lenox copy, which does not name the edition, is dated 1687. [So is the Morgan copy; also one sold at Sotheby's Dec. 4, 1902 (which may be the Morgan copy. There is none in the B. M.).] So was the copy which the late Dr. Brown made the basis of his edition in the Cambridge English Classics Series, 1907. . . . If Dr. Brown's text is, as it claims to be, a faithful reproduction of that of the 1687 copy—and I have every reason to believe it is—the differences between the copies dated 1686 and 1687, respectively, are mere corrections such as might easily have been made while the book was passing through the press." That Brown's edition was used for rough comparison, as a matter of convenience, seems not unnatural, but we are scarcely prepared for the following statement: "The text of Brown's edition, after careful collation with the British Museum copy of the second edition, dated 1686, and with . . . permission . . . of the Cambridge University Press, has been made the basic text of the present edition." Thus, strange as it must seem, our Editor departing wholly from the strictly positive method used for Part I, has based his text for Part II not on the 1687 book itself but merely and solely on Brown's type reprint of it, which he assumes to be absolutely accurate without giving any reason whatever for such an improbable assumption. He does not mention having even looked at either the Lenox or Morgan copies of the 1687 book; and surely there can be no excuse for his not having used a complete photostat of one of them, as he did of the other Lenox copies. By strangely failing to take this obvious precaution, he has introduced

unnecessarily an unknown quantity and additional probability of error into his text of Part II, which is most regrettable. In all other respects Professor Wharey's handsome edition is admirable, and deserves only praise and lasting gratitude.

LEONARD L. MACKALL

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Jean Pauls Samtliche Werke, Historisch-kritische Ausgabe. Weimar: Hermann Bohlaus Nachfolger, 1927- .

Jean Paul alone among the chief writers of the classical period in German literature has heretofore been denied the honor of an historical critical edition of his works. And yet there is perhaps no one writer whose genius is so peculiarly dependant upon such an edition for a correct understanding and appreciation of its worth. Not only the definitive account of his life and work but also the final appraisal of Jean Paul's place in the history of literature has been held up by the lack of an edition which would furnish scholars the complete works as well as the literary remains of the most prolific writer of the period.

As early as 1800 in connection with his projected marriage to Karoline von Feuchtersleben, Jean Paul had considered the possibility of an edition of his "opera omnia" but, aside from frequent references to such a plan in his correspondence, no definite attempt was made to carry it out until the Spring of 1825, when Reimer secured the rights for the first complete edition. Jean Paul's death the following November removed, however, all possibility of an "Ausgabe letzter Hand."

Three so-called complete editions of the works have since appeared: the Reimer edition just mentioned consisting of sixty-five volumes, 1828-38, a second and third edition of which appeared in 1840-42 and 1860-62 respectively; a Paris edition, 1836-37, of four large octavo volumes chiefly noteworthy as presenting the first chronological arrangement of the works; and the Hempel edition, 1868-79, in sixty parts. None of these, however, can claim to fulfill the requirements of an historical critical edition of the works for not only are some of the works published in Jean Paul's lifetime, to say nothing of those left unpublished at his death, omitted, but the sequence of works in the several editions, the unreliability of the texts, and the absence of adequate introductions to the volumes, variant readings, notes and indices mark these editions as falling far short of the demands of such an edition.

In 1911 Julius Petersen and Eduard Berend worked out a plan for a complete authoritative edition in three parts, i.e. the works, literary remains, and letters. The plan met with the

approval of both the Bavarian and Prussian Academy of Sciences and enlisted the active support of such scholars as Franz Muncker and Gustav Roethe. Eduard Berend, who for over two decades has contributed greatly to our knowledge of Jean Paul and his work, and who under a grant from the Bavarian Academy had anticipated (1922-1926) the definitive edition by collecting, collating and editing four volumes of Jean Paul's letters, was entrusted with the general editorship. No man more eminently fitted for the task could have been selected. Unfortunately his work has from the first been made doubly difficult because of unforeseen obstacles which, not only the years of the war but also post-war conditions have brought to German scholarship. The first two volumes finally after many delays appeared in 1927. Since then two annually have been published.

Although in some of the more recent editions of Jean Paul's selected works the arrangement of the several volumes has been determined largely by the nature of their content, in the present edition of the complete works the chronological sequence was selected. The decision seems wisely made, not only because of his practice of referring in subsequent works to his earlier ones, but also because of the frequent introduction of the same character in later volumes. The edition as a whole has been divided into two large divisions, the first containing all the works which Jean Paul himself had printed and the second division embracing the most important portions of his literary remains, *i. e.* his unpublished writings, notes and personal remarks.

In accordance with this plan the six volumes so far published are, in the order of their appearance:

Volume I, 1. Abt., *Satirische Jugendwerke*, containing the *Grönland'sche Prozesse* and *Auswahl aus des Teufels Papieren* (XLIV-583 S., 1927);

Vol. II, *Die unsichtbare Loge* (LV-476 S., 1927);

Vol. VI, *Siebenkäs* (LIX-558 S., 1928);

Vol. I, 2. Abt. (Nachlass), *Ausgearbeitete Schriften* (1779-1782) (XLVIII-433 S., 1928);

Vol. III, *Hesperus*, Nrs. 1 & 2 (XLIX-429 S., 1929);

Vol. III, *Hesperus*, Nrs. 3 & 4 (347 S., 1929).

Julius Petersen has contributed the preface to the whole edition. For the introductory remarks and comments, however, to the several volumes Eduard Berend has, with two exceptions, been responsible. The *Siebenkäs* volume represents the work of Kurt Schreinert, and the two volumes devoted to *Hesperus*, aside from the notes which were prepared by Eduard Berend, were entrusted to the editorship of Hans Bach.

Rarely has a critical edition provided such extensive introductory

comment to the separate volumes as this one. And again, it must be said that no writer more urgently has need of such comment than Jean Paul. Both his method of composition and the nature of the completed work demand for intelligent appraisal as accurate a picture as possible of each work's inception and subsequent development. Drawing copiously on both the letters and the *Nachlass* together with the most recent investigations in the field, the editor has sketched both the inner and outer history of the several works, noted the chief influences both foreign and German, pointed out autobiographical details when possible and surveyed briefly the critical comment of Jean Paul's contemporaries. Particularly valuable are the comments in these introductory statements as to possible literary sources. While these serve to place the reader *en courant* with the most recent investigations in the field, at the same time by means of frequent references to material in the *Nachlass* the way is opened up for a new advance in Jean Paul research. Considerable space has been devoted in each volume to the discussion of textual matters and Jean Paul's peculiar orthography, although the variant readings in the case of the works published in his lifetime have been wisely relegated to separate volumes at the end of the whole series.

Out of the welter of preliminary sketches, aphoristical comments, casual notes and illegible jottings, the keen eyes and sound judgment of the editor have resolved a seeming chaos into a clear-cut pattern of the book's gradual growth. Sometimes, as in the case of the *Unsichtbare Loge*, the chronology of the several items, in spite of the most accurate attention to orthographical peculiarities, could only be established by a comparison of the various kinds of paper on which the earlier and subsequent drafts were made. Nowhere were these difficulties more apparent and more ably handled than in the first volume of the *Nachlass*. Berend, in the language of Jean Paul, has aptly characterized the literary remains a veritable quarry from which partially hewn blocks of projected works stand out amidst the vast debris of scattered thoughts and aperçus. A complete reprint of this material was manifestly impossible even for a definitive edition. The steps by which Berend arrived at his ultimate principle of selection were set forth in some detail in the *Prolegomena zur historisch-kritischen Gesamtausgabe von Jean Pauls Werken* in 1927. It is sufficient to state here that the application of his principle of selection reduced this huge, unwieldy mass of data to three main divisions: first, the writings for the most part completed but not published to fill possibly four volumes; secondly, some seven volumes of aphorisms or scattered thoughts; thirdly, a projected volume of biographical notes.

It is in the initial volume of this first main division of the *Nachlass*, as we have said, that the editor's arduous task stands

revealed in all its complexity. Skilfully and understandingly we are conducted through the mazes of Jean Paul's literary workshop before even his earliest novel took form. It is a volume of the utmost importance to an understanding of the early history of Jean Paul's development, the various aspects of which have recently stimulated the writing of such studies as those of W. Meier, Max Kommerell, F. Burschell, and W. Harich.

Such portions of the *Nachlass* which, at various times, have been published by E. Forster, P. Nerrlich, and Josef Muller have been unsatisfactory because absurdly incomplete and not at all times reliable. The present edition has disregarded these and gone back to the original material except in cases where originals are now lost. Unlike the text of the completed works the orthography of the *Nachlass* does not represent an approximation of his last views on the subject, but that of the several manuscripts has been preserved, since such peculiarities were too characteristic of Jean Paul as a young writer and too valuable for dating doubtful manuscripts to be disregarded. In short, as Berend notes, Jean Paul's orthography was at all times *eigenwillig*, but at no time *willkürlich*.

The notes which are placed at the end of each volume have been reduced to a minimum and are adequate. For the most part, they indicate possible literary sources or parallels, autobiographical references and occasional textual comment. The mass of learned and recondite illusions, obscure personal and local references, and unusual words will, in general, find their ultimate explanation in a projected Jean Paul-Lexikon, which is planned as a final volume of the edition.

The edition is printed on excellent paper in a clear, black type with generous margins and numbered lines for convenience in reference. The numbers arranged along the inner margin are scarcely noticeable and detract very little from the beauty of the page. Facsimiles of Jean Paul's handwriting, a reprint of the title-page to the first volume of the first edition of *Siebenkäs*, a reproduction of Chodowiecki's drawing for the first edition of the *Unsichtbare Loge* and a photograph of the Schwanthaler bust of Jean Paul add further distinction to the edition.

In 1924 Georg Witkowski formulated the *desiderata* of a complete critical edition in a useful little volume entitled: *Textkritik und Editionstechnik neuerer Schriftwerke*. That Eduard Berend has had such an ideal before him as he worked out the plan for the present edition of Jean Paul is seen from the careful exposition of his method in the *Prolegomena* above mentioned. Furthermore, he specifically calls attention to Witkowski's book in the opening pages of his survey. And yet in the one instance (p. 83) in which Witkowski singles out Jean Paul to illustrate a particular need of certain definitive editions, in this very instance Berend (p. 43) is

forced to take a different point of view. But here as elsewhere when such differences occur, cogent reasons are advanced for his decisions. In short, judged by the standards set forth by Witkowski, the present six volumes under consideration are an excellent forecast of a very close approximation to such an ideal edition.

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Goethes Bild in der Landschaft. Untersuchungen zur Landschaftsdarstellung in Goethes Kunstprosa. Von RICHARD BEITL. Berlin und Leipzig: Walther de Gruyter u. Co., 1929. xi + 245 pp. Mk. 16.

Beitls Untersuchung bedeutet eine Bereicherung unsrer Goetheerkenntnis noch über den Titel seiner Studie hinaus, denn die ersten Kapitel behandeln sowohl Goethes künstlerische Betätigung und Begabung, die sich aus Anlage aufs Zeichnen beschränkt und besonders in der Farbe und im Begrenzen des Ausschnittes versagt, sowie auch die Wechselwirkung zwischen künstlerischem und wissenschaftlichem Sehen. Da ergibt sich denn die interessante Feststellung, daß im Großen und Ganzen der Wissenschaftler und der Dichter zwei verschiedene Personen bleiben, daß, während die Farbe in der dichterischen Landschaft eine durchaus untergeordnete Stellung spielt, ihr die wissenschaftliche Beobachtung vielleicht aus bewußter Kompensation zwischen 1775 und 79 einen bedeutenden Platz einräumt, bis mit dem April 1787 der Höhepunkt dieses Sehens erreicht ist.

Lichtwahrnehmungen dagegen sind schon früh im Roman stark ausgebildet, und zwar ist der Mond im *Werther* überraschend plastisch und deutlicher als die Sonne gesehen, die besonders im Auf- und Untergange betrachtet wird. Auch in der nicht-dichterischen Landschaft sind Mondscheinszenen häufig, wie sich das in der 79ger und Italienischen Reise zeigt. In den *Wahlverwandtschaften* begleitet Sonnenlicht Schicksalsbestimmung und -forderung, Mondlicht Schicksalsverlauf und -erfüllung.

Physiognomisch ist Licht, Farbe und Ton (Goethes Gehör ist ästhetisch verhältnismäßig gering entwickelt!) reichlicher und bedeutender verwendet, wie ja auch in der Kunst für ihn "die menschliche Gestalt, und zwar in ihrer Würde und Gesundheitsfülle, das Hauptziel aller bildenden Kunst bleibt" (W. A. I. 49, 377).

In der Landschaftsdarstellung nun macht Beitz die fördernde und wiederzuverwendende Unterscheidung von drei Typen:

1. Problemlose Einstellung auf der Stufe der Kindheit, nutzend oder genießend, Naturansicht, der in der Darstellung die objektive Natur, die *Beschreibungslandschaft* entspricht (Lottes Geschwister, Wilhelms Felix, Werner, Therese, Philine, der Hauptmann).
2. Problematische Einstellung auf der Jünglingsstufe, ästhetisch fühlend, Naturgefühl, mit der Entsprechung: subjektivierte Natur, *Ichlandschaft* (Zustand bewirkt durch Erwachen der Liebe, Leiden oder Entzückung. Werther, Wilhelm, Eduard, der Mann von fünfzig Jahren).
3. Harmonische Einstellung des sittlich reifen Menschen, Natureinsicht, mit der Entsprechung: objektivierter Natur, *Schicksalslandschaft*, zu deren Ordnung und Gesetz das Menschenschicksal sich in Einklang oder Mißklang befindet (Charlotte, Ottilie, Mignon und der Harfner an ihrem Ende).

Diese Typen erläutert Beitzl in ausgedehnten und vorzüglichen Analysen des *Werther*, des *Meister* und der *Wahlverwandtschaften*, wobei auch die beiden *Meister*- Fassungen interessante Aufschlüsse geben.

Im zweiten, ebenso bedeutsamen Teile seiner Untersuchung unternimmt es der Verfasser, die Typen der Landschaftsdarstellung auch im Sprachstil der Goethischen Prosa zu charakterisieren. Die beiden Pole *Werther*—*Wahlverwandtschaften* werden kontrastiert als dynamischer und tektonischer Stil. Der dynamische erhält seine gefühlsmäßige Wucht in erster Linie durch Verb und richtungsgebende Adverbien und Präpositionen (vergl. die vielen im *Werther* vorkommenden *hin, her, rings, umher, herum, fort, weg, vorbei* etc.); der tektonische dagegen ist Nominalstil, seine Adverbien und Präpositionen ordnen und lokalisieren. "Statt Rhythmik und Polysyndeton asyndetische Reihen, statt Thematik Antithetik, statt Bewegung im Innern Orientierung des Blickes im Äußern, statt dunklem Gefühl zuständlicher Prospekt."

Dabei ist zu bemerken, daß Beitzls Sympathie entschieden dem dynamischen Stil gehört, und obwohl ihm auch im tektonischen eine gute Einführung gelingt, teilt er die in der deutschen kritischen Literatur sich neuerdings steigernde Abneigung gegen die Harmonie der Goethischen Klassik. Ganz abgesehen davon aber ergibt sich bei der Betrachtung des Verfassers leicht der Eindruck, als ob diese Stileigentümlichkeiten nur den verschiedenen Phasen der Landschaftsschilderung angehörten, was durchaus eine unzulässige Verengung der Feststellung wäre. Die objektiven Ergebnisse seiner Stiluntersuchung in ihrer spezifischen Anwendung bleiben bei dieser nötigen Erweiterung indessen durchaus gültig. Durch schallanalytische Beobachtungen bin ich selbst zu ganz ähnlichen Erfahrungen gekommen, so bewegt sich die Betonung in den *Wahlverwandtschaften* z. B. abgesehen von den Schlußkadenzen gern auf

zwei Ebenen mit ziemlich langer Alternierung von hoch zu mittel-hoch. Beiläufig Periodisierung, oft zu stark von rein syntaktischen Gesichtspunkten aus bestimmt, hatte an schallanalytischen Versuchen Klärung und Stützung gewinnen können. Sie hätten ihn unter anderm verhindert, das wichtige Element der Pausen zu übersehen, durch das sich z. B. die von ihm falsch metrisierte Stelle folgendermassen verändert:

Endlich erblickte sie
hoch in den Luft
mit purpurroten Federn
den Habicht, dessen Brust
die letzten Strahlen
der Sonne auffing

Endlich erblickte sie hoch in den Luft
mit purpurroten Federn den Habicht (Pause),
dessen Brust die letzten Strahlen der
Sonne auffing

Endlich stehe hier, dem sonstigen Werte der Untersuchung unbeschadet, die Forderung nach Endzusammenfassung und Index, der in Deutschland leider nicht als unumgänglich angesehen wird.

ERNST FEISE

Girolamo Savonarola. Prediche e scritti con introduzione, commento, nota bibliografica e uno studio sopra l'Influenza del Savonarola su la Letteratura e l'Arte del Quattrocento. Di MARIO FERRARA. Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 1930. xii + 426 pag. con 32 tavole fuori testo. Lire 22.

Well printed on good paper and containing thirty-two pertinent, well-executed illustrations, this volume is a welcome addition to the large body of works dealing with Fra Girolamo Savonarola. The editor, while presenting to his readers practically the same amount of material as is to be found in the well-known *Scelta di prediche e scritti* by Villari and Casanova (Firenze, Sansoni, 1898), does not adopt their method of arrangement by *genres*, but follows what he considers

il criterio più logico del raggruppamento a seconda della genesi spirituale di quegli scritti. In tal guisa il lettore può—anche attraverso la viva tessitura delle vicende biografiche—accompagnare il pensiero del frate nel suo graduale sviluppo.

The selections, each with an adequate introduction indicating its source, the attendant circumstances of its appearance, and its portent, and accompanied by illuminating foot-notes, are grouped in eleven chapters of varying length that enable the reader to follow Fra Girolamo from his first known literary efforts and his secret departure at the age of twenty-three from home and kindred, impelled thereto by "la gran miseria del mondo, le iniquitate de li homini," seeking, as he says in one of his sermons, "la libertà e

la quiete" in the Dominican convent at Bologna, on through his vigorous life as a "melitanto cavaliere" of Jesus Christ, preaching penance and prayer, peace and charity, as with prophetic tongue he fearlessly inveighed against evil in church and state, both of which must be renewed in the spirit of Christ, "re, duce e signore," up to that fatal burning, May 23, 1498.

Besides extracts from the sermons, the editor has included a few of Savonarola's poems, the letter to his father on his departure to join the Dominican order (1475), another to his mother (1490), a few extracts from the *opusculi ascetici* and from the *Trionfo della croce*, as well as the *Trattato circa il reggimento e governo della città di Firenze*, which, he says, is "riportato tutto, ma alcuni capitoli—quelli inchiusi in parentesi quadre—invece che nel testo sono riprodotti in sunto."

At the end of the volume, in an essay of some thirty pages, the reader is presented with a succinct and informing account (accompanied by copious bibliographical references) of the profound and abiding effect of Savonarola's precept and example on several of the literary men of his day, who, converted, renounced frivolity and worldliness, embraced the Christian life and turned with mystic ecstasy to a contemplation of the eternal verities, giving literary expression to the new life that was in them, while humbler, less polished writers reflected in popular forms the deep and overwhelming change that had come over the great mass of the Florentine populace. In his discussion the author does not, however, overlook the importance of the anti-Savonarola literature. After this "rapida rassegna letteraria" he turns to Savonarola's ideas on art and his influence on the artists of his day, particularly Botticelli and Michelangelo. Of particular value is the interpretation given to Botticelli's *Crocefissione mystica* (formerly in the Aynard Collection at Lyons, France, now in the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard University), which is not, in his opinion, a representation of the "*Cruz Irae Dei*—secondo la nota visione savonaroliana," as some critics would have it, but is based rather "sul tema delle ripetute minacce di vendetta divina pronunziate dal Savonarola, e soprattutto del frequente annunzio di un generale rinnovamento della chiesa, che sarebbe stato preceduto dalla punizione di Firenze e d'Italia," and "sotto questa nuova luce . . . assume il valore di un palpito dell'anima del Botticelli verso un sogno di redenzione cristiana." The pages devoted to "tutta una fioritura d'arte anch'essa relativa al movimento savonaroliano, cioè l'incisione in legno, o xilografia, usata per l'illustrazione del libro," are of distinct interest, especially since the volume contains reproductions of sixteen of these woodcuts. "Si può dire senz'altro," avers the author, "che l'arte tipografica fiorentina tocca in questo breve periodo un vertice d'insuperata bellezza."

By adding the *Saggio di Bibliografia*, with which he concludes

the volume, Signor Ferrara places his readers under decided obligations, for in its 172 items, chronologically arranged, we have a conspectus of the important contributions to Savonarola literature (books, brochures, and periodical articles in Italian, German, French, and English) from 1845 to 1930, from which we believe with the author "molta utilità possa tirarsi."

In the introduction the author essays the delineation of a "profilo del Savonarola . . . tracciato dal di dentro" "Tutto nel Savonarola si riduce infatti," he says, "ad unità di principio. E il principio sovrano che regola il corso della sua esistenza è la carità." In this he differs somewhat from a recent biographer of the great Friar Preacher, Piero Misciatelli, who states: "Perfino l'amore sul quale egli insiste sovente nelle sue prediche e che antepone alla fede secondo il concetto paolino non si può dire che acquisti in lui la forza e l'umanità della 'Charitas' evangelica," as he proceeds to contrast the methods and results of the activities of Savonarola and of Santa Caterina da Siena, who "passa trionfante sul ponte dell'Amore da lei stessa gettato e sul quale le viene incontro il pontefice. Il Savonarola spezza i ponti con Roma e rimane sull'orlo dell'abisso nel quale finirà per cadere" (*Savonarola*, Milan, 1925, p. 163).

In short, this volume presents a self-portrait, as it were, of Savonarola, the political, economic, social, and religious reformer, the mystic and the prophet, the preacher zealous for righteousness, peace, and freedom, who in a brief decade and a half brought about a renewal of spiritual life in Renaissance Florence and left the memory of a saint and martyr.

Lo spirito savonaroliano non diventa altro che una tradizione di fede adamantina di carattere eroico, di dignità esemplare, verso la quale sono attratti San Francesco di Paola, Santa Caterina de' Ricci, San Filippo Neri, i papi Giulio II, Paolo IV, i Cardinali Alimonda e Capecepatro e numerosi altri anche estranei alle gerarchie della Chiesa: tradizione alla quale come per il passato, aderiranno quanti con l'animo sgombrato da qualsivoglia pregiudizio sapranno riconoscere nel Savonarola un sublime maestro di vita spirituale (p. 348).

WILLIAM A. McLAUGHLIN

Cambridge, Massachusetts

La poesía española contemporánea. By ANGEL VALBUENA PRAT.
Madrid: Compañía Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones, 1930.
Pp. 130. 2.50 pesetas.

Except for J. Montesinos' preface to his anthology, *Moderne Spanische Dichtung* (Leipzig, Berlin, 1927), which does not go beyond 1924, there has been no adequate general treatment of modern Spanish poetry. *La poesía española contemporánea* supplies, therefore, a definite lacuna in criticism. It is the first

volume of a series. "Las Cien Obras Educadoras." Professor Valbuena is well known as a scholar, particularly in the field of Calderón, and is himself a promising younger poet. In this book he combines the academic method of studying literature as a history of influences and evolution with the fresh, sympathetic criticism that comes only from close contact with literary movements and personalities of the day. The subject is treated under four headings. Modernismo, Generación del 98, Juan Ramón Jiménez o Introducción al novecentismo. Últimas tendencias. The first section treats the work and influence of Ruben Darío and his followers. The second analyzes the poetry of Antonio Machado, Fernando González, Ramón Pérez de Ayala, Unamuno, José María Gabriel y Galán, and Vicente Medina, and establishes a similarity in them of attitude and subject matter. The third section gives an exhaustive criticism of Juan Ramón Jiménez, and prepares for the last and most important chapter by indicating the subtle but considerable debt of the recent poets to Jiménez, and includes several poets whom V. links to him. The last section, appreciably the longest, is the most original and to the lay reader probably the most interesting. As V. states in his foreword, he has chosen here to analyze rather than to evaluate, but his fine analysis approximates an evaluation. The outstanding poets of today in Spain, of whom one must mention Gerardo Diego, Ramón de Basterra, Pedro Salinas, Jorge Guillén, Dámaso Alonso, and particularly Federico García Lorca and Rafael Alberti, are dealt with exhaustively by one whose immediate interest in his subject does not impair his keen critical judgment. The book ends with a brief review of current magazines publishing significant verse, with an indication of the newest poets, whose work has not yet appeared in book form, and of their important contributions. Throughout V. introduces frequent and illuminating quotations. The numerous trivial errata of the advance printing are to be corrected in a second printing to appear shortly.

E. LOUISE SMITH

Les Essais de Montaigne, Etude et Analyse. Par GUSTAVE LANSON.
Paris: Mellottée, 1930. 384 pp. (Les Chefs-d'Oeuvre de la
Littérature Expliqués.)

Professor Lanson in his latest analysis of the Essays emphasizes his indebtedness to specialists in all matters of technical detail. As the Notice carefully points out, the purpose of this book is to prepare the reader, by means of an inventory and ordering of Montaigne's ideas, for his first contact with the Essays themselves. The real contribution of this new study is to be found in his method of approach and presentation.

After two accurate and adequate chapters on the life and character of the essayist, followed by detailed and compact studies, one on "le milieu et le moment" and another on the composition of the essays, L. comes to his main interest—Montaigne's thought. The subject is studied under three headings—stoicism, skepticism, and definitive philosophy.

The philosophy of the first period is usually called stoic. L. has already protested against this term, favoring "scolastic."¹ He now proposes, in a chapter entitled "La première manière de Montaigne, dite stoïcienne.—Le stoïcisme d'un voluptueux," the term "athletic." He summarizes his analysis as follows: "Mais il croit alors à l'efficacité pratique d'une gymnastique philosophique, d'une sorte d'athlétisme moral." A similar idea has previously been advanced but expressed in terms of therapeutics.

In the analysis of the second period, there is little that is new save greater emphasis on the constructive principles involved in Montaigne's skepticism.

It is the handling of Montaigne's definitive philosophy that reveals most clearly the originality of the Lanson approach. Excellent studies on Montaigne's conception of man, of ethics, of the individual's relation to the state (conservatism), on Montaigne's religious attitude, are followed by an interesting chapter entitled "A la recherche d'une méthode." On this last problem, L. has ventured farthest in constructing a system inherent in the essays but which Montaigne failed to organize. A study of Montaigne's positive criticism, particularly as revealed by his remarks on medicine, convinced L. that the essayist conceived the need of an experimental method, and hence was a forerunner of Bacon.

In this connection, it should be noted that Hugo Friedrich, in an otherwise favorable review,² criticises the treatment of Montaigne's philosophy. He would not, like L., explain Montaigne's ideas as the reaction of his particular temperament to the exigencies of his training and environment, but would center his ideas around a fundamental principle, namely, a strong irrational religiosity. Thus Montaigne's criticism of reason, his orthodoxy and his conservatism, are but the result of a strong feeling of man's impotence before the transcendence of God and nature. This attitude, being contrary to the spirit of modern experimental science, makes it impossible to consider Montaigne a precursor of men like Bacon. Against Friedrich's formula, or simplification of Montaigne, it can be said that L., without postulating "irrational religiosity," is fully able to account scientifically for the essays along the lines of modern literary criticism. Furthermore L., who is not dealing with a philosopher who systematized his thought, has the advantage

¹ "La vie morale selon les Essais," *Rdém.*, 1^{er} et 15 février 1924, p. 605.

² *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 19 Juli, 1930.

of treating Montaigne's ideas from the point of view of their genesis, growth, or evolution, an approach that is necessary to a clear comprehension of both the essays and the essayist. As for the question of Montaigne's influence on Bacon, L. has been content to rely on the special studies of Pierre Villey.³ There is little else in the analysis of Montaigne's philosophy that is new or particularly debatable.

Of the two concluding chapters to the book, that on style is commendable and that on the influence of the essays, in spite of limitations freely admitted, is of great practical value. L. has successfully incorporated into his study the results of contemporary research, following M. Villey on the chronology of the essays and the evolution of specific ideas. The extensive, well-chosen excerpts from the essays themselves, amounting to one-third of the subject matter, are a valuable addition. There is a working bibliography. In short, the book admirably achieves its aim. Beginners can not hope to obtain elsewhere in so handy a form so much accurate and vital information on the essays, their author, the period in which they were composed, and their importance in the history of French literature; mature students of the essayist will find carefully worded and stimulating interpretations of the more elusive problems of Montaigne's thought.⁴

Princeton University

L. P. G. PECKHAM

Coleridge on Logic and Learning, with Selections from the Unpublished Manuscripts. By ALICE D. SNYDER. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929. Pp. xviii + 169. \$3.00.

As all students are aware, Coleridge criticism has had its cycles. After a prolonged period, the barrenness of which is evidenced by the poverty of works of any real importance, the last few years have seen what is less a revival of interest than a new attempt at a real evaluation of Coleridge as both poet and thinker. Coleridge has been, indeed, peculiarly fortunate in his disciples of this generation, for they are showing themselves scholars who combine with patient and exact study a real understanding of the significance of their discoveries in the interpretation of Coleridge. Much of the new

³ L. might well have mentioned Professor Zeitlin's article "The development of Bacon's Essays—with special reference to the question of Montaigne's influence upon them," *JEGP.*, October, 1928, which strenuously combats some of M. Villey's conclusions.

⁴ The book contains numerous misprints, and in the Table of Contents for Chapter IV, at the end, several ideas are enumerated not to be found in that chapter, but embodied in Chapter XIII.

work, too, is based upon hitherto unpublished or practically inaccessible material—upon letters, marginalia, and notebooks, as well as upon the mass of unpublished work which Coleridge left at his death.

Miss Snyder's is an important and significant addition to these new studies. Not only has she made available for students the most valuable sections of Coleridge's unfinished *Logic*—and those who have seen the two-volume manuscript from which her extracts have been drawn, will realize the difficulty of her task—but she has added to this important original material a series of illuminating and suggestive prefaces, which contribute much to our understanding of Coleridge's interests in logic, in science, and particularly in education.

As editor, Miss Snyder has shown wisdom and judgment in the comparative brevity of her selections from the *Logic*; a less experienced student might well, overwhelmed by the very mass of material, have made the far too frequent mistake of persuading herself that it was all equally valuable and equally important, merely because it was Coleridge's. Miss Snyder has chosen with care, and as a result has given us not only passages which must be of the greatest service to the student of Coleridge's technical philosophy, but a series of briefer passages in which those interested in Coleridge as poet, as critic, and as theologian will recognize the familiar voice.

Important as is this original material, Miss Snyder's prefaces are only less so. The reader who hesitatingly approaches Coleridge on logic for the first time will find her opening chapter of particular value, since it contains an acute analysis of the part played by the logic in his system as a whole, and the relation between his logical and educational systems. Her discussion of his interest in contemporary science serves to place him more clearly in his period. Of particular interest is her analysis of his attitude toward the conflicting medical theories of his day. But to the present reviewer, the section on his relation to education seems the most important and original. Here Miss Snyder touches a subject which has been too lightly passed over by his critics. No one who has read widely in Coleridge, as Miss Snyder points out (p. 11) "can question the fact that he took keen delight in the *process of thinking*." That interest is reflected in all that he had to say about the means of developing in others ability to use the mind. His interest in the projected *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana* as well as in academic curricula of his own age and of previous generations offers concrete illustration of his consciousness of educational problems. But his real service to education lies deeper. In much of his philosophical, and of his critical work, as Miss Snyder suggests, he speaks as *teacher*. For all the fun his contemporaries loved to poke at him, however, it is the teacher as *educator*

(in his own literal interpretation of that word), rather than the teacher as preacher, or as prophet, who emerges. Like the teacher, he is constantly attempting in his work to define, to explain, to analyze, as his own involved and parenthetical style so frequently indicates; he labors to make clear to others what he has first labored to clarify to himself. Most of all, his central theories of the organic nature of the processes of thought, his insistence upon the fact that *knowing* involved not only the "understanding" but the "whole man" was to have much to do with the reform in educational methods which may be detected in various institutions which were proud to acknowledge their indebtedness to him in their reform of curricula. That Coleridge was particularly influential in the spread of academic idealism as a system of classroom philosophy in both England and America has been previously recognized, but Miss Snyder is the first, so far as I know, to point out a highly significant corollary: "If it were possible to reconstruct the past so as to estimate justly the influence Coleridge has had on educators and logicians, in America, for instance, one might discover that he had laid several stones in the pavement leading to the instrumentalist reaction against an idealism with which he has been closely associated; for some of his suggestions of the instrumental function of the understanding as contrasted with the reason could scarcely fail of wider application by later logicians who had ceased to think in terms of the separate faculties" (p. 15). Students both of Coleridge and of American education will await with interest Miss Snyder's later work in which it is to be hoped that she will further develop this suggestion.

MARJORIE NICOLSON

Smith College

Coleridge as Philosopher. By JOHN H. MUIRHEAD. (Library of Philosophy.) London: Allen and Unwin; New York: Macmillan, 1930. Pp. 287. \$4.00.

A thorough reconsideration of Coleridge's philosophy by a philosopher has long been desired by those who have approached his works with interests primarily literary, and have been led further and further into philosophy in attempting to grasp the ideas that permeate most of his prose and much of his verse. That the project appealed to a philosopher with Professor Muirhead's breadth of experience and imaginative grasp of the significant in situation and idea, is a fact for which literary students are now grateful. For Professor Muirhead has succeeded in showing, as few could have done, Coleridge's sensitiveness to current philosophical and psychological ideas and assumptions; his recognition of the funda-

mental problem that must be formulated; and his positive contributions to the discussion of that problem as it appeared in the several fields of logic, metaphysics, natural science, ethics, politics, aesthetics, and religion.

Coleridge's contributions, the writer finds, grew out of a fundamental unwillingness to accept a current view that made philosophy "the attempt to reduce everything by 'triumphant analysis' to its component elements, and, taking these as the ultimate realities, to treat it as a mere aggregate or mechanical resultant, while poetry, religion, even . . . morals and politics were matters of unanalysable feeling [p. 29]." A temperamental endowment in some ways distinctly favorable ("a mind . . . omnivorous, sensitive, growing to the last") and a vastly larger amount of sustained work than he has usually been credited with, went into the establishment of his philosophic position. The central idea of this position Professor Muirhead defines as "that of the true meaning and place of Individuality in the world both of nature and of man [p. 263]."

Although Coleridge exerted relatively little influence on the more technical philosophy of England during the age immediately succeeding, Professor Muirhead does not hesitate to name him the founder, and "to this day the most distinguished representative" of a voluntaristic form of idealism which has recently been replacing the logical idealism of the late nineteenth century in both England and America. His argument is based on evidence discovered in the manuscript remains which are at last receiving the attention they deserve, as well as on that of the volumes that have long been in print.

Naturally the writer recognizes the shortcomings of the philosopher's work, and he offers explanations that show a perspective and balance sometimes lacking in criticisms of Coleridge. A conservative tendency that kept him from following through some of his principles to the bitter end, a morbid bent in his character—both come in for their share of responsibility. But more than many critics, Professor Muirhead is aware of the extent to which any philosopher's work is necessarily conditioned by his heritage of materials and tools, the systems and conceptions—the very language, even—that are available for his use. And he refuses to blame Coleridge for failing to make bricks without straw; he honors him, rather, for accomplishing as much as he did in producing new tools and materials, and in rendering much of the older stock "thenceforth an anachronism."

Students of literature may wish that the scope of Professor Muirhead's study had permitted him to go further into the subject of Coleridge's aesthetic theory and his critical practice. However, his thoughtful discussion of the relation of philosophy to criticism and his evaluation of Coleridge's psychology of the imagination make the chapter on Theory of Fine Art especially interesting to

such students. The chapter on the Philosophy of Nature is important for the full understanding of the discussion of aesthetics, and the Introduction and the chapter on Metaphysics both contain passages of direct and suggestive bearing on the subject. On the whole, we may thank a kindly fortune for giving us as much as it has, for the study was originally intended as a single section of a book now in preparation on the History of British and American Idealism. Considering the amount of fresh material at hand, and the trends of present-day thought that are making a just appreciation of Coleridge's philosophy more possible, there is no question but that a book rather than a chapter was called for.

ALICE D. SNYDER

Vassar College

Keats' View of Poetry. By TAKESHI SAITO. To which is prefixed an Essay on *English Literature in Japan*, by EDMUND BLUNDEN. London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1929. Pp. 144. 6 s.

The Life of John Keats. By ALBERT ERLANDE. Translated by MARION ROBINSON. With an Introduction by J. MIDDLETON MURRY. New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. Pp. 244. \$3.00.

The attitude of the critics of John Keats towards their subject is a unique thing in present-day literature. In an age of debunking, when few of the old favorites escape, Keats's biographers and interpreters are uniform in admiration and respect. The extreme of this tendency is to be found in the maternal yearning of Amy Lowell to explain and defend, and in the profound reverence of J. M. Murry for the "purest genius" of all time save Shakespeare. It is evident in a modified form even in such a writer as J. W. Garrod, who, in spite of certain strictures, freely acknowledges Keats's greatness. The universality of the partisan note is freshly emphasized through the recent publication of two books on Keats from practically opposite ends of the earth, and by authors representing two peoples ordinarily thought of as poles apart in culture and emotional experience. M. Erlande, writing a brief biography for the French, frankly states his object and point of view as being to "give a picture of Keats that will show him . . . as he was; with his human heart, and with that heart of flame which ultimately consumed him," and "to present him in his rightful place, which is with the great figures in the world of poetry." Professor Saito, writing a doctoral dissertation at the Imperial University of Tokyo, is quite as decisive in presenting favorable judgment: he sees Keats as "the

culminating point of the English Romantic poets," in whom "almost all the Romantic elements are found as if he were the focus of the genius of his period." In Keats there was much of "manly soundness"; he certainly had in him "a vein of 'flint and iron'"; he possessed a "sincerity . . . as a poet and a man," not much recognized by his Victorian successors. [Is it this evidence of sincerity in Keats in his mighty wrestling with the problems of life and poetry that wins the heart of all his critics?]

M. Erlande rates Keats as a poet of sovereign lyric qualities who attained in his field "a height and perfection unequalled in the history of literature." But drawn as he is by Keats's verse, Erlande's attention is even more strongly attracted to the man who produced it. He is impressed with the essential dignity and nobility of Keats's spirit and with his close, sympathetic touch with life. He senses much of the intensity with which Keats lived, the exquisite fullness of his love for Fanny Brawne, the bitterness of his suffering. If other men have suffered as did John Keats, lying for months waiting for death, they were not poets and did not know the language, as he did, of perfect anguish. "A tragic pilgrim through the 'Vale of Soul-Making,'" M. Erlande calls him; but one whom adversity could not quite unman: even in the passion-tormented days of his last illness he showed himself in his occasional moments of lucidity and calmness, "in all his rare humanity."

Professor Saito's central purpose is to present an exposition of Keats's theory of poetry. His point of view is one now rather generally accepted in England and America, to the effect that Keats was a seriously reflective poet who thought much about the problems of poetry and came to significant conclusions about them. He sees the young Keats as a genius with a strong inclination toward "the luxuries," rapidly developing, though in severe conflict between his two natures, an interest in truth and the realities of life, until toward the end he came to be a thorough "humanitarian idealist." Mr. Saito's discussion centers about this point of humanitarian idealism. In combining in himself both idealism and realism Keats went far beyond his contemporaries. "Above all, he is more advanced than any of those poets in his view of poetry in relation to life," declares Professor Saito. It was his spirit of reality "that called his attention to life and made him sympathize with men and women." Thus Keats became not a poet of "art for art's sake," but on the contrary, a poet of "art for Life's sake." He was one who "knew the value of knowledge"; "he was interested in the development of a soul"; his ability to read character "is quite remarkable for one of his generation"; there is "a noble ethical temper in his poetry"; "his writings contain passages about wisdom . . . rarely attained by a young man like him." The proper

wisdom of a poet is "deep life-experience," Keats thought; this leads to a "grasp of reality," the only true knowledge; great poetry is a representation of this reality, or, to use an equivalent term, of *truth*; this also is *beauty*. (Mr. Saito reaches this conclusion in easy progress, without fuss or strain. He sees in it nothing strange nor difficult.) To express this reality with intensity, with concentration and rich suggestiveness, is Keats's ideal for "absolute poetry." This, it is quite plain, is also the author's idea of what great poetry should be.

The Orient had before admired Keats—as evidenced in the near-dozen adulatory contributions to the 1921 Memorial Volume—but, comparatively, this was a superficial admiration. The appreciation expressed in *Keats's View of Poetry* is of the kind generated in the discovery of fact through study. Judgment has preceded praise. The book is in the best traditions of English critical scholarship, original in certain aspects, but obviously influenced by the British scholars who, according to Mr. Blunden, have helped create a serious interest in English literature in Japanese universities. It is a graceful interpretative essay, written by a man of maturity in critical insight and procedure, working in a subject he knows intimately in both its literary and philosophic relationships. His conclusions are the more convincing because he has everywhere tempered frank admiration with valid reservations. Keats's poetry, particularly the *Endymion* "suffered much from lack of sustained reasoning," he thinks; and again he remarks, "it is impossible to agree with some critics in saying that Keats is surpassed by none except Shakespeare." But, when all qualifications have been made, Keats yet retains a high, a unique place in English poetry, and Professor Saito has made a serious, and in many ways successful, attempt to define it. M. Erlande has written a good book, but Mr. Saito has come very near a great one.

CLARENCE D. THORPE

University of Michigan

William Gifford, Tory Satirist, Critic, and Editor. By ROY BENJAMIN CLARK. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. Pp. x + 294. \$3.00. (Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature.)

Mr. Clark has written a good summary of the work of William Gifford. It was a job that needed to be done; for the first editor of the *Quarterly Review* had in his own time a specious importance among men of letters, to which his accomplishments did not entitle him. He possessed some ability as a translator. To this he added a very uninspired and coarse vein of satire, and critical taste that

resulted in some of the most striking ineptitudes of a blundering age. Gifford's reputation maintained itself throughout a century—largely because no one took the trouble to examine his work closely. He was blamed for savage scurrilities that he did not write, and credited with sound judgments that were beyond his limited critical powers. It is well to have Mr. Clark definitely place Gifford among the deservedly obscure writers of satire and criticism.

There can be little question as to the justice of Clark's general estimate of Gifford. As a satirist, whether dealing with Della Crusicans or Anti-ministerialists, with Alicia Palmer or Charles Lamb, Gifford "never overcame a childish tendency to fling dirt." A spirit of revenge for personal affronts, which found expression in brutal and indecent language, ruined whatever effectiveness his *Epistle to Peter Pindar* might have had as a corrective. As a translator of Juvenal, and as editor of the old dramatists, he constantly defaced competent work by needless attacks on his predecessors. As a reviewer in the columns of his *Quarterly Review*, he was undistinguished. Such charges, clearly supported by many citations from his work, are very damaging to the reputation of William Gifford. His activities, as editor of the *Quarterly* for sixteen years, contributed most, of course, to the Gifford legend. Yet, although his reputation was formidable, he was in no sense a great editor. Scott, the "erector" of the *Review*, Southey, its foremost contributor, and Murray, the publisher—each left his stamp upon this great critical organ. Gifford gave it nothing of importance except his own peculiar kind of intolerance. Even in this respect, John Wilson Croker and Captain Basil Hall were of greater consequence.

Gifford has, and will continue to have, some interest for us, because of his connections with Byron, in the days when John Murray was bringing out the young lord's poems. Clark mentions these connections briefly (pp. 202-209) but has not been able to add very much to what was already known of them. The poet, who at first called Gifford his "Magnus Apollo," was later constrained to dub him "Asmodeus." It is certain that Gifford influenced Byron's satires and later advised the young poet. He undoubtedly corrected many of Byron's poems before they went to press, and supplied punctuation, regarding which the poet was notoriously careless. A thorough examination of the relations of Gifford and Byron should be a very profitable study.

In conclusion, it is to be wished that Mr. Clark's proofs had been read more carefully, for the book abounds in misspelled words (obviously typographical errors). Most of his dozen or more references to a Columbia thesis, should have been made rather to Murray's "Register." The concluding pages of this thesis contain a selected list of names taken from the "Register." Mr.

Clark's constant reference to this selected and second-hand list indicates that he did not consult the "Register" itself, which gives fuller information and might have supplied him with some details now lacking in his work.

WALTER GRAHAM

University of Illinois

The Funeral Elegy and the Rise of English Romanticism. By JOHN W. DRAPER. The New York University Press, 1929. Pp. xv + 358. \$6.50.

Two studies of the funeral elegy have been made recently. The results of Dr. D. T. Starnes's *Bibliographical History of the Funeral Elegy in England from 1500 to 1638* are summarized in the University of Chicago *Abstracts of Theses, Humanistic Series* I, 399-407. Professor Draper is interested less in the origin and the early stages of this minor poetical type than in the influence which the final and perfected form of the elegy, a product of the seventeenth century, exerted upon the literary melancholists of the eighteenth. The purpose of his study is stated in his comment (p. 10) upon Amy Louise Reed's *The Background of Gray's Elegy*, 1924. He commends Miss Reed for what she did, but he thinks that in virtually disregarding the funeral elegy she omitted the most significant of all those poetical types which contributed to the imagery and mannerisms of the grave-yard school. His book deals with the same period as hers; it is a supplementary study of the background of Gray's *Elegy*. The result of his research is a very clear-cut thesis. Since he finds the funeral elegy, at least in its final stage of development, to be a product of the Puritan mind, literary melancholy of the eighteenth century is chiefly a resurgence of Puritanism. And since melancholy is one of the pronounced ingredients of eighteenth-century Romanticism, Puritanism may be said to have contributed largely to the expression of romantic melancholy.

Professor Draper has the incalculable virtue of writing well and of being able to galvanize a dull subject, a talent very much needed here, as he himself recognized. He has also an unlimited capacity for unearthing minor literary specimens. Much of the material presented in this book was, I venture to say, wholly unknown to most of the scholars in this field. But I question whether his readers will be wholly converted to his thesis. In order to justify himself in writing a volume of 358 pages on a single topic neglected by Miss Reed, he was almost inevitably forced to exaggerate the claims of his discovery. Beyond question, the funeral elegy deserves a place, a large one too, in the chronicle of English melancholy as expressed in *belles lettres*; but it is very unfortunate that it could

not have been studied as a single phase of a national tendency which expressed itself in numerous types of literature so closely related that they cannot well be separated. A careful study of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth century will reveal that most of the striking elements of the funeral elegy had been taken over from other forms of pious writing, and some of these types of literature were more lasting and more likely to be influential than the elegy itself. Such a study as I have suggested would also bring into question the propriety of foisting the elegy exclusively upon the Puritans. Fuller and other writers of the time remind us that "Puritan" was a word of very uncertain application. If there was any safe criterion for distinguishing between Anglican and Puritan, it consisted only in ecclesiastical theory, and even here the line could not be drawn with certainty. There is no warrant for the assumption that Calvinistic theology was a certain criterion, or that all Anglicans were merry and all Puritans gloomy, and I question whether Professor Draper is justified in making the further distinction that the Anglican fixed his mind upon immortality while the Puritan fed his melancholy by reflecting on the grisly horrors of the grave. It is difficult also to say precisely what is and what is not "romantic" in the eighteenth century. Professor Draper's equation contains, indeed, two of the most treacherous terms in the historical vocabulary, and it cannot be said that he has escaped the danger of shifting his definitions from time to time in order to fit his facts into the framework of a rigid theory. His best work is in those parts where the author is least concerned with the central argument. In his frequent summaries of the various environmental conditions which affected popular literature—the interrelation of social, political, religious, and philosophical influences—he displays a grasp of detail and a breadth of outlook which deserve high praise.

C. A. MOORE

University of Minnesota

Die Charakterschilderungen im "Tatler," "Spectator" und "Guardian": ihr Verhältnis zu Theophrast, La Bruyère und den englischen Character-Writers des 17. Jahrhunderts. Von WILHELM PAPENHEIM. Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1930. Pp. 112. 7 M. (*Beiträge zur engl. Philologie*, herausgegeben von Max Förster, Heft XV.)

The usefulness of this monograph is very considerable: the more easily accessible character-writers have been studied carefully, and their resemblances to the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian* duly

noted. La Bruyère has, more profitably, been similarly employed. The generalizations on differences in technique and purpose are set forth with much acuteness.

At times one feels that verbal correspondences have received too much attention, or perhaps rather that all that may have been in the mind of Addison or Steele as he drew his character has not been fully enough considered. Take Tom Folio, for example (*Tatler*, 156). It will be remembered that Tom regales Mr. Bickerstaffe with an account of "modern pieces that had the names of ancient Authors annexed to them." That obviously suggests the then recent controversy about the letters of Phalaris and the possibility that Tom Folio and Richard Bentley may be worth considering together. With this in mind, one remembers that Tom is represented as saying that "all the Manuscripts *reclaim* against" a certain punctuation. The word "*reclaim*" is italicized in the original *Tatler* (as well as in the octavo and duodecimo editions almost contemporary with it), and this fact rather strongly suggests that Addison was aiming at some definite target. Turning to the Oxford Dictionary, one discovers that the only example there cited of "*reclaim*," in this sense, between 1604 and 1769 is from Bentley's famous *Dissertation*. Yet it would be rash indeed to say that Tom Folio—the whole of him—"is" Bentley. The point is that such things are so very complicated that many kinds of evidence need to be assembled before the full meaning of such passages can be guessed at. And when the evidence is all in hand—if it ever can be—the resemblances between Tom Folio and Earle's "*Antiquary*" will probably seem more curious than significant.

Caution should be urged against regarding one or two of the passages here cited as proving more than they can fairly be said to prove. For example, both Sir Roger and Overbury's "*Country Gentleman*," says Dr. Papenheim (p. 108), are stingy. With respect to Sir Roger, this is certainly questionable: first, because the passage cited can equally well be explained as proceeding from those "*singularities*" (never due to "*sourness or obstinacy*") which are said (*Spect.*, 2) to be the basis of nearly everything that Sir Roger does; secondly, because in *Spect.*, 2, 112, 122, and especially 107 and 517, we have explicit testimony to Sir Roger's generosity toward servants.

One may perhaps note also that the relative unimportance of borrowings from seventeenth-century character-writers in the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* would have appeared more clearly had Dr. Papenheim pointed out the extreme dependence upon Earle and Overbury exhibited in John Dunton's so-called "*Letters from New England*" (probably about 1702 or 1703), in the anonymous "*Character of a Whig under Several Denominations*" (1700), and in "*Hickelty-Pickelty*" (1708). Here he would have found an

abundance of passages so close to their prototypes that the later writer must have had his copies of Overbury and Earle lying open before him.

C. N. GREENOUGH

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Between the Lines. By H. M. TOMLINSON. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930. Pp. vi + 51. \$1.25.

Humanism and America. Edited by NORMAN FOERSTER. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1930. Pp. xxii + 294. \$3.50.

Mr. Tomlinson has acknowledged his debt to Thoreau more than once, and he does so again in this address, which was delivered some three years ago at various American colleges. Perhaps, therefore, it would not be wholly fanciful to attribute to Thoreau something of the hyperbolical habit of mind shown here and there in *Between the Lines*, together with an intensity of feeling, not balanced by precision of thought and phrase, which the writer's British preference for under-statement fails to conceal. Like almost everything Thoreau wrote, this address is badly organized, even for an informal *causerie*, and it is confused not only in arrangement but in thought. Mr. Tomlinson has little use, apparently, for "that false secondary power which multiplies distinctions." He delights in the *mélange des genres* and in the confounding of categories and disciplines that should, for purposes of clear thinking, be kept apart. "I am unable," says he, for example, "to separate religion and literature. For me they are the same." Under these circumstances it is not surprising that he is unable to say much to the purpose about either one.

Both as an imaginative writer and as a critic, however, Mr. Tomlinson has a sense of social responsibility. He sees that our world is in grave danger, and he feels, somewhat vaguely but yet strongly, that the art he represents might do something to save it. With barbarism, as he believes, all about us, and with savagery perhaps just ahead, he looks to the creation and right estimation of literature as one of our best hopes of escape from ultimate disaster. And so, of course, it might be—but not quite the literature he praises, or any literature appraised in quite his way.

Mr. Tomlinson despairs of finding any principles of taste or standards of judgment that we can hope to get generally accepted. All that he has for us is this warning: "If we can find no precise rules for the judging of literature, we see, nevertheless, that on our choice a very great deal depends." Granted. And Mr. Tomlinson's own choice from American literature is: Thoreau, Whitman, Melville. In other words, he chooses for our medicine the

very germs with which we are infected—a homœopathy which we have already tried, without notable success.

The fact is that this book does not speak to our times, nor does its author seem to know them. Thus, when he says "I would back the young poets of America against all New York, were they in revolt against it," one's first thought is that, unhappily, our young poets—revolting against almost every other thing—are by no means in revolt against New York City and what it represents; and one's second thought is that this is very much the sort of thing—loose, hazy, rhetorical—that Thoreau and Emerson were saying in their weaker moments eighty years ago. If the sense of social responsibility is to find a programme of action in literature, our critics must first face the facts of our time with clearer eyes, they must become more richly and realistically modern, and then they must go back far behind Transcendentalism to find a cure.

Such a book as this, from one of the most generally and justly admired of contemporary writers, reveals once more the chaos of our criticism, both of literature and of life—"for if gold rust, what shall iron do?" Mr. Tomlinson is merely a spokesman for a profession still steeped to the eyes in Romanticism, and one must not blame him particularly for being a critic without standards of judgment and a writer without a clear notion of what constitutes good writing. Any one of a hundred other critics or of a thousand professors might have stood in his place trying to give college men some conception of what literature is and what are its relations to life, and still the hungry sheep would have looked up and not been fed.

The Ages of Faith believed that the Creator had put into the world a cure for every ill that flesh is heir to, and that this cure was usually to be found where and when it was most needed. Whether Providence is still arranging these matters or not, Mr. Tomlinson might have obtained clearer notions about literature than he brought to America without stirring out of London, for there live Mr. Herbert Read and Mr. T. S. Eliot. While speaking at the Harvard Union he stood within half a mile of the man who gave these two English critics their basic ideas, Professor Irving Babbitt. The corrective for what is confused, misleading, or emptily rhetorical in Mr. Tomlinson's address, and in the greater part of what elsewhere passes for criticism just now, is to be found in Professor Babbitt's critical thought, which is ramifying and fructuating as that of no other American critic has ever done. It has become the guide of hundreds of young men in this country and England and France, who have been told sufficiently that literature is ennobling, beautiful, delightful—and that in any case it is a good thing to study which may provide a means for gaining a poor and precarious livelihood—but who would still like to know

how it can help them to find their way about in this rather difficult world.

The New Humanism has many a battle yet to fight, but already we may say with confidence that its appearance is one of the major intellectual events of our time. It has appeared none too soon, for already the barbarians command the Press, the Church, the Universities, Politics, and the Arts. They swarm under many banners, as sentimentalists, naturists, scientists, philosophers, educators, editors, novelists, poets, painters, musicians. Fortunately, the new humanists love to fight. That, indeed, is what they were born for. *Humanism and America* is fourteen battles in one (would that they might all be "decisive"!) and all of them are fought against things that ought to die. One must not attempt to outline fourteen essays in as many sentences. Let it suffice to say that these writers, widely differing in other respects, unite in the conviction that we are neither beasts nor angels but human beings, and that it is high time for us to begin to act and think and feel as such. They call us back to decency and common sense. (In the final analysis the New Humanism, which has been reviled and stormed at as though it were some foul disease, reduces precisely to common sense and decency.) These writers would all agree with Mr. Tomlinson that literature is one of the most important guides to our possible salvation, and also that very much depends upon our choice of the right literature. If they would not choose precisely as he does that is partly because they believe that they have found a few principles of taste and standards of judgment.

ODELL SHEPARD

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Essays and Studies. By MEMBERS OF THE ENGLISH ASSOCIATION. Vol. xv. Collected by SIR HERBERT WARREN. Oxford University Press, 1929. Pp. 160. \$2.50.

The *Essays and Studies* of the English Association are always interesting and pleasant reading. Though they admit under the head of "Studies" articles which could easily find their place in any of the learned journals, they encourage chiefly essays in literary criticism, which are generally too learned for the reviews and too much devoted to matters of taste and opinion to be suited to the learned journals. A publication of this kind would be as desirable in America as in England.

The current issue of *Essays and Studies* is, to my mind, somewhat below the average standard. The first of the six essays, that on Matthew Arnold, might do credit to an undergraduate because of its mature style, but the opinions of Arnold expressed so

pleasantly are too uncomprehending and amateurish to justify their inclusion in so admirable a publication as *Essays and Studies*. An American reviewer might reasonably hesitate in adverse criticism, however, for this could be interpreted as resentment. The author, Margaret Woods, hastens to underline a dig of Arnold at the United States, by referring herself to "the new American civilization—if such it can be called," and by adding the following sentence: "The Middle West, the host of the 'Hicks,' has now arisen in its horrible strength, and all European Culture is in danger of being overwhelmed by a wave of more than vulgarity." Much might be said on this sentence.

The bulk of the book is superior to this inauspicious beginning. "The Italian Element in English," by Mario Praz, is a serious, useful, and learned collection of English words derived from Italian, with an interesting commentary.

The third essay, "Thomas Purney," by H. O. White, studies a forgotten critic and pastoral poet of the early eighteenth century. Thomas Purney deserves this attention, for his unpretentious and naïve ventures in pastoral poetry show a sensitiveness and sweetness not to be expected in the year 1717; and the forgotten literary criticism in his prefaces vigorously attacks French neo-classical criticism, pertinently defends Shakespeare's violations of the unity of place, and shows complete and conscious sympathy with the mood of melancholy.

Dorothy Everett's "Characterization of the English Medieval Romances" is a thoughtful attempt to define the characteristics of the metrical romance as a type. This requires incidental definitions of the saint's legend, ballad, epic, and tale. The essayist doubts whether the romances were "romantic" to the medieval reader. They specialize on the marvelous, it is true, but generally without the spirit of wonder, in a perfectly matter-of-fact way.

In the next essay, D. C. Somervell treats the rise and decline of Browning's reputation, with discriminating incidental criticism. Surely the author overestimates the harm done Browning's reputation by the revolt against his sentimental optimism.

The volume ends with a sensitive study of "Some Kinds of Poetic Diction," by Bernard Groom. This is an old subject, and I have yet to see a treatment of it which was not fortunate in its suggestiveness. But, setting aside Coleridge, has any one treated it with such authority as Professor Lowes in *Convention and Revolt*?

THOMAS M. RAYSON

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Carlyle: sa Première Fortune littéraire en France (1825-1865).

By ALAN CAREY TAYLOR. Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature Comparée, Vol. 61. Paris, 1929. Pp. 260.

German Literature as Known in England (1750-1830). By V.

STOCKLEY. London: Routledge, 1929. Pp. xiv + 339.

It was hardly to be expected that Carlyle's mind and work would be as readily comprehended in France as in Germany. His arrogant irrationalism, his indifference to strict literary form, his mystical tendencies, and his puritanism, all tended to set him apart as an "écrivain original et excentrique, capable d'intéresser les curieux et les savants." It was only natural that an unfortunate lack of translations should but further hinder Carlyle's reception in France. Dr. Taylor's study sets forth in an admirably lucid manner the vicissitudes of Carlyle's work under the conditions to which it was peculiarly liable during the forty years between 1825 and 1865, when French readers slowly outgrew their early impressions left by the *Revue britannique* that Carlyle was an "ennemi de la France," and came to see him more profitably through the eyes of Emile Montégut, his first successful French interpreter, and through the vivid exposition of Taine. Numerous other interpreters, however, contributed both to the clarifying and the obscuring of Carlyle's ideas. A typical example of the French failure to understand Carlyle's individual genius may be noted in the contrast between Hédouin's opinion of him as "bizarre, confus, obscur, inexorable, impie, sans nulle perception de l'avenir, sans nulle compréhension du passé" and Montégut's opinion of him as "le véritable penseur du XIXe siècle." The final decision to which Dr. Taylor is led by his investigations is that in 1865 no one in France had as yet comprehended the total significance of Carlyle's work. Chasles had realized the philosophic depth of *Sartor Resartus*; Dilmans had discovered the social gospel in *Past and Present*; Taine had appreciated Carlyle's attempt at objectivity in *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*; and all had admired his "grand effort d'impartialité." None had been able, however, to conquer "Carlylese," or to understand Carlyle's blend of mysticism and puritanism, or to view his complete and individual message to the nineteenth century.

The central reason suggested by the present study for this failure in comprehension lies even deeper: in the French failure to grasp the meaning of the doctrine of rights and might. To what degree this is true we shall learn in a later study, in which the author will deal with Carlyle's reception in France from 1865 to the present. Dr. Taylor's final word is that the democratic atmosphere of nineteenth century France was not propitious to the flourishing of

Carlyle's ideas of transcendent individualism among the leaders of society.

In Miss Stockley's work we find a splendid attempt to chart the very difficult field of German literature as translated into English from mid-eighteenth century versions of Gellert and Gessner to the year when Carlyle was publishing essays on Richter. Without repeating the work of Carré (*Bibliographie de Goethe en Angleterre*, 1920), or other students of individual German writers, she succeeds in presenting the history of German influences in England through translations, in listing and arraying a formidable mass of bibliographical detail, and in stating the nature, the relative value, and the critical reception of the more important versions. Her sense of order has made the work far less a mere manual or guide than bibliographies generally are. Breaking up her chapters according to the writers she treats, she manages to convey an astonishing amount of information in a more or less narrative form. In this way, beginning with the early prose writers, she proceeds to discuss the translations of Klopstock, Lessing, Herder, Goethe, Schiller, and minor writers of the *Sturm und Drang*. Then come chapters on dramatic works, fiction, collections of romances, miscellaneous prose works, and, finally, a brief discussion of some early translators and critics. Three Appendices, sure to be welcomed by the hurried reader and the individual investigator, provide a list of works translated from all the important writers under the authors' names, a chronological list of some two hundred and fifty important translations, and a bibliography of the general field, of particular authors, and of contemporary English periodicals.

In spite of its many obvious excellences, such a work will naturally strike various readers differently. Many of us will regret that Miss Stockley has felt compelled to exclude all translations of lyrics; others will miss the adequate treatment which they think Goethe deserves, in spite of the work already done by Carré; still others may note the absence of Carlyle from the chapter on early critics and translators. But if the book occasionally errs in the omission of helpful discussion, it does not err in the omission of significant titles. It is safe to say that, for some time to come, no one will need a more readable, a more usable, or a more comprehensive bibliographical guide to the German stream in English literature. It represents an achievement in the presentation of a tremendous volume of fact in an eminently lucid style. Bibliographers in general may well envy, if not emulate, its author's success.

CHARLES FREDERICK HARROLD

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BRIEF MENTION

Sklaverei, Staatskirche und Freikirche. Die englischen Bekenntnisse im Kampf um die Aufhebung von Sklavenhandel und Sklaverei. Von ADOLF LOTZ. Kölner Anglistische Arbeiten, IX. Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1929. 114 S. Dr. Lotz has undertaken in this monograph not a rounded history of the anti-slavery agitation, but a study of the relations between Dissent and the Establishment as revealed by that movement, or, more precisely, a study of the rôles which different types of religious organization may be expected to play in any reform movement. He traces a swing to the left, from the conservative African Institution (1807-1823) through the Anti-Slavery Society (1823-1830), the Agency Committee (1831-1833), and the final stages of the movement, which falls more and more completely into the hands of the dissenters. Once such a movement gets fairly under way, the advocates of direct and drastic measures have all the best of it. An American reader can hardly refrain from drawing a parallel with the history of the Anti-Saloon League. Under the influence of his teacher Schoffier, Lotz dwells almost exclusively on the "religio-sociological" side of the subject, and does not attempt to rehearse the familiar Parliamentary politics of the time or the work of the more prominent leaders, but he would of course agree that a religious reform movement needs a favorable political conjuncture, such as arose in the days of the Reform Bill, before it can strike a decisive blow.

ALAN D. MCKILLOP

Lord Byron's Subjectivismus in seinem Verhalten zur Geschichte untersucht an seinen Verserzählungen. Von HILDEGARD DÖRKEN. Beiträge zur englischen Philologie, XII. Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1929. 110 S. The general thesis which Fräulein Dörken maintains is that Byron's verse-romances are significant chiefly as indirect revelations of personality. The dramas are ruled out of the discussion as purely formal, and the plan of the work excludes *Childe Harold* and the satires. The underlying difficulty in this study is that at best the subjectivism of the verse-romances reveals only one of several Byrons. Thus most students would now, I think, connect *The Giaour* with Byron's Gothic pose, without taking it very seriously as a self-revelation. The equations between Byron's own experiences and the situations and characters in the verse-romances are pretty tenuous.

ALAN D. MCKILLOP

Gustave Lanson, *Etudes d'histoire littéraire*, réunies et publiées par ses collègues, ses élèves et ses amis. Paris: Champion, 1930. Pp. 337. A group of professors of French literature or language at the Sorbonne has had the happy idea of republishing in honor of M. Lanson twelve of his most important articles. Some of these had appeared in historical or philosophical journals, where scholars most concerned with them might not think of looking for them, others in publications difficult to obtain. To gather them together here is to double their usefulness. They include a *Programme d'Etudes sur l'Histoire provinciale de la vie littéraire en France*, full of suggestions for the literary historian; studies of *le Rôle de l'Expérience dans la Formation de la Philosophie du xvi^e siècle en France*, and of symbolism; articles devoted to Calvin's *Institution Chrétienne*, to the influence of Vitruvius upon dramatic genres, to Descartes, Pascal, Bourdalou, Montesquieu, Condillac, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, and Michelet. They give both M. L.'s doctrine, which has had so much influence in directing the work of twentieth-century scholars in his field, and important examples of its application. The reprinting of the articles has been well done, but less care has been given to the *Table*, where appear *Vitruse* for *Vitruve* and *Instruction* for *Institution*, as well as to the list of subscribers in which Chicago is put for the University of Chicago and, for the Johns Hopkins, the *Université de Baltimore*!

H. C. L.

Restoration Verse, 1660-1715. Chosen and edited by WILLIAM KERR. London: Macmillan, 1930. Pp. xxvi + 439. \$2.25. This anthology is unique not only because it contains many little known poems, some of which are by men as well known as Dryden, but because it is the work of one who is in thorough sympathy with the period, and enthusiastic over its poetry, who feels that "Prior's verse is with Herrick's the most perfect in English" and who regards "the gradual Emancipation of Woman" as "among the other myths of Progress." The brief introduction and the sixty-five pages of notes are personal and suggestive, not learned; they do not discuss the text or elucidate the meaning but help to give a sympathetic approach to the verse of the period and to increase one's enjoyment of the individual pieces.

R. D. H.

Modern Language Notes

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JONATHAN THE FIRST

Chroniclers of the early American drama have long been unanimous in fixing the origin of the "stage Yankee" in the Jonathan of Royall Tyler's comedy, *The Contrast*, created by the actor Thomas Wignell on April 16, 1787, at the John Street Theatre, New York. Yet Tyler's Jonathan was not the first of the long dynasty of provincial figures. In Captain Joseph Atkinson's three-act comic opera, *A Match for a Widow, or the Frolics of Fancy*, first performed at the Theatre Royal (Smock Alley) in Dublin on April 17, 1786, appears a "Jonathen" with all the traits of our traditional Yankee.

Atkinson, of whose military career nothing seems to be known, wrote two other pieces for the Irish stage: a comedy of intrigue entitled *The Mutual Deception*, admittedly suggested by *Le Jeu de l'Amour et du Hasard* of Marivaux, first performed at the Smock Alley Theatre on March 2, 1785, published in the same year, and then brought out in 1786 at the Haymarket in London by George Colman the Elder as *Tit for Tat*—a good, successful play; and, after a long silence, *Love in a Blaze*, a comic opera with music by Sir John Stevenson, produced at the Crow Street Theatre, Dublin, May 29, 1799, and printed in the following year.¹ *A Match for a Widow*, while similar in kind to the latter, belongs with *The Mutual Deception* both in time and in having a French source. This is *L'Heureuse Erreur* (1783) of Joseph Patrat, a comedy slightly altered by Mrs. Inchbald in *The Widow's Vow* (1786).² Only the

¹ Allardye Nicoll, *A History of Late Eighteenth Century Drama*, pp. 118, 177, 234.

² Patrat's piece, and consequently the main theme of Atkinson and Mrs. Inchbald, will be traced in a separate article by the present writer to the *No Wit, No Help Like a Woman's* of Thomas Middleton.

accident of the great popularity of Mrs. Inchbald's version prevented *A Match for a Widow* from bringing its original Yankee character to London, and winning international repute.

In his epistle dedicatory to Richard Daly, manager of the Dublin theatre, as before in *The Mutual Deception*, Atkinson is punctilious in acknowledging his debts, a practice all too rare among playwrights:

You remember that it was originally written and presented to you in the Winter of 1785, as an *Afterpiece*, acknowledged to be suggested from the little French Drama of one Act, without Songs (intituled, *L'Heureuse Erreur*), and that in borrowing the idea I totally altered the dialogue, incidents, and situation of *that* plot, and, for the first time, attempted the introduction of a *Yankee* character on the European stage.

Daly suggested making the piece into a full-length comic opera. Atkinson did so, Dibdin wrote the music (now lost), and Daly produced it a full year before *The Contrast*, the writing of which, if we may believe Wignell, was not even undertaken until three weeks before its performance on April 16, 1787. *The Contrast* was not printed until 1790 (New York), while *A Match for a Widow* was published in Dublin and London in 1788.

The plays themselves bear so few marks of similarity that it is unprofitable to compare them in detail. *A Match for a Widow* is the operatic version of a comedy of intrigue in which disguise enables the hero, a captain returned from the American War, to win the hand of a rich young widow who has sworn to remain single. *The Contrast* is a comedy of manners, a society play, setting off various New York types of the day. In both there are echoes of the Revolution only recently ended. The prominence of Captain Belmor (not to mention his serjeant and corporal and their guard) in the one, and of Colonel Manly, successful over his foppish and anglicized rival, Billy Dimple, in the other, dates the two works almost as closely as the theatrical records.

But the two Yankee personages, superficially distinguishable in the printed versions as Jonathen and Jonathan, show many points of likeness. For example, each is the servant or orderly of the army officer who is the hero of his play. In this capacity each is introduced into a fashionable *milieu* so remote from his provincial experience as to throw into high relief every trait of his speech, dress, and behavior, and to make him a comic figure not only to

the main characters, but to their household servants as well. Each holds his own with Yankee self-control and good humor, sings *Yankee Doodle* with a fine will, spouts Yankee phrases, and remains at the end the most clearly defined figure of all. In both plays Jonathan's is the star rôle.³

To anyone familiar with the stage Yankee of innumerable nineteenth century comedies it is hardly necessary to recall that he was, though always a New Englander and often a Bostonian, rarely if ever a Puritan. Thus Royall Tyler's Jonathan, scorning "the devil's drawing-room," goes to the playhouse without knowing it and longs for more; and, while suspecting the innocence of metropolitan manners, proudly confesses himself somewhat of a spark among the Tabithas and Jemimas of his home town. The Jonathan of Atkinson's piece is a care-free youth of like temper but of contrary political convictions, fond of the Bay Colony but loyal to the King and his own Captain Belmor—"as good a man, I swear for it, as ever eat a cod's head and chowder!" His politics come out in the first of his two songs:

1. (Air, *Yankee Tune*.⁴)

He found me in a country now famous in story,
For losing the *substance*, for the shadow of glory!
And I among'st the legions to Britain true, and loyal,
There ventur'd life and all, to prop the standard royal.

Bow, wow, wow, fall lall de rall,
De didy bow, wow, wow.

2.

Before the curs'd days of our warlike ambition,
All Europe might envy our happy condition!
While commerce and freedom with rich cultivation
Crown'd the blessings of peace in each town and plantation.

Bow, wow, wow, &c.

3.

And now free from care and the wealth that bewitches,
My all's on *my* back, and my knapsack's my riches:
Contented in serving my king and my master,
I thank my kind stars for each former disaster.

Bow, wow, wow, &c.

³ Cornelys, who acted Jonathan in Dublin, was one of the best Irish character-actors of his time, as Thomas Wignell was one of the best American.

⁴ This I take to be a generic rather than a proper name. These words

His simple philosophy appears in the second song:

1. (Tune, *Yankee doodle*.)

For when I dwelt in Boston bay
 I liv'd in peace and plenty!
 I spoke no ill nor went astray,
 No, scarce one time in twenty;
 My life was like my conscience, clear
 From Monday night to Monday,
 And once I stove a cask of beer,
 Because it work'd on Sunday.
 Yankee doodle, doodle, yankee doodle, dandy,
 Both night and day I'd work and pray,
 At every thing quite handy.

2.

To till my farm in proper time,
 Oh how the plough wou'd trundle,
 There with the lasses thought no crime
 To take a bid of bundle;
 And when I got in harvest home
 My corn-cobs, hay, and timber!
 I ventur'd then at sea to roam,
 And fish about Cape Member.
 Yankee doodle, &c.

3.

But since I came to Britain's shore,
 I've lost all sense of shame now!
 I drink, I swear, I rant and roar,
 And call things by their name now;
 In Sabbath time I sport or work,
 And with the damsels romp me;
 O, ayn't I grown a sinful Turk!
 And gone to Satan, swamp me.
 Yankee doodle, &c.⁵

His language, the real key to his character, offers a still more useful point of comparison with Tyler's Jonathan. As "Swamp me!" is Jonathen's first exclamation upon entering "in a travelling

suit well the air, *The Taylor Done Over*, later used for a song by "Darby" (Thomas Wignell) in William Dunlap's interlude called *Darby's Return* (September 7, 1787). See Grenville Vernon's collection of early American stage songs, *Yankee Doodle-Do* (1927), pp. 45-49.

⁵ This version of the ballad, being unlike all the others known, seems to be from Atkinson's own hand.

livery, half soldier, half servant,"⁶ it is also his most frequent one throughout, occurring ten times in his brief allotment of speeches, along with "I vow now," "I swear," and "I swear now." In *The Contrast* the Yankee says "I vow now" eight times, "Swamp it!" twice, "I swear" once. "'Nation" (tarnation, damnation) is used in both plays. "Gor!", "Dang it all!", "Smite my timbers!", "You don't say so!", and "By the living jingo!" do not appear in the Irish play, nor do "tarnal," "a power of," "chockful," "that 'ere," and "expect" and "count" (suppose)—all colloquialisms which the Bostonian Tyler used in setting off his countryman.

Atkinson is not behind Tyler, however, in the liberal employment of colonial sayings and rustic figures of speech. Compare: "my love burning like a *hickery* fire,"⁷ "thou'st got the wrong end of the *sparrowgrass*," "as the squirrels do nuts," "stand here like a stuck pig without squeaking," "like a flock of lambs before a Hessian,"⁸ "as brisk and sweet as bottled spruce," "as tart as *sour grout*," "the charm of a rattlesnake," "all Cherokee to me," from *A Match for a Widow*, with: "what the dog's need of all this outlandish lingo?" "at the end of my tether," "what the rattle makes you so tarnation glum?" "as thick as mustard," "fire-hot angry," "maple-log seize it!" "she sticks in my gizzard," etc., of *The Contrast*. Equal care is taken to give each of the Yankees a small supply of homely Puritan phrases, such as "vile serpent," which they both use, and "wicked, or given to Belzebub" (*M for W*) and "cards and dice the devil's device; and the play-house the shop where the devil hangs out the vanities of the world, upon the tenterhooks of temptation" (*Contrast*). In all of these verbal characterizations Atkinson shows almost as good a knowledge of Yankee singularities as Tyler himself, who, as we should expect, makes much more of them.⁹

⁶ This costume is somewhat similar to that of the traditional stage Yankee in America, especially "Yankee" Robinson's (1842).

⁷ The italicized words are so printed in the original quarto, while additional emphasis is laid upon Jonathen's words by his master's reprimand: "Peace, Sirrah!—none of your American phrases!"

⁸ Cf. in *The Contrast*: "speak like the Hessians."

⁹ Atkinson's phrase, "like an owl in an ivy bush," sounds the least American of all, just as Tyler's adjective "topping" seems unusual in the Bay State. Tyler's list of Yankee terms is much longer than Atkinson's, for the rôle is extended in the American play.

Let one brief dialogue illustrate the talk of this first stage Yankee:

Adam. And so, Mr. Jonathen, you say that your country is better than ours.

Jonathen. Aye, that it is, I swear for it—much finer, more abundant, larger and more like a world than yours—and what's better, the people ayn't half so wicked, or given to Belzebub, as you are.

Adam. Aye—how do you make that out?

Jonathen. O, you laugh at us, because we are sage and pious—Do you know, Mr. Adam, that if an unclean creature, or any wanton beast were seen to frisk it with their mates on the sabbath, *swamp me* but our *select men* would put them in pound for it.

Adam. Indeed, Mr. Jonathen—Hah, hah, hah!—

Jonathen. Aye, that they would, or clap a man in the stocks, if he offered to kiss his own wife in church time!

Adam. O, then both you and nature have a great deal of liberty, I see, in New England.

Jonathen. Aye, liberty enough—if *we know how to use it*; but we don't call a spade a spade, as you sinners do here.

Adam. No—how then?

Jonathen. No, we are more chaste in our thoughts and words, I vow now, than you vile serpents here.

Adam. Why, shou'dn't things be distinguished by their proper names, pray?

Jonathen. Yes, yes, now and then—but I think a *doodle of hay*, more decent than to call a thing a *cock of hay*, swamp me.

Adam. Aye, and bundling, an excellent screen for worse.

Jonathen. O, I have now lost all the grace and goodness dad and manny taught me (pp. 32-33).

Though the point of view is, to be sure, British (or rather, Irish), there is much in these lines that will reward comparison with the conversation of Jonathan and the amused Jessamy and Jenny in the New York play. The Yankee is represented as being quite as much an alien and heathen in the one piece as in the other, for it is through the eyes of urban New Yorkers, we remember, that the traditional Yankee came to be regarded as a comic character.

The question remains, where did Joseph Atkinson get his idea and his material for the Jonathen of *A Match for a Widow*? The fact that a version of *Yankee Doodle* is sung in each play and that the refrain of this in the Dublin performance corresponds, at least to the extent of the rime "dandy . . . handy," to the so-called authentic version of 1775 (which Tyler follows in part) suggests

this ballad as a source.¹⁰ True, the expressions "swamping," "nation," and "Jemima"—Jonathen's best efforts are spent in attempting to "bundle with the Jemmymays"¹¹—may have been garnered from it; but one doubts that *Yankee Doodle* or any other ballads satirizing the Massachusetts colonists contained enough of the idiom and local color to supply him with all of his three or four dozen touches of characterization. Moreover, no known play antedates his from which the desiderata could have been obtained. General Burgoyne, with unpleasant memories of Boston and Cambridge fresh in his mind, steered clear of colonial topics in the plays he wrote after his return. The journals, from which the landlord in *A Match for a Widow* may have culled his pun on the Battle of Brandywine, give no information of this sort. So, while Dublin and London and many a provincial town in the British Isles must have heard from veterans' tales of the ways and sayings of the "tarnal" Yankees, and may well have even harbored expatriate Americans like this one, it is a tantalizing conjecture that Captain Atkinson himself, like the hero of his opera, may have seen service abroad and invented his Jonathen from first-hand knowledge of his actual prototype, as Royall Tyler, a Yankee himself, evidently invented his from life-long familiarity.

I say "evidently," believing that the facts, if known, would credit full originality to the American playwright, since *A Match for a Widow*, though performed a year before, was not in print until a year after the opening of *The Contrast*. Still, there remains that other possibility, that during the year before this opening some word of Atkinson's innovation in Dublin may have been carried by Daly's or Colman's theatrical acquaintances to our shores and eventually to the ears of Royall Tyler—coals to Newcastle! At all events, until more is known of the origin of the stock figure who

¹⁰ *Yankee Doodle*, of course, dates from Cromwell's Protectorate (the tune from the time of Charles I) and was used in American drama as early as 1767 by Andrew Barton (Col. Thomas Forrest) in *The Disappointment*. But the version meant here is that of Edward Bangs, a Harvard undergraduate with Royall Tyler. Bangs's fifteen-stanza ballad, from which Tyler adapts four stanzas, was not printed, it seems, until 1815, though it may have circulated among British troops by word of mouth. (Cf. *Littell's Living Age*, August 10, 1861, pp. 382-384.)

¹¹ Bundling was a Yankee (also Welsh) custom not mentioned in *The Contrast* but frequently named by Atkinson's Jonathen. "Jemmymays" looks like a mispronunciation.

became virtually a craze in the American theatre before the Civil War and has remained ever since a familiar type, we may do well to qualify our praise of Tyler's novelty. The conventional statement that *The Contrast* "marked the first time that the figure of what came to be the typical Yankee was introduced upon the stage"¹² is due for radical amendment. And the credit may yet have ultimately to go to "the enemy."

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BARTRAM'S TRAVELS

The *Travels* of William Bartram was first published in Philadelphia in 1791. Two London editions followed, in 1792 and in 1794, and a Dublin edition in 1793. No other editions in English appeared until 1928, when Mark Van Doren included the book in the Macy-Masius American Bookshelf. In view of the influence of this book on some of the English Romantic poets, especially Coleridge and Wordsworth,¹ it is important to note that the London and Dublin editions were not exact reprints of the original Philadelphia edition, and that the American reprint follows the English editions. Although Mr. Van Doren does not say so, it is possible that he felt that the London edition was the right one to follow, as it was the one which Coleridge and Wordsworth had read.²

The changes which the London printers made in Bartram's text, and which the American reprint has retained, are, to be sure, of a minor nature, yet they are numerous enough and at times unconsciously unjust enough to interfere with the effect that Bartram's

¹² Vernon (p. 23), who follows Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, I, 256, and A. H. Quinn, *Representative American Plays*, pp. 45-46.

¹ See Ernest Hartly Coleridge: "Coleridge, Wordsworth, and the American Botanist William Bartram," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, Second Series, vol. XXVII; Lane Cooper: *Athenaeum*, No. 4043, April 22, 1905; *Nation*, LXXX, 152; *Dictionary of American Biography*, II, 28-29; *Methods and Aims in the Study of Literature*, 1915, pp. 110-125; J. L. Lowes: *The Road to Xanadu*, 1927, *passim*.

² The volume, dated 1794, which Coleridge and Wordsworth used is now in the possession of the Rev. G. H. B. Coleridge (*Road to Xanadu*, p. 453). The 1794 edition was an exact reprint of the first London edition of 1792.

text, unaided, produces. Bartram's exuberance of style and what Carlyle called his "wondrous kind of floundering eloquence" ³ evidently irritated the English editors, and they undertook to reduce the amount of his floundering. They recast phrases, modernized his spelling, improved his punctuation, and, occasionally, reworded a passage. The result is a more or less tamed Bartram, the Philadelphia nature enthusiast repressed and "corrected."

Perhaps because the differences in the London edition, and in the subsequent English and American reprints, are of such a minute character, they have escaped notice. The German edition, for instance, is definitely modified Bartram. Zimmerman, the translator, boldly stated that he did not approve of Bartram's "poetischen Floskeln" and that he considered it his duty to translate the book into natural prose.⁴ One typical example of his method will suffice. Where Bartram describes

The glorious sovereign of day, clothed in light refulgent, rolling on his gilded chariot, speeds to revisit the western realms. Grey pensive eve now admonishes us of gloomy night's hasty approach: I am roused by care to seek a place of secure repose, ere darkness comes on,⁵

Zimmerman states

Itzt kam der Abend heran, und erinnerte mich, einen sicheren Ruheort zu suchen.⁶

No such liberties were taken with Bartram in the English editions, yet the minor changes that were made are important enough for the editors to have acknowledged a responsibility. As an illustration, the passage quoted may serve also here. In the London edition all the verbs have been changed into the past tense: "admonishes" becomes "admonished," "am roused" becomes "was roused," and "speeds" is replaced by "hastened."⁷ The effect of this change is not in harmony with that produced by Bartram's general style, which relates his experiences as active and immediate rather than as terminated and remote.

³ *Carlyle-Emerson Correspondence*, II, 228.

⁴ *Reisen durch Nord- und Süd-Karolina, Georgien, Ost- und West-Florida, das Gebiet der Tsherokees, Krihks and Tschaktahs*. Aus dem Englischen mit Anmerkungen von E. A. W. Zimmermann. Berlin, 1793, p. 53.

⁵ *Travels*, p. 50 (Phila. ed.).

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁷ London eds., 1792 and 1794, p. 49; Van Doren ed., p. 65.

Another type of change found in the reprints consists of "straightened" phrases, a lopped-off particle here and a relative pronoun there, and a general grammatical overhauling. For example, Bartram's "the chief *being* out on a hunt . . . *who* upon information . . . *and* the fact being confirmed . . ." ⁸ becomes "the chief *was* out on a hunt . . . *and* upon information . . . the fact being confirmed. . . ." ⁹ In this case the changes result merely in a reduced "floundering." But the danger that lurks in this seemingly harmless type of change becomes apparent in such a passage as the following: Bartram wrote that the Indians "have their songs to accompany their dances, of different classes, as martial, bacchanalian and amorous, which last . . . are extravagantly libidinous . . ." ¹⁰ The reprints state that "To accompany their dances, they have songs of different classes, as martial, bacchanalian and amorous; which last . . . are extravagantly libidinous . . ." ¹¹ It is clear that Bartram's adjectives refer to the Indian *dances*, while in the reprints they are made to refer to the Indian *songs*.

Still another type of change found in the reprints is the reduction of Bartram's scientific diction to literal English. A good illustration is a long passage in the Introduction, in which Bartram, discussing birds, refers to "the red thrush (*turdus rufus*)" and to "each nation" of birds retaining "their . . . sort of dialect . . ." The London edition, missing the generic sense of Bartram's diction, literalizes it to "red thrushes" and "each nation . . . its . . . dialect." ¹² Throughout this passage similar changes are to be found.

It is to be regretted that, presumably because of the expense involved, the Van Doren edition does not reprint the illustrations that accompanied the Philadelphia edition and were retained in the English reprints. The frontispiece of Mico Chlucco, King of the Seminoles, was of interest to Wordsworth and the "dancing crest of splendid feathers flashes again in . . . *Ruth*." ¹³ Equally regrettable is the omission of the title page of Part IV, thus cre-

⁸ Phila. ed., 447-448.

⁹ London eds., 446; Van Doren ed., 355.

¹⁰ Phila. ed., 506.

¹¹ London eds., 503-4; Van Doren ed., 396.

¹² Phila. ed., pp. xxxi-xxxii; Lond. eds., xxi; Van Doren ed., 25.

¹³ Lane Cooper, *Cambridge History of American Literature*, I, 197.

ating the impression that this part is a continuation of the narrative told in the first three parts. As a matter of fact, Bartram's journal ends with Part III; the rest is devoted exclusively to his observations on the Indians and constitutes an appendix.¹⁴

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MELVILLE AND SPENSER—A NOTE ON CRITICISM

When Herman Melville published *The Encantadas, or Enchanted Isles*¹ he began each of the ten sketches with a quotation or series of quotations presenting in poetic form the pictures that he draws in prose. Since these quotations have not been publicly identified nor has the Spenser criticism implicit in their use been pointed out, I am here attempting to do so, indicating in connection with the quotations the significant variants from the original:

Sketch I, "The Isles at Large": *The Faerie Queene*, bk II, canto xii, st. 11; st 12, lines 7-9 (variant, l. 8, "secure" for "recure"); I, ix, 33, lines 4-9.

Sketch II, "Two Sides to a Tortoise": II, xii, 23, lines 1-5; II, xii, 25, lines 6-9 (variants, l. 6, "do a man" for "did the knight"; l. 7, "at home" for "on earth"; l. 9, "these isles" for "the seas"—all for the sake of appropriateness), II, xii, 26, lines 1-3, 6, 8-9 (variants, l. 2, "there" for "these"; l. 8, "then" for "and"; l. 9, "Zethy's" for "Tethys").

Sketch III, "Rock Rodondo": II, xii, 8, lines 1-6; II, xii, 33, lines 1-4, 8-9 (variants, l. 8, "then" for "that"; l. 9, "that" for "their"); II, xii, 35, lines 6-9; II, xii, 36, lines 1-2.

Sketch IV, "A Pisgah View from the Rocks": I, x, 53, line 1; I, x, 55, line 1.

¹⁴ Two inaccuracies in the Van Doren text, due to faulty proofreading, may be noted, as where Bartram speaks of "faculties . . . *similar* to those that . . .", while the reprint speaks of "faculties . . . *familiar* to those that . . ." (Phila. ed., xx; Van Doren ed., 19). And again, Bartram speaks of the "vital principle . . . *similar* . . ." which is not the same thing as the reprint's "vital principle . . . *familiar* . . ." (Phila. ed., xxi-xxii; Van Doren, 19).

¹ In *Putnam's Monthly Magazine*, March, April, May, 1854; republished in *The Piazza Tales*, 1856. The only reprint generally available is in Mr. Raymond Weaver's edition of the *Shorter Novels of Herman Melville*, which I use.

Sketch v, "The Frigate, and Ship 'Flyaway': *Visions of the Worlds Vanitie*, stanza 9, lines 1-4.

Sketch vi, "Barrington Isle and the Buccaneers": "*Mother Hubberds Tale*, lines 134-9, 168-9 (variant, l. 135, "earth" for "world").

Sketch vii, "Charles's Isle and the Dog-King": *The Faerie Queene*, II, ix, 13, lines 1-7 (variant, l. 1, "so" for "loe"); *Mother Hubberds Tale*, lines 155-8.

Sketch viii, "Norfolk Isle and the Chola Widow": *The Faerie Queene*, II, xii, 27, lines 5-9 (variant, "woman" for "maiden"—quite necessary); a modernized adaptation of stanza two of Chatterton's "O! syngue untoe mie roundelaie."

Sketch ix, "Hood's Isle and the Hermit Oberlus": *The Faerie Queene*, I, ix, 35 (variant, l. 1, "glen" for "cave"—for appropriateness); I, ix, 36, lines 1-3 (variant, l. 2, "reads" for "was").

Sketch x, "Runaways, Castaways, Solitaires, Gravestones, etc." I, ix, 34, lines 1-4.

It will be noted that all the verses quoted, with the exception of one stanza, are from Spenser. This, it seems to me, implies an interesting and unique criticism of the picturesque values of the Elizabethan poet's work. The selections are more than conventional chapter headings or captions: they are presentations in verse of the same pictures that are sketched in prose, and the closeness of the parallel is emphasized by the fact that Melville changed several of them slightly in order that they might correspond exactly with the actual scenes.² Herman Melville was an authority on the picturesque whose literary appreciation was not directed by any formal tradition of reading, and when he chooses Spenser to illustrate the sketches drawn largely from his own observations in the South Seas, he is paying a high and sincere tribute to that poet's art. Incidentally, he also gives future readers the opportunity for paying, spontaneously, the same tribute.

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²The other variants noted are usually made for the sake of transition from one quotation to another or are obvious misreadings, in some cases perhaps not on the part of Melville. My checks are based on the Oxford Spenser, and I know nothing of the text used by Melville.

A NOTE ON *THE AUTOCRAT*, III AND IV

In the sixth paragraph of the third chapter of *The Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table*, which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* for January 1858, Holmes wrote:

. . . which accidental sound, as all must have noticed, has the instantaneous effect that the cutting of the yellow hair by Proserpina had upon infelix Dido.

His error passed unnoticed until the next month, when he corrected it. In the third paragraph of the fourth chapter, he remarks:

Another privilege of talking is to misquote.—Of course it wasn't Proserpina that actually cut the yellow hair,—but *Iris*. (As I have since told you) it was the former lady's regular business, but Dido had, used herself ungenteelly, and Madame d'Enfer stood firm on the point of etiquette. So the bathycolpian Here—Juno, in Latin—sent down *Iris* instead . . .

Modern readers are somewhat confused by this last paragraph, because the error of the first has been silently corrected (perhaps by Holmes himself) in the "official" text. This was probably done when the essays appeared first in book form; in every edition of *The Autocrat* which I have been able to examine (including the standard edition published by Houghton, Mifflin), "*Iris*" stands in the place of "*Proserpina*" in the third chapter. One may infer that the parenthesis in the second passage refers to an imaginary conversation the Autocrat had with the boarders, as it does not refer to anything printed between the two passages.

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DID CHAUCER KNOW CATULLUS?

In the *House of Fame*, among other notable figures, Chaucer sees standing

on a pileer
That was of tinned yren cleer
That Latin poet, dan Virgile,
That bore up hath a longe whyle
The fame of Pius Eneas.
And next him on a pileer was,
Of coper, Venus clerk, Ovide,

(ll. 1480-1847)

and these are closely attended by Lucan and Claudian. Catullus and Horace are conspicuously absent, and, indeed, Chaucer maintains everywhere complete silence regarding these poets. Since both of them had much to offer the English writer, it is not surprising that attempts have been made to show that he was acquainted with them in some degree. These efforts, made perhaps in the hope of increasing somehow the glory of Chaucer, have led their proponents into the error of unwittingly minimizing the qualities of these two great lyricists; for no satisfactory explanation can be offered to show why Chaucer did not use Catullus and Horace extensively, if he knew them at all.¹

The first suggestion of an influence of Catullus on Chaucer which has come to my attention is that of Professor Karl P. Harrington to the effect that the epithet describing the sparrow in the *Parlement of Foules* (l. 351),

‘The sparwe, Venus sone,’

might be traced to Catullus.² If this were so, the ghost of Lesbia’s sparrow which has nested in the bosoms of I know not how many lovely maids would thus begin its long flight through English literature somewhat inconspicuously, but very early. It is possible that Chaucer knew of the tradition which traces through Moschus regarding the love of Cupid for such haunts, and that the toyings in various poems celebrating the pet which Catullus made fashionable could have suggested the epithet to his nimble wit; but it is more probable that Chaucer was thinking of the English sparrow’s reputation for *Venus werk*es which had become proverbial.³

The one serious attempt to demonstrate that Chaucer knew

¹ Chaucer at least knew of Catullus from the praise given him by Jean de Meun and Ovid. The name appears in his works once, in his translation of Boethius, Book III, Prose iv: “And therof comth it that I have right grete desdeyn, that dignitees ben yeven ofte to wikked men; for which thing Catullus cleped a *Consul* of Rome, that *highte* Nonius, ‘postum’ or ‘boch’; as who seyth, he cleped him a *congregacioun* of *vices* in his brest, as a *postum* is ful of *corupcioun*, al were this Nonius set in a chayre of dignitee.” See Skeat, II, 59. Chaucer’s glossing here, as italicized by Skeat, indicates no further knowledge of Catullus than is present in the unglossed text.

² *Catullus and his Influence*, Boston, 1923, p. 142.

³ Cf. *Canterbury Tales*, Prologue, l. 626.

Catullus has been made by Professor E. F. Shannon, who devotes a short chapter of his admirable *Chaucer and the Roman Poets*⁴ to the influence of *Peleus and Thetis* (Carmen LXIV) on the *House of Fame* and the *Legend of Ariadne*. In all, he finds three passages which, he believes, exhibit a certain acquaintance with the story of Ariadne as set forth by Catullus.

One of these passages represents Theseus as a young man:

And yong, but of a twenty yeer and three. (L. G. W. l. 2075.)

As Dr. Shannon remarks, Catullus makes two references to the youth of Theseus:

immemor at iuvenis fugiens pellit vada remis
(*Carmina*, lxi, l. 58)
Namque ferunt olim, classi cum moenia divae
Inquentem gnatum ventis concederet Aegeus,
talìa complexum iuveni mandata dedisse.
(l. 212-214)

But are not all lovers and adventurers young in Chaucer? The fact that Theseus was unmarried would imply his youth. Moreover, we do not need to refer to Catullus here, since the description of Theseus in the Italian version of the *Heroides* by Ceffi⁵ as 'figliuolo' of the Duke of Athens might have suggested the age of the hero to Chaucer.

Yet another passage, according to Dr. Shannon, represents an insertion of a partial translation or adaptation of Ariadne's complaint into the history of Dido and Aeneas in the *House of Fame* (ll. 269-285):

Lo, how a woman doth amis
To love him that unknownen is!

⁴ *Chaucer and the Roman Poets*, Cambridge, Mass., 1929, pp. 364-370.

⁵ Dr. Shannon did not know of this translation, of course. It was suggested as a source to me by Sanford Brown Meech's 'Chaucer and an Italian Translation of the *Heroides*,' in *PMLA.*, xlv, March 1930, a study which demonstrates Chaucer's general indebtedness to Filippo Ceffi. The text I have used is *Volgarizzamento Delle Pistole D'Ovidio* Testo Del Buon Secolo Della Lingua citato Dagli Accademici Della Crusca, Firenze Presso Angiola Garinei MDCCCXIX. See page 29. Except for the fact which Mr. Meech has made clear, that Ceffi provides a more certain source than Boccaccio's *De Genealogia Deorum* for Chaucer's knowledge of the death of Aegeus, in no way does he amplify or alter the text of Ovid to account for the two important passages presented by Dr. Shannon.

For by Crist, lo! thus hit fareth;
 Hit is not al gold that glareth.
 For, also brouke I wel myn heed,
 Ther may be under godliheed
 Kevered many a shrewed vyce;
 Therfor be no wight so nyce
 To take a love only for chere,
 For speche, or for frendly manere;
 For this shal every woman finde
 That som man, of his pure kinde,
 Wol shewen outward the faireste
 Til he have caught that what him leste;
 And thanne wol he causes finde,
 And swere how that she is unkinde,
 Or fals, or prevy, or double was.

The resemblance of this passage to a part of Ariadne's complaint is indeed striking; and Dr. Shannon further substantiates his case by saying that no such single passage developing the general idea of men as gay deceivers is to be found in the *Heroides*:

But it is noteworthy that in the *Heroides* . . . Ovid makes the heroines, with one apparent exception, emphasize merely the unfaithfulness of the heroes to them individually.⁶

The Epistle of Helen to Paris, which furnishes Dr. Shannon with his one exception, has other passages which help to throw light on the problem. I shall not quote here the several lines bearing upon Paris's goodness in form and the vice underneath his pleasing appearance, a convention variously repeated in Ovid, in Boccaccio, and in many others,⁷ for in the following verses we have more pertinent material:

Certus in hospitibus non est amor; errat, ut ipsi,
 cumque nihil speres firmitus esse, fuit.
 Hypsipyle testis, testis Minoia virgo est,
 in non exhibitis utraque lusa toris.

⁶ The exception cited by Dr. Shannon is a brief generality:

sed quia credulitas damno solet esse puellis,
 verbaque dicuntur vestra carere fide (*Her.* xvii, 39-40)

⁷ See *Heroides*, xvii, 179-184, on the effect of Paris's beauty and cajolery. Dr. Shannon cites Catullus, lxiv, 139-142; but these lines, which have an almost exact parallel in *Her.*, ii, 31-35, are not developed in the Chaucer passage. Cf. Boccaccio, *Fiametta*, Firenze, 1829, Cap. v, p. 78; Cap. vi, p. 132.

tu quoque dilectam multos, infide, per annos
 diceris Oenonen destituisse tuam
 nec tamen ipse negas; et nobis omnia de te
 quaerere, si nescis, maxima cura fuit.
 Adde, quod, ut cupias constans in amore manere,
 non potes. expediunt iam tua vela Phryges;
 dum loqueris mecum, dum nox sperata paratur,
 qui ferat in patriam iam tibi ventus erit.
 cursibus in mediis novitatis plena relinques
 gaudia; cum ventis noster abibit amor.
 An sequar, ut suades, laudataque Pergama visam
 pronurus et magni Laumedontis ero?

.
 quid Priamus de me, Priami quid sentiet uxor,
 totque tui fratres Dardanidesque nurus?
 tu quoque, qui poteris fore me sperare fidelem,
 et non exemplis anxius esse tuis?
 quicumque Iliacos intraverit advena portus,
 is tibi solliciti causa timoris erit.
 ipse mihi quotiens iratus "adultera!" dices,
 Oblitus nostro crimen inesse tuium!
 delicti fies idem reprehensor et auctor.

(*Heroides*, xvii, 191-219)

At first sight, on account of its prolixity, this passage is not so inviting a parallel to the comparatively terse Chaucer as the portion of the yet chaster Catullan complaint selected by Dr. Shannon:

Iam, iam nulla viro iuranti femina credat.
 Nulla viri speret sermones esse fideles;
 Tuis dum aliquid cupiens animus praegestit apisci,
 Nil metuunt iurare, nihil promittere parcunt:
 Sed simul ac cupidæ mentis satiata libidost,
 Dicta nihil metuere, nihil periuria curant. (lxiv, 143-148)

But on careful examination, one finds curious likenesses between Chaucer and Ovid which are somewhat closer than those between Chaucer and Catullus. First of all, one observes that Chaucer himself says that woman does amiss to love him that is *unknownen*, that is, *a stranger*, an idea which has its counterpart in several lines in the Epistle of Helen to Paris and which specifically opens the passage I have just quoted from Ovid.

Ovid then proceeds to offer definite examples of perjury on the part of guests or strangers, from which Chaucer might easily draw his generality, which is similar in idea, but not in form, to

that of Catullus. After Helen has cited these examples, she remarks further that Paris will abandon his joys in midcourse and desert her. These lines offer a concrete basis from which Chaucer could derive his generalization,

‘Til he have caught that what him leste,’

if such a basis were necessary. But the lines following differ from Catullus in thought as well as in form. Catullus observes that as soon as the passion of *any man* is satisfied, he neither respects his promises, nor cares for his false oaths.

Sed simul ac cupidae mentis satiata libidost,
Dicta nihil metuere, nihil periuria curant.

Chaucer says that when *some man* has ‘caught what him leste,’

. . . thanne wol he causes finde,
Ad swere how that she is unkinde,
Or fals, or prevy, or double was.

When we turn to Ovid, in the concluding lines of the excerpt given above, we find this thought: What will happen (as a result of my granting your wish)? You will judge me by your own example; you will suspect every stranger:

ipse mihi quotiens iratus “adultera!” dices,
Oblitus nostro crimen inesse tuum!
delicti fies idem reprehensor et auctor.

In my opinion, these more concrete lines of Ovid more adequately express the thought and help to suggest the very words of Chaucer, than the words of Catullus, which imply no reproach to the deserted maiden and which display no sophistry on the part of the false lover.

The three lines following the passage of Chaucer under discussion are also of interest, although omitted by Dr. Shannon:

And this seye I by Eneas
And Dido and her nyce lest
That loved al to sone a *gest*.

Here we have, reiterated, the idea that woman does amiss to love a stranger, an idea which Chaucer seems to bear in mind even as Ovid had instructed him in it. To conceive of Chaucer as employing such familiar material offers less difficulty than to imagine

him as utilizing a passage from Catullus's *Ariadne's Lament* in an Aeneas and Dido episode and neglecting to use the same very appropriate matter in his own *Legend of Ariadne*.

Thus it would seem that every element of the Chaucer passage is either present in Ovid or strongly suggested by him; and the verbal resemblance of the line,

Til he have caught that what him leste

to Catullus's

Tuis dum aliquid cupiens animus praegestit apisci,

cannot be regarded as significant, especially since this thought is expressed in one of Chaucer's favorite poems, *Roman de la Rose*:

Toutesvois fins Amour le faignent;
Mais par Amour aymer ne daignent,
Et se gabbent ainsi des Dames,
Et leurs promettent corps et ames;
Ils jurent mensonges et fables,
A ceulx qu'ils ayent leurs delitz euz.* (ll. 4995-4501)

The third and final resemblance remarked by Dr. Shannon is more arresting, namely that Ovid does not even hint that the death of Aegeus was sent upon Theseus as retribution for his desertion of Ariadne, and that Catullus alone of all authors who have written on the Ariadne legend could have furnished Chaucer with the motive of vengeance implied in the introduction of the *Legend of Ariadne*:

Juge infernal, Minos, of Crete king,
Now cometh thy lot, now comestow on the ring;
Nat for thy sake only wryte I this storie,
But for to clepe agein unto memorie
Of Theseus the grete untrouthe of love;
For which the goddes of the heven above
Ben wrothe and wreche han take for thy sinne.
(ll. 1886-1892)

* This passage is translated almost literally in the non-Chaucerian Fragment B. It will be observed that every essential element of the Catullan passage quoted by Dr. Shannon is included in this parallel. The author of these lines might have known Catullus; he speaks familiarly of him in connection with Tibullus, Gallus, and Ovid (*Roman de la Rose*, 11090-97).

But a problem of textual interpretation is involved here at the outset. Obviously Dr. Shannon reads the last two lines just quoted as applying specifically to Theseus. If this interpretation is right, we are faced with an almost inexplicable confusion in the text.⁹

It has been suggested to me by Professor G. L. Kittredge that the punishment of Minos, not that of Theseus, is referred to in the phrase,

'and wreche han take for thy sinne.'

This glossing harmonizes with the opening lines and the history of Minos immediately following. Reduced to prose, the passage would read:

Judge of the infernal regions, Minos, King of Crete, now your lot comes, now you come in the ring; I write this story not only for your sake, but also to call back to memory Theseus's great untruth of love; for which (i.e., for untruth in love) the gods are (ever) angry, and have taken vengeance (on you, Minos,) for your sin. Be red for shame! I now begin your life.

Then follows a recapitulation of the promised life of Minos,¹⁰ which presents him in the rôle of one who has been guilty of an 'untrouthe' in love; Scylla enabled him to win Alcathe, just as Ariadne was to help Theseus:

But wikkedly he quitte her kindenesse,
And let her drenche in sorowe and distresse,
Nere that the goddes had of her pite. (ll. 1918-1920)

* If we accept Dr. Shannon's interpretation at this point, certain difficulties in addition to textual confusion arise. As Dr. Shannon shows (p. 368-9), the vengeance motive is dramatically developed in Catullus. Chaucer, on the other hand, apparently loses sight of it in the progress of his narrative. We are told, it is true, that Theseus stole away from Ariadne, sailed home,

A twenty devil way the wind him dryve
And fond his fader drenched in the see.

But the rest of the story is concerned only with Ariadne's lament. In Catullus we have a sense of satisfaction, a feeling that Theseus has paid for his perfidy. There is no such implication in Chaucer. Instead, he concludes with the hope that Theseus may be punished:

The devil him quyte his whyle!

Though Chaucer was aware (see *House of Fame*, 439-446) of Theseus's fate in Tartarus (see *Aeneid*, VI, 612-618), he has made no use of this knowledge here.

¹⁰ Skeat notes that this is taken from Ovid, *Met.* VIII, 6-176.

But that tale was too long for Chaucer, since he was largely concerned with the story of Ariadne. It was his custom to summarize such stories in his introductions; this particular one made his readers familiar with the background of the Minotaur story and offered an interesting analogue to the "untrouthe" of Theseus.

Once this interpretation is understood, all suggestion of Catullan influence disappears; and the subsequent history of Minos, which was familiar to Chaucer, would warrant his conclusion that the gods had taken vengeance on the Cretan king.

If we turn elsewhere in Chaucer, we find an extreme paucity of suggestions of even indirect Catullan influence. It is hardly significant that he employs the celebrated Vine-and-Elm figure, for although Catullus has unquestionably led many poets to use this simile, and although he has stamped it as peculiarly his own by his felicity in its use, the possible available sources from which Chaucer could have drawn his image are too numerous to warrant ascribing it to Catullus unless the phrasing of Chaucer should unmistakably suggest that of Catullus. This is, however, not the case; and the work of others may be suggested as furnishing the probable origin of the figure as it occurs in *Troilus and Criseyde*.¹¹

However much we might like to believe that Chaucer had read Catullus, since Chaucer mentions him nowhere, and since no passages in his work may be traced beyond peradventure to the *Carmina*, we must conclude that he never knew the great pre-Augustan lyricist.

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¹¹ Book III, 1229-32:

And as aboute a tree, with many a twiste,
Bitrent and wryth the sote wode-binde,
Gan eche of hem in armes other winde

Cf. Claudian, *Pescennina*, XIV, 18-20:

Tam iunctis manibus nectite vincula
Quam frondens hederâ stringitur aesculus.

Also, cf. Ovid, II *Amores*, xvi, 41-42.

CHARACTERIZATION IN THE "KNIGHT'S TALE"

In a valuable article in *Studies in Philology* xxvi (1929), 375-85, Professor Hulbert observed that some of Chaucer's changes in condensing the *Teseide* into the "Knight's Tale" were not altogether "improvements," particularly in raising Palamon to a parity with Arcite, as co-heroes, and in suppressing the individual traits of Emilia; and he very properly insisted that Chaucer had altered the whole drift of the story material. To this Mr. C. D. Baker replied in *Modern Language Notes* xlv (1930), 460-62 that Chaucer made a definite distinction between the two heroes, at least as regards "their motives and attitudes towards love," so as to show clearly that Palamon was more worthy than Arcite of Emily's love. But the point is perhaps not entirely well taken.¹ If Chaucer has weakened such characterization as Boccaccio gave his principal figures, he has compensated by emphasizing the necessitarian element of the story and has very obviously made the plot more important than the characters. It is idle to look for any marked differentiation between Palamon and Arcite. They, as much as Emily, are lay figures of a highly picturesque and amusing game. Palamon knee deep in his bitter tears (1279 f.), the heroes fighting ankle deep in their own blood (1660), Theseus with his light persiflage about the God of Love (1785 ff.), the terrible pictures of Lycurgus and Emetreus, the innuendos in describing Emily's worship (2281 ff.)—not to mention such stylistic details as in 2294, 2568, 2760, 2810 ff.—all suggest that Chaucer, while making the most of the decorative possibilities of the story, did not regard his subject too seriously. And the conclusion fairly glows with the heat-lightning (as Lowell has it) of Chaucer's humor.²

¹ There is no need to answer Mr. Baker point by point; by a careful reading of the "Tale" anyone will easily find charges of omission and commission against him.

² Years pass, after the burial rites of Arcite, before the lovers are united. Theseus, now much older and become something of a Polonius (as is but natural in the son of Egeus), makes a long formal speech, reminding us (infelicitously!) that Arcite was fortunate in dying young, while he still had his good name, adverting to the long arm of Necessity which had guided the action of the story, and finally urging Emily to accept Palamon (whose uncle is a king, pardee: 3084) on grounds of mercy if

In such a treatment as Chaucer gave the story genuine characterization would be out of place.³ The simple distinction of Arcite's as earthly and Palamon's as heavenly love (1155 ff.) is a neat tentative, but Chaucer lays no stress upon it. It is not supported by Palamon's prayer to Venus at the outset, in which he asks pointedly for an heir (1108 ff.), or by his desiring Emily for a wife (1486), or by his preference for possession of Emily rather than victory in the tournament (2242 f., 2247), and it is explicitly contradicted by his vow to make war on chastity (2236). Nor, on the other hand, is Arcite as the passionate lover, suffering from the Malady of Hereos, eager to win Emily by force since she is really indifferent to him, entirely consistent with the humble Philostrate or with the dying Arcite, who forgives, and joins the hands of his lady and his rival. Moreover, one would expect, in strict consistency, the burly black-haired Lycurgus to be the friend and follower of Mars' knight, and Emetreus, the young blond, with a white eagle on his wrist, to be with Palamon, the heavenly lover and Venus' knight.⁴ But no: Chaucer's concern is less with the figures, which are a convenience or ornament of the plot, than with the background of courtly-love tradition and its trappings, or with

not of abstract right (3089). 'And at length was made between them the bond which is called matrimony or marriage'—Professor Hulbert noted a certain coarseness in the "Tale," which may be explained as a kind of humor; and Professor Tatlock, with proper caution, noted a "tone of levity" and satire. We should feel no difficulty, it seems to me, in accepting the presence of a pervasive humor in the "Tale," though it may necessitate some correction of the usual statements regarding Chaucer's assigning it to the Knight. But even this will do no harm if it sends us back to look for the possible smile behind his description of the worthy and perfect knight himself.

³ In truth, one may question whether he was capable of handling character in the Shakespearean sense of "action issuing from character or . . . character issuing in action." Perhaps some of our difficulty in interpreting the *Troilus* may be due to a misapprehension on this score.

⁴ Professor Curry's contention that Lycurgus is a Saturnian and Emetreus a Martian figure is only partially convincing. Some of the descriptive details fit the statements of the astrological authorities (who, as usual, are a little vague and contradictory) and some do not. Palamon is a follower of Venus, not of Saturn, and Saturn, furthermore, is in the awkward position of being at the same time maleficent by nature and favorable to Venus on this occasion. It is simpler to regard the extended descriptions of these two doughties as bright splashes of color.

the special web of circumstances woven by destiny—and these he takes with a certain air of jocosity. The *knot* of the story is an “interesting situation”: two lovers lay claim to an indifferent lady; the decision is left, according to chivalric custom, to a trial by tournament; and the outcome of the tournament is left, according to the ways of our common mortality, to the gods. Yet the winning warrior loses the lady, and the lover who was shrewd enough to pray to Venus is ultimately successful. Are we merely “modern,” or are we critically disrespectful, if we attribute to Chaucer sufficient intelligence to see something slightly comic in this?

Chaucer was no doubt a serious and in many ways a very great artist, but I fancy our efforts to explain his work would only amuse him, particularly when we overlook his lightness and when we run to super-subtlety.

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JOCK OF HAZELDEAN AND CHILD 293 E

For the past hundred years, editors of Scott's poems have dismissed the source of *Jock of Hazeldean* with the general statement: “The first stanza of this ballad is ancient. The others were written for Mr. Campbell's *Albyn's Anthology*.”¹ Child, interested in the problem from another angle, was more explicit, and stated: “Upon this traditional stanza [Child 293 E, stanza 1] was built Scott's ‘Jock of Hazeldean’.”² The recent publication, however, of Virginia J variant of Child 293³ seems to make dubious both of the foregoing statements.

One of ten texts that “seem to be the only traditional copies of this ballad to be printed in America,” Virginia J, is the solitary variant that is particularly close to any Child version.⁴ Stanza one of Child E, of Virginia J, and of *Jock of Hazeldean*, except for

¹ *The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott*, Philadelphia, 1880, p. 890. All other editions of Scott that I have been able to examine make similar statements.

² *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (ed. F. J. Child), London, 1898, v, 160. The 1857 edition is likewise in agreement.

³ *Traditional Ballads of Virginia* (ed. E. K. Davis, Jr.), Cambridge, Mass., 1929, p. 536.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 529.

unimportant variations of spelling and of one personal pronoun, differs only in the name of the hero. The second stanzas, however, are strikingly dissimilar: the details of Child *E* suggest various stanzas of other versions of Child 293;⁵ but, although some variations of spelling and diction occur, and lines three and four are entirely different, Virginia *J* is parallel in content to stanza three of *Jock of Hazeldean*, and resembles no other stanza found in Child or in Virginia versions.

Virginia <i>J</i> .	Scott
"A chain of gold ye shall not lack, Nor braid to bind your hair, Nor trusty steed nor silken plaid, And all that ladies wear. And ye the fairest of them all Shall ride a fairie queen" But a' she loot the tears come down For Jock o' Hazelgreen.	'A chain of gold ye sall not lack, Nor braid to bind your hair; Nor mettled hound, nor managed hawk, Nor palfrey fresh and fair; And you, the foremost of them a', Shall ride our forest queen.'— But aye she loot the tears down fa' For Jock of Hazeldean.

A special relationship, therefore, seems to exist between Virginia *J* and *Jock of Hazeldean*, and any genealogy of versions must take this relationship into account.⁶

One must suppose, therefore, that either Virginia *J* is derived from Scott and entered popular balladry from literary sources, or that Scott wrote less of *Jock of Hazeldean* than is usually thought. Although the "semi-Scottish language"⁷ and the popularity of Scott in nineteenth century Virginia suggest the possibility of a literary origin for this version, yet the designation of the hero as Jock of Hazelgreen and the existence of only two stanzas argue against such a hypothesis. Campbell's *Albyn's Anthology*,⁸ in which *Jock of Hazeldean* first appeared, attributed the entire poem to Scott; four years later, Scott stated that the first stanza was

⁵ Cf., Child 293, A, 3; B, 2; C, 2; D, 5; and Virginia A, 4; C, 2; D, 4; E, 4; G, 4; H, 2.

⁶ Concerning this likeness, Davis (*op. cit.*, p. 529) remarks that "The first stanza of all three is practically identical, but the beginning of the second Virginia stanza is more like the beginning of Scott's third stanza than like the traditional second stanza." He seems, nevertheless, to accept Child's statement.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 529.

⁸ 1816, I, 18.

popular balladry and that he wrote the remaining three.⁹ Is it not possible that Scott, annotating the poem at least four years after its composition, had forgotten just how much of it he took from popular sources? If such be the case, Child and the editors of Scott were misled in assuming that *Jock of Hazeldean* derived only one stanza from popular balladry; and in the composition of his poem, Scott used some other version nearer to Virginia J than to Child E.

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THE TEXT OF THOMAS RANDOLPH'S POEMS

A curious fatality seems to be associated with the works of Thomas Randolph. Editor after editor, since W. C. Hazlitt's wretched edition of his plays and poems, fails to reproduce his text correctly. Professor Parry's edition of *The Poems and Amyntas*, a work which has been praised by no less a Randolph authority than Professor G. C. Moore Smith, is not a whit better—in fact, it is worse—than Hazlitt's. That the recent, beautifully printed *Poems of Thomas Randolph*, issued by Etchells & Macdonald and edited by Mr. Thorn-Drury, is no more accurate than Hazlitt's, even though the editor's labors have been highly praised by reviewers, will be apparent from the following list of errata.¹

Page (P) 9, line (l) 19: *little* for *litle*—P. 10, l. 11: *Jona* for *Joan*—l. 16: *praise*; for *praise*:—P. 13, l. 12: *these* for *those*—l. 23: '*Thad* for '*Thad*—l. 31: *Poem*, for *Poem*.—P. 17, l. 34: *exorcement*; for *exorcement*:—P. 19, l. 33: *when as* for *whenas*—l. 36: *blown* for *blowne*—P. 20, l. 31: *them*, for *them*:—P. 28, l. 8: *possess* for *possesse*—P. 32, l. 7: *Crawl* for *Crawle*—l. 19: *but* for *But*—P. 33, l. 1: *husbandry*, for *husbandry*.—l. 7: *Nymph* for *Nymph*—P. 36, l. 9: '*twere* for '*twere*—P. 38, l. 33: *before*, for *before*.—P. 39, l. 35: *deity* for *Diety*—P. 40, l. 9: *again* for *again*—P. 43, l. 1: *Joy* for *Joy*.—P. 44, l. 28: *round* for *round*.—P. 49, l. 10: *Apples*, for *Apples*—P. 50, l. 4: *flocks* for *flocks*—P. 51, l. 9: *owns* for *own*—P. 52, l. 2: *beef* for *bee*—l. 18: *Trojan* for *Troian*—P. 53,

⁹ *Miscellaneous Poems*, Edinburgh, 1820.

¹ It is with pleasure that I acknowledge myself under obligation to Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach for the privilege of using his copy of the first edition of Randolph's *Poems and Amyntas*. Let me add, too, that copies of the first quarto may vary among themselves.

l. 12: *here* for *here*.—P. 55, l. 24: *The Ivy*, for *The, Ivy*—P. 59, l. 13: *known* for *known*.—P. 60, l. 9. *know* for *know*.—P. 61, l. 1: *Do* for *Doe*—l. 9: *opresse* for *opresse*.—l. penult.: *a sunne* for *sunne*—P. 62, l. 28: *many*, for *many*.—P. 64, l. 8: *face*, for *face*.—l. 25: *stand*; for *stand*—P. 65, l. 17: *beggar* for *begger*—l. 28: *care*, for *care*.—P. 66, l. 1: *wed* for *wed*.—l. 2: *bed*, for *bed*.—P. 67, heading: *ἄπιστος* for *ἄπιστος*—l. 23: *Are* for *are*—P. 68: *Erra Pater* for *Erra-Pater*—P. 69, l. 25: *anger*, for *anger*.—P. 70, l. 29: *thus* for *thus*.—P. 71, l. 12: *Brother*, for *Brother*.—l. 13: *And* for *But*—l. 22: *heart*. for *heart*.—P. 72, l. 11: *seen* for *seene*—l. 26: *heat*; for *heat*.—l. 30: *what 'tis*, for *what, 'tis*—P. 73, l. 18: *care*, for *care*.—l. 19: *love* for *Love*—l. 33: *get* for *get*.—P. 76, l. 27: *pandar* for *pandar*.—P. 77, l. 22: *not*; for *not*.—l. 30: *sings* for *sings*.—P. 78, l. 17: *wholsome* for *wholesome*—l. 25: *whos'* for *who's—doe*; for *doe*.—l. 28: *Maria*, for *Maria*.—P. 79, l. 14: *primitwe* [quarto = *prim'twe*]—P. 80, l. 14. *day*, for *day*.—l. 24: *hay*, for *hay*.—P. 81, l. 12: *store*, for *store*.—l. 22: *desure*. for *desire*.—l. 29: *ducke* for *Bucke*—P. 82, l. 4: *health*, for *health*.—l. 14: *'Cause* for *Cause*—P. 83, l. 9: *She* for *Shee*—l. 11: *Twes* for *'Twes*—l. 26: *'Cause* for *Cause*—l. 29: *'Twere* for *'Twer*—P. 85, l. 2: *seems* for *seemes*—l. ult.: *Is't* for *I'st*—P. 86, l. 16: *Temptation*. for *Temptation!*—l. 19: *He* for *Hee*—P. 89, l. 18: *line* for *line*.—P. 91, l. 17: *bee*: for *bee*.—l. 19: *walls* for *wals*—P. 92, l. 21: *sonne* for *Sonne*—P. 95, l. 21: *devotion* for *devotion*.—P. 96, l. 1: *o're cast* for *o'recast*—l. 24: *Orbe*, for *Orbe*.—P. 100, l. 23: *none*; for *none*.—P. 101, l. 16: *hue* for *hewe*—P. 102, l. 8: *pastures* for *pasture*; [sic]—P. 104, l. 4: *home!* for *home!*—l. 23: *selve* for *sefe*—P. 106, l. 9: *Tit* for *Tyt*—l. 26: *grain* for *grain*.—P. 107, l. 17: *Damon*, for *Damon*—l. 22: *Fames* for *Flames*—P. 108, l. 29: *Tityrus* for *Tytirus*—P. 109, l. 11: *Tit* for *Tyt*—P. 110, l. 6: *smell*: for *smell*?—l. 14: *Venomous* for *Venemous*—P. 111, l. 26: *nurse* for *Nurse*—l. 27: *neat* for *Newt—bears*, for *bears*.—P. 113, l. 30: *along* for *a long*—l. 32: *eggs* for *egges*—P. 114, l. 24: *dead* for *dead*.—P. 115, l. 14: *Is't* for *I'st*—P. 117, l. 3: *Born* for *Borne*—l. 14: *coy* for *coy*.—l. 15: *namour'd* for *inam our'd*—P. 118, l. 2: *ne'er* for *ne're*—P. 122, l. 6: *Jove* for *Love*—P. 123, l. 21: *afarre* for *a farre*—P. 124, l. 2: *tantis* for *tant is*—l. 3: *cera* for *cer a*—P. 127, l. 27: *come* for *come*.—P. 129, l. 6: *thirsts* for *Thirsts*—l. 11: *meant* for *meant*.—l. 23: *please* for *please*.—l. 25: *to give* for *to gw e*—P. 130, l. 4: *I'th* for *I'th*.

The poems added in the edition of 1640 I have not collated. Of the other poems published in Mr. Thorn-Drury's book, based upon manuscript sources, I have collated only a few, and even in these—though Mr. Thorn-Drury has had the valuable assistance of Professor Smith and of Mr. Percy Simpson—there occur textual errors. These are as follows:

P. 147, l. 14: *at* for *att*—P. 148, l. 1: *Let* for *Lett—tyme* for *time*—P. 151, title: *nuptias* for *Nuptias*—l. 25: *verse* for *verse*.—P. 152, l. 1: *When* for *When*.—l. 4: *tis . . . when* for *tis, . . . when*.—l. 6: *griefes*

for greifes—l. ult.: *Whether* for *Whither*—P. 153, l. 11: *beauteous* for *beuteous*—l. 13: *yield* for *yeild*—heading: *Bridegroom* for *Bridegroome*.—l. 18: *narrow* for *narroue*—l. 22: *shame* for *clame*—P. 154, l. 8: *hither too* for *hithertoo*—l. 9: *ffar* for *ffarr*—l. 10: *Bryde* for *Bride*—l. 11: *thee* for *thee*:—l. 17: *sunge* for *singe*.—P. 158, l. 1: *peice* for *peice*,—l. 2: *eye* for *eye*—l. 9: *wee* for *wee*,—l. 11: *painters* for *painter's*—l. 12: *never never* for *never, never*—l. 14: *gowne* for *gowne*,—l. 18: *wrapt* for *reapt*²—l. 20: *mightst* for *mighst*—l. 23: *eye* for *eye*—l. 25: *lppes* for *lipps*—P. 163, heading: *Time* for *Time*:—l. 3: *crime* for *Orime*—l. 4: *And justly . . . Tme* for *and Justly . . . tme*—l. 5: *stay* for *stay*—l. 6: *With swallows* for *with Swallowes*—l. 7: *But . . . greife* for *but . . . greife*—l. 8: *Then thou . . . snail . . . creepe* for *thou then*³ . . . *Snaile . . . Creepe*—l. 10: *mistresse* for *mistrisse*—l. 11: *sand . . . houre glasse* for *Sand . . . houre glasse*—l. 12: *And . . . clocks* for *and . . . Clocks*—l. 13: *Score . . . every* for *score . . . Euery*—l. 15: *Learn . . . change* for *Learne . . . Change*—l. 16: *As fixed, . . . soe . . . blest, for as fiat . . . Soe . . . blest*—l. 18: *Grow . . . we* for *grow . . . wee*—l. 19: *Without . . . spirits . . . she* for *without . . . Spirits . . . shee*—l. 20: *In . . . slack* for *in . . . slacke*—l. 21: *half . . . ivy* for *halfe . . . Ivye*—l. 22: *The . . . vine* for *the . . . Vine*—l. 23: *and* for *&*—l. 24: *Doe . . . sitt* for *doe . . . Sitt*—l. 25: *As* for *as*—P. 168, title: *Amicam* for *amicam*—l. 1: *wrong* for *wrong*,—l. 2: *young, for young*—l. 3: *rose* for *rose*,—l. 7: *soft . . . sweet* for *soft, . . . sweet*,—l. 8: *Proclaim* for *Proclaime*—use for *vse*—l. 10: *allowed . . . toy* for *allow'd . . . toy*—l. 11: *lose* for *loose*—P. 168, l. 14: *others bloud* for *others. bloud*,—l. 15: *Wealth* for *Wealth*—*worldings* for *wordlings*—l. 19: *Beauties* for *Beautie's*—l. 22: *are:* for *are*,—l. 23: *For* for *For*.—P. 169, l. 1: *Indians* for *Indian's*—l. 10: *Outward* for *Outward*,—l. 12: *stollne* for *stollne*,—l. 16: *eye* for *eye*,—l. 18: *reard* for *reard*,—l. 19: *the . . . grape, for ye . . . grape*—l. 20: *shape; for shape*,—l. 26: *the . . . rose; for ye . . . rose*,—l. 28: *stocking* for *stockins*,—P. 170, l. 2: *passe, for passe*—l. 3: *lasse?* for *lasse*.—l. 4: *Sr, for Sr*[.]

Professor Smith, in his "Warton lecture on English poetry," transcribes several poems which he assigns to Randolph and which neither Mr. Thorn-Drury nor Dr. Parry include in their books. Professor Smith's transcripts contain the following errors in the poems which I have collated:

P. 41, l. 10: *thou* for *then*—P. 45, l. 5 (of the poem): *doctrines* for *doctrine* (the *s* is deleted)—l. 17: *then* for *than*[.]

² It is remarkable, to say the least, that Professor Smith too misread ("rapt") this very plainly written word. How Mr. Thorn-Drury, with the manuscript before him, converted Mr. Smith's "rapt" into the meaningless "wrapt" is a mystery.

³ Professor Smith too reads, inexcusably, "Then thou."

A few of Mr. Parry's worst errors in transcribing poems existing in manuscript form may be listed:

P. 214, l. 7: *sad* for *poore*—P. 215, l. 6: *your* for *of your*—l. 8: *your* for *your own*—P. 216, l. 3: *worldings* for *wordlings*—l. 9: *those* for *these*—l. 16: *Indians* for *Indian's*—P. 217, l. 2: *outwit* or *pose* for *outvie our pore*—l. 10: *youths* for *youth*—l. 25: *would* for *will*—P. 218, l. 12: *Ranne* for *Runne*—l. 16: *stocking* for *stockins*—l. 22: *Drawing* for *leaving*—P. 220, l. 18: *that* for *ye*—l. 24: *Samples* for *Simple*—l. 27: *lime* for *limē* [*i. e.*, *limn*]—P. 221, l. 31: *haws* for *haire*—P. 224, after line 6, the following verses are omitted: "*Thy cherry cheekes red, soft, & sweet, / Proclaime such fruit for vse is meet.*"—P. 231, l. 3: *Oh* for *Old*—l. 5: *poenstat* for *poenitent*—l. 4: *Nunvee* for *Ninivee*—l. 13: *your* for *yeir* [= *their*]—l. 17: *chering* & for *cke in ye*—P. 232, l. 22: *soe* for *too*—l. 23: *then* for *yu* [= *you*]—l. 26: *smites* for *permites*—l. 31: *Chasse* for *chaste*—l. 32: *to the* for *to yr* [= *to their*]—l. 33: *Beershops* for *Boonstrops*—l. 34: *Anthlins* for *Antilins*.]

His errors in *Amyntas* are too numerous to be listed here.

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JOHN MANNINGHAM AND DONNE'S PARADOXES

When John Bruce edited the *Diary*, or rather commonplace book, of John Manningham of the Middle Temple for the Camden Society in 1868 no one was much interested in John Donne's prose works, and the fact was overlooked that Manningham had devoted the greater part of one page, at least, to selections from Donne's paradoxes. Manningham mentions Donne only once in the *Diary*, a punning reference to his being "undonne" by his marriage,¹ which occurs under the date, December, 1602. On the fifteenth of the following February (1602 O. S.) he copied on both sides of folio 101 (pp. 134-135) excerpts from four paradoxes. The word *Paradox*, which appears before the first of these, probably indicates the heading of the manuscript from which they were derived.

The first consists of the first sentence of Donne's "That Women Ought to Paint," of a passage selected from near the middle, and of the last sentence. As it stands in the *Diary* it reads:

¹ P. 99.

Paradox. That paynting is lawefull. Fowlenes is loathesome; can it be soe that helpes it? What thou lovest most in hir face is colour, and this painting gives that; but thou hatest it, not because it is, but because thou knowest it is. Foole, whom ignorance only maketh happie Love hir whoe shewes greate love to the by taking this paynes to seeme lovely to thee.

The third consists of three passages from Donne's "That a Wise Man is Known by Much Laughing."

Laughinge is the greatest signe of wisdom. *Ride, si sapis, O puella, ride* Yf thou be wise laugh, for sith the powers of discourse and reason and laughinge be equally proper to only man, why shall not he be most wise that hath most use of laughing, as well as he that hath most use of reasoning and discoursing? I have seene men laugh soe long and soe earnestly that they have wept at last, because they could weepe [laugh?] noe more. Laugh at a foolish gallant; soe shall he be knowne a man, because he laughs; a wise man, for he knowes what he laughs at, and valiant, that he dares laugh.

"Laugh at a foolish gallant" stands in the place of a longer passage in Donne's paradox as it was published. Otherwise there are no important deviations in the selections from either of these two paradoxes. Some of the minor variations support readings in the O'Flaherty, the Stephens, and the Norton manuscripts,² but Manningham's text does not agree consistently with any one of them.

Between the two selections quoted above the following appears:

Hee that weepeth is most wise. Wee come first unwitting, weeping and crying, into a world of woe, and shall wee not weepe and cry when wee knowe it?

The Reason of Reasons was seene divers tymes to weepe, but never to laugh.

Art thou a synner? Wilt thou repent? Weepe. Art thou poore? Wouldst thou be relieved? Weepe. Hast thou broken the lawes of thy prince? Hast thou deserued death? Wouldst thou be pittied? Wouldst thou liue? Weepe. Hast thou injured thy friend? Wilt thou be reconciled? Weepe.

This does not correspond to any extant paradox by Donne, but its position between fragments of two paradoxes known to be Donne's is very good evidence that he was the author. The style, the economic and striking phraseology of the first paragraph, and the suggestion of double *entendre* in the last, are confirmatory. The fact that the thesis is antithetical to Donne's "That a Wise Man

² In the Harvard College Library.

is Known by Much Laughing" is emphatically not evidence that "Hee that weepeth is most wise" is not by Donne. To defend both sides of an assertion, especially if, as in this case, either absolute position is absurd, is in accordance with the spirit of paradoxical writing, and analogies can be cited in the work of the Italian wits whom the English writers followed.

Manningham, of course, did not copy all of the paradox in defence of weeping which he had before him. What he has preserved for us is, even more obviously than in the case of the selections from the two extant paradoxes, a group of excerpts, probably three in number.

The three selections which I have quoted occupy all of the recto of folio 101.³ Manningham then turned to the reverse side of the sheet, and copied, under the same date, February 15, 1602 (O. S.), the following:

To keepe sheepe, the best lyfe. The Lyfe of Man was soe affected to this lyfe, that he denyed not to crowne his deity with this title: and by this he directed his especiall charge to his especiall disciple: giving us men this best name of a beast, of the best nature of beastes. They are innocent, they are patient, soe would God have man; they love and live together, soe would God have man. God made thee to behold the Heaven, and to meditate the wonders thereof; make thyselfe a shepheard, and thou art still beholding, still meditating. God commaundes thee to forsake the world: yf thou art a shepheard thou dost soe, thou withdrawest thyselfe from the world. The private lyfe is the sweetest lyfe; yf thou livest the lyfe of a shepheard, thou livest the sweetest private Wilt thou be a king? Be a shepheard, thou hast subjects, thou hast obedient subjects, thou hast sheepe, thou hast a scepter, thou hast a crooke; thy fold is thy counsell chamber, and the greene field thy flourishing pallace. Thy companions are the sunne, the moone, and the stars, of whom thou makest continuall use, and from the viue of their lights receyvest thy counsell and advise. Thou art more happie then other kings, thou art freed from hate and soe from feare, thou reignest quietly, and rulest securely; thou hast but one enemy, and thou hast an enemy for that enemy, the dog and wolf. He that was Gods second best beloved was a shepheard and a king; yf thou art a shepheard thou art a king, thou art happie, nay thou art most happie, thou art a happie king, thy subiectes living onely to lengthen thy life, and to shorten their owne, &c.

Manningham apparently cut this short arbitrarily when he reached the bottom of his page; and the first sentence, unlike the

³ I base this assertion on the amount of space which was required to print other full pages of the manuscript.

first sentences of the other three selections, does not seem to be the beginning of the paradox. For, while it was not at all uncommon for writers of paradoxes to invoke divine authority, I have found no case in which it was done in the opening of the argument. Furthermore, "this lyfe" seems to require an antecedent.

Manningham must have copied this from the same manuscript which contained the other three paradoxes,⁴ and there is no evidence that the manuscript contained paradoxes by anyone but Donne. The only possible argument against Donne's authorship must rest on the general character and style of the fragment, and, while I admit that the much shorter selection from "He that weepeth is most wise" contains more that is characteristic of Donne, there is nothing in "To keepe sheepe, the best lyfe" which Donne could not have written. The extremely short periods are like Donne's;⁵ and, although there is less than we might expect to force us to be on the alert for double *entendre*, it is obvious that the praise of the life of a shepherd is being made the vehicle for covert hits at several things, much in Donne's manner. We do not know how much Manningham omitted, nor whether the fragment consists of one, or several passages from the original. To some extent, at least, the omissions obscure the nature of the paradox. It is unfortunate that Manningham did not see fit to spare more of his paper, for it is possible, if not probable, that he had before him a paradox by Donne which was somewhat different from those which have been preserved.

Any scrap of Donne's writing is interesting, and we can safely attribute, at least "He that weepeth is most wise" to him. The fragment is sufficient to give us a very good idea of the general substance of the lost paradox. The fact that its thesis is contrary to the thesis of another of his paradoxes is of some importance, for it indicates how much we must be on our guard when we attempt to deduce his opinions from his work in this genre. Of more importance, the Manningham material constitutes our earliest

⁴ The fact that the entry is not a complete paradox, a series of notes, nor a beginning, precludes the possibility that Manningham, himself, was the author. Furthermore, he did not use his commonplace book for original literary effort.

⁵ It has been suggested to me that "Thou hast but one enimie," etc., especially, has the ring of Donne's style.

dated reference to any of the paradoxes,⁶ and shows that a manuscript, containing material which has not been found, was in circulation early in 1603.

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BLACKMORE'S PORTRAYAL OF SPENSER

A unique reference to Spenser, which seems to have escaped previous notice, occurs in Sir Richard Blackmore's epic, *Eliza*.¹ Spenser is here represented as taking part in a magnificent celebration honoring the victory over the Armada. Blackmore pictures him in the rôle of minstrel to entertain the guests assembled in the palace at a splendid banquet which came as the climax to a day of pomp and festivity. Spenser's song is the high moment of the evening. The music which preceded it was pleasing to the guests, but Spenser's narrative stirred them to even greater delight:

Yet all with more transporting Pleasure heard
Spenser the fam'd, unrival'd *English* Bard,
Who with a tuneful, and Seraphick Tongue,
Thus in a lofty Stile began his noble Song.

Book VIII, p 205.

Spenser's "tuneful and Seraphick Tongue" did not, however, sing the congenial theme of Elizabeth's praise or the glory to the English of the conquest of the Armada. Unsuitably arrayed in Miltonic conceptions, the mellifluous Spenser is made to begin his song with an account of Satan's revolt in heaven and the final great combat between Satan and Michael:

Angels and Arms he sung, Coelestial Fight,
And dire commotion in the Realms of Light.

He told of the fall of Satan and his hosts to hell and of Satan's consequent career of evil on earth, where he devised many schemes to destroy the righteous. He dwelt upon Satan's instigation of war

⁶ The letter in which Donne mentions his paradoxes (See *Complete Poetry and Selected Prose*, ed. John Hayward, Nonesuch Press, 1929, pp. 440-441) may have been written in 1600, but the date is purely conjectural.

¹ First edition, London, 1705.

and how he met defeat with the destruction of Pharaoh in the Red Sea and again with the overthrow of the Canaanites in the "fatal tide" of Kishon:

The wondrous Bard proceeding chose to sing
The wars of *Deborah*, and proud *Caanan's* King;
And next to hers, the mighty *Barak's* Fame,
Did in Sublime, Enthusiastick Verse,
Hers and her valiant Gen'ral's Deeds rehearse:
The Wonders by their Arms near *Kishon* done

Book VIII, p. 209.

Though we know that religious verse was not foreign to Spenser's muse, such narratives as the above at first seem a strange choice for the celebration of the defeat of the Armada. A study of Blackmore's other epics, however, enables one to see the significance of the association of the vanquishing of Satan and his followers with this defeat. The victory over Spain meant the overpowering of the forces of Catholicism, which always to Blackmore meant the forces of Satan. As is the case with the earlier epics, *Prince Arthur* and *King Arthur*, the story is an allegorical account of Protestantism versus Catholicism. Elizabeth is celebrated as the "Defender of the Faith:"

Who zealous pure Religion to defend,
Did to the *Belgick* Shore her Cohorts send,
To save reform'd *Batavia*, and restrain
The persecuting Rage of superstitious *Spain*.

Book I, p. 1.

Satan realized that "Mine with the *Spanish* Empire must decline" (p. 258) and was stirred to greater anger with Elizabeth than he had been when her restoration of Protestantism in England had caused him to lose the territory which had become his resort from the fatiguing climate of hell. Much disgruntled, he called a council. A monstrous fury, Bigotry, devised a plan not only to force Elizabeth to withdraw her troops from Holland, but also to restore England to Satan: she will persuade Philip to invade Britain. Disguised as Loyola, Bigotry had little difficulty in carrying out this plan. She added to the original scheme by stirring up a plot in England to dethrone Elizabeth at the time of the approach of the Armada. But Satan was not pitted against Elizabeth alone, for God and the angels were on the side of Protestantism.

Gabriel was appointed the "watchful Prefect" of England and kept God informed as to the progress of events. The failure of the Armada and the consequent failure of the plot against Elizabeth were, therefore, inevitable.

Elizabeth was rewarded for her true "religion" by being escorted for a visit to heaven by Gabriel in his chariot. After seeing the celestial wonders, including "General Michael's" review of the heavenly troops, she was entertained on the homeward journey through the spheres by an account of the succession to the English throne. Here again Blackmore placed the emphasis upon Protestantism, and pointed out that it was because of Elizabeth's stand against Catholicism and her assistance to Holland that England would be granted in the Prince of Orange a deliverer against a "son of Rome":

A Lover of Mankind, and publick Good,
At Heav'n's Command will from *Batavia* come,
To guard Britannia from insulting *Rome*.

Book VIII, p. 218.

Finally, that there might be no doubt as to the meaning of his allegory, Blackmore portrayed a marvelous spectacle in the clouds. From a cloud in the south there came a monster, symbolizing Spain and Catholicism, part dragon, part wolf, and part tiger:

The Terror had the Neck, and Head, and Eyes
Of an Old Dragon of prodigious Size.
His horrid Mouth O'er-flow'd with Blood and Gore,
And on his Head a treble crown he wore.

Book X, p. 277.

From an opposing cloud in the north there appeared two noble lions, symbolizing England and Belgium, which attacked and overcame this beast in spite of its terror. It was thus that the "Red Dragon of Rome" met defeat at the hands of Protestantism.

Throughout the epic, as we have seen, Blackmore made it evident that he intended Catholicism to be identified with Satan. It is not, therefore, so far-fetched as one is at first inclined to think to find the story of some of Satan's earlier defeats sung at this celebration of his latest overthrow. Nor was the theme wholly foreign to Spenser. In the *Faerie Queene* Spenser had sung in his own person the vanquishing of the dragon by religion in the person of

St. George and the defeat of Archimago, whom he identified with Satan and also with Catholicism and Spain.

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TWO ARTICLES ATTRIBUTED TO CARLYLE

In the *Times Literary Supplement* (London) of January 20, 1927, Mr. J. A. S. Barrett has expressed the opinion that two articles in the first volume of *Fraser's Magazine* are to be ascribed to Carlyle. Since on the basis of Mr. Barrett's decision both articles have been included in Mr. Dyer's bibliography of Carlyle, the question of their authenticity becomes important. The first article, "Dominie's Legacy: Fashionable Novels," came out in April, 1830, and the second, "Mr. Edward Lytton Bulwer's Novels, and Remarks on Novel Writing," appeared two months later.

A few years before Mr. Barrett called attention to these articles I had pointed out¹ two Fraser articles which may be considered Carlyle's: one a review of Allan Cunningham's *Maid of Elvar*, July, 1832, and the other a review of the same author's *Life of Burns*, April, 1834. At that time I spoke of the possibility that other articles in the magazine might also be Carlyle's, but explained that proof of their authenticity was difficult because the work of John Abraham Heraud in *Fraser's* at times echoes that of Carlyle with a closeness which renders ordinary evidence invalid.

The detailed study of *Fraser's Magazine* during its first decade with which I have for some years been occupied reveals that while Carlyle transcended the periodical which contains so much of his early work, like all authors, even the greatest, he was in far closer contact with his literary environment than can be realized without examination. Words, turns of expression, even the impetuous sentence, which are looked upon as characteristic of Carlyle, had frequent currency throughout the magazine. Furthermore, many of the allusions, as well as the aversions and preferences which have become associated with the great Victorian, were earlier distinctive of the entire periodical during the 1830's. Thus the presence in any given article of Carlylean expressions such as the five or six

¹ *PMLA.*, September, 1924.

Mr. Barrett has selected as examples from the "Dominie's Legacy" and "Remarks on Novel Writing" has comparatively little significance as evidence of authenticity. *Gullibility* and *auto-biography*, for instance, which are included in Mr. Barrett's short list are both used within the first few volumes of the magazine in other articles besides those in question.² The phrases also, *mechanical age* and *Utilitarianism shall upset and destroy existing institutions*, which with entire justification he points to as characteristic of Carlyle, pertain with even greater accuracy to the magazine as a whole, whose attack on the materialism of the Utilitarians was as pronounced in the 1830's as Carlyle's own was later to become in the 1840's.³

In like manner references to Kant, Fichte, Reid, Goethe, Schelling, Locke, Stewart, Milton, and Dryden, also noted by Mr. Barrett, are by no means confined to Carlyle's writing.⁴ Several of the other Fraserians were warm admirers of Milton, were interested in philosophy, and especially in the spread of Germanism in England. Moreover, from the point of view of Carlylean authorship the subject matter of the philosophical passages in the "Remarks on Novel Writing" raises the gravest doubts.

One of Mr. Barrett's arguments in support of his opinion is that Carlyle in a letter to Napier, January 20, 1831, mentioned an earlier proposal to write on the novels of Bulwer Lytton. The letter reads: "I once proposed to Mr. Jeffrey to make a sort of sally on Fashionable Novels. . . . The Pelham and Devereux manufacture ought to be wiped out."⁵ Mr. Barrett also notes that *Sartor Resartus* contains a reference to "Remarks on Novel Writing"⁶ and that its hero Teufelsdröckh quotes in condensed form one of the article's citations from Bulwer's *Pelham*.⁷ This bit of evidence, like the rest which Mr. Barrett gives, would be more convincing were it not that Carlyle's work at this period was chiefly coming out in *Fraser's* and contained various allusions to the magazine's *bêtes noires*. As in the case of Utilitarianism,

² *Fraser's*, II, 162, c. 1; III, 199, c. 2; III, 713, c. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 5, 303-08, 636-42.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 60, c. 2 f.; I, 595, c. 1; II, 394, c. 1; V, 590 ff.; V, 22 f.; I, 273, c. 1; 588; II, 84 f.

⁵ *Shepherd's Life of Carlyle*, I, 80.

⁶ *Fraser's*, X, 186, c. 1 f.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 517, c. 2 f.

Fraser's at this time was starting its prolonged and ferocious onslaught against the so-called fashionable novels, and Bulwer Lytton, as their chief perpetrator, was made the object of some scores of attacks.⁸ That *Sartor Resartus*, which came out in *Fraser's* of 1833-34, referred to one of the better known *Fraser* articles would not, therefore, necessarily imply a Carlylean authorship of that article.

For his last piece of evidence Mr. Barrett mentions six examples of parallelism between "Remarks on Novel Writing" and Carlyle's *Memoirs of the Life of Scott*. The parallelism, however, is of phrase only, and, with one possible exception, does not involve subject matter. In fact, there is no similarity of subject matter or point of view between the two essays. The possible exception reads: "Germany had its buff-belted, watch-tower period in literature and had even got done with it before Scott began."⁹ The corresponding passage in "Remarks on Novel Writing" reads: "The German romance has died already in its birthplace; it yet survives in England."¹⁰ It would seem more probable that the sentence in *Scott* goes back to the discussion of the decline of sensational German romance found in Carlyle's *State of German Literature* rather than to the passing reference in "Remarks on Novel Writing," especially since *Scott* contains a denunciation of Kotzebue,¹¹ who is not mentioned in the "Remarks." The other phrases which the two essays have in common are neither unusual nor very close. The analogy, for instance, of Gray's sofa and also that of writing by steam are both found in other *Fraser* articles for which there is no possibility of Carlyle authorship.¹²

There are, however, other reasons for discrediting the essays. Had Carlyle been going to write two of the magazine's attacks on Bulwer it is difficult to believe that he would have produced the type of work which is represented by the "Dominie's Legacy" and "Remarks on Novel Writing." The first contains not only the denunciation of Bulwer already referred to but a long and flattering critique of a novel by Andrew Picken, who was one of the minor

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 695 f.; I, 751; III, 195-204; III, 713-10; V, 107-13, 125.

⁹ Carlyle's *Sir Walter Scott*, Houghton Mifflin edition, 1881, IV, 221.

¹⁰ *Fraser's*, I, 520, c. 1.

¹¹ Carlyle's *Sir Walter Scott*, IV, 198.

¹² *Fraser's*, XIII, 713, c. 2; XV, 45, c. 1; XV, 46, c. 2.

story tellers of the day, an occasional contributor to *Fraser's*, and a good friend of Maginn and the more convivial members of the staff. This critique is a perfunctory affair of the scissors and paste sort which is not easily connected with Carlyle. Equally hard to associate with him is the long and dull rehearsal of Bulwer's disagreeable plot found in the second essay, "Remarks on Novel Writing." Whatever Carlyle's sins might be, mechanical reproduction was not among them.

Furthermore, individual sentences in the articles are out of keeping. Carlyle even much later during his most irascible period did not indulge to any extent in objectionable personalities. At no time, and certainly not as early as 1830, would he have been likely to write that the puffing of Bulwer Lytton's novels proved, "that which Dr. Eady has already proved by his syphilitic cures, and Dr. Jordan by his newly contrived pills, and Dr. Courtenay by his Aegis of Life, and Dr. Thomson by his Balm of Rakasuri, and old bone-grubbing Cobbet by his mountebank lectures, and Thomas Babington Macaulay by his philosophical articles in the '*sapphire and blue*,'—viz. the extreme gullibility of mankind."¹³ The insult here not only to Cobbet but to the *Edinburgh Review* and Macaulay is indefensibly wanton.

Moreover, praise of Coleridge, for whom Carlyle had such well-known and openly expressed scorn, makes the authenticity of the articles even more dubious. Not only is a long quotation from Coleridge included;¹⁴ we are confronted by the strange statement: "The fact is, Reid had an indistinct perception of a system of philosophy which has since been perfected by Kant and Schelling in Germany and by Stewart and Coleridge in England."¹⁵ Equally improbable as evidence for Carlyle is the sentence in regard to the contemporary poets: "the race-course is over-run with them, and, with one exception, perhaps, among the new racers (we allude to the author of the *Descent into Hell*) there is not a man of genius among them."¹⁶ The *Descent into Hell* was a long and stodgy poem written by John Abraham Heraud in whose feeble work Carlyle would hardly have found genius.

A final reason for deciding against the authenticity of the essays is that they are linked altogether too closely with the work of

¹³ *Ibid.*, I, 528, c. 1.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 520, c. 2 f.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 513, c. 1.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 510, c. 1.

William Maginn and his lighter cohort of writers to be from the hand of a person outside the more intimate coterie of the Fraserians. The "Dominie's Legacy," which appeared in the third number of the magazine, begins with a terse list of the staff's prime enemies in which is included not only persons whom they have already victimized but also those against whom they are to level subsequent missiles. Even had Carlyle chosen to write a passage replete with insult to some of his more prominent contemporaries, he would not have had the information necessary to direct his selection so prophetically. The passage, moreover, is immediately followed by a scathing exposure of the practices of the London publishers Colburn and Bentley, whom Carlyle does not mention in his acknowledged work but whom Maginn and his aids persistently attack.¹⁷

It is also to be noted that the "Dominie's Legacy" contains allusions to authors unfamiliar to the pen of Carlyle, such as Rabelais, Sheridan, Sterne, Molière, and Congreve,¹⁸ all of whom are frequently referred to in Maginn's work. Moreover in "Remarks on Novel Writing" the name Goethe is spelled *Göthe*, the orthography used by Maginn, Heraud, and various other Fraserians in the first volumes of the magazine. In all of Carlyle's acknowledged contributions to these same volumes the spelling is *Goethe*.

Further evidence for attributing the articles to Maginn is the statement in "Remarks on Novel Writing" that Bulwer created the character of the Scotch tutor MacGrawler in order "to take his revenge of *Blackwood's Magazine and of ourselves*, because we have honestly expressed our several opinions—that Mr. Lytton Bulwer is no novelist."¹⁹ The *ourselves* here stands for Maginn, upon whose name and character the word MacGrawler was obviously intended to play. That the writer was correct in his surmise may be judged from a passage in the *New Monthly Magazine*, published by Colburn and Bentley, which ends with the threat that at a future time the author will "devote a few pages to the unburrowing of some half-dozen of these vermine—the Mactoddies and Macgrawlers of Mr. Fraser's foetid magazine."²⁰ Bulwer and

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 568, c. 2; I, 696 ff.; II, 242; III, 98-101; IV, 9.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 321, c. 2; I, 322, c. 2; I, 324, c. 2.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 526, c. 2.

²⁰ *New Monthly Magazine*, XXXII, 577.

his defender in the *New Monthly Magazine* at least would appear to have had no doubt as to the authorship of the *Fraser* attacks on "Fashionable Novels."

An even more significant point is that the second essay, "Remarks on Novel Writing," is signed Ned Culpepper. If Carlyle, therefore, is to be considered the author of the "Remarks" of June, 1830, he must in addition be accredited with a long political article, "Place-men, Parliament-men, Penny-a-liners, and Parliamentary Reporters," of October, 1830, which is also signed Ned Culpepper. There is no instance in the magazine of a pseudonym serving two authors who are not collaborating. Yet "Place-men" is a detailed and biting analysis of the various political leaders of the day including Goulburn, Mackintosh, Huskisson, Hume, and O'Connell, as well as of various issues in which they were involved. When we remember that the date of this scurrilous onslaught is 1830, years before Carlyle's own interest was to shift from transcendental philosophy to practical affairs, there remains no possibility of confounding him with Ned Culpepper or of assigning to him articles which bear the undeniable hall-mark of *Fraser's* "hoary libeler," as Dan O'Connell jovially dubbed William Maginn. In conclusion, it may be mentioned that in a description of one of the magazine's staff dinners,²¹ Ned Culpepper is made to sing a song quizzing Cyrus Reading, who as one of the chief writers for Colburn and Bentley's *New Monthly Magazine* was an old butt of William Maginn, but would have received scant attention from Thomas Carlyle.

In conclusion, it is only just to say that Mr. Barrett has collected in support of his opinion far more evidence than is ordinarily required as proof of identification. The fact, however, that the essays in question came out in *Fraser's* gives unusual opportunities for checking his evidence by other material in the magazine. According to this test it is impossible to add either the "Dominie's Legacy" or "Remarks on Novel Writing" to the bibliography of Carlyle.

MIRIAM M. THRALL

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²¹ "Symposiac the First," in the issue of November, 1830.

REVIEWS

An Introduction to Edwin Arlington Robinson. By CHARLES CESTRE. New York: Macmillan, 1930. Pp. vii + 230. \$1.75.

This book is in substance the formal Continental recognition and Olympian welcome of the most distinguished living writer of poetry in the American language. The opinions of Professor Cestre are obviously those of all of us who have acclaimed every forward step of Robinson in his long slow conquest of the imagination of American readers. The people in the United States who do not read Robinson, read no poetry at all, and I have yet to meet the poetry reader who challenges his place. There is a haunting cadence in Kipling's "The Light That Failed":

Drawbridge, let fall,
He's the Lord of us all,
The Dreamer whose dream came true.

This quotation fits the author of "Tristram." Full of honors, at the top of his powers, Robinson deserves the laurels of this eager European book, and all other praises from readers, after his long years of writing. We watched, as it were, the patient poet composing by candle-light in an attic at Tilbury Town. At last there is electric light on him, and it is high time.

Along with this book I have been re-reading all of O. Henry while waiting in ferocious, over-dramatic Union Stations, from Kansas to Connecticut, and while riding in steel-structure uniform Pullman Cars, from world's end to world's end. Both men have been a solace in the awful din. Both men are desperately consecrated and all-conquering artists in their contrasted books. O. Henry writes in the *United States Language* as used in the years 1867 to 1910. Robinson writes in the *American Language*—a much more slowly changing thing, but slowly absorbing the other; writes in the *American Language* as spoken from 1869, till now. The jabber of the merry young men around Romeo before he spied Juliet, of all Falstaff's crew, is to be found in O. Henry, sometimes phrase for phrase. The speech of Romeo and Juliet after glory came upon them, of King Henry after he was crowned and therefore repudiated Falstaff,—often cadence for cadence, sometimes phrase for phrase,—is in Robinson. But either stream of language has been bundled and tumbled up into something that sounds as though it came from West of the Atlantic, it is so limbered and varied by conversation. Robinson is discovered by Europe. O. Henry is too. And Robinson is as eagerly discovered as a new wild man, in the Latinized-Parisian-French-British-Language of

Charles Cestre, as is O. Henry in the British edition of his one hundred best short stories in the *O-so-London-Punch-preface* by Sapper. In London or in Paris, when we are read, we are discovered to be writing the American or the United States Language. Therefore astonishment, polite, or restrained by too emphatic denial.

But there is a parallel as well as a comparison in these two books. For instance: in "A Municipal Report" and "The Furnished Room" (both especially cited in the British Preface to O. Henry for great laurels) we have an astounding similarity in the literary goal of these two literary workers. Richard Corey's suicide by a pistol in Robinson's poem, has the same mystery and power as the young man's suicide by gas in Mrs. Purdy's rooming house, in the "Furnished Room" story. Azela Adair, otherwise Mrs. Caswell, in "A Municipal Report," is nevertheless a Robinson heroine, talks the American, not the United States Language, lives in a house in Nashville, Tennessee, as packed with mystery, long self-restraint, and god-like pain as any Robinson, New England haunted house. And the murder in the O. Henry story is a Robinson murder. In the warp and woof of the O. Henry story there is as much King Arthur and Round Table gallantry as one could wish, and from a surprising quarter. And O. Henry from end to end, being a Sidney and an old school Southerner way beneath his United States lingo, scatters his allusions to the Round Table splendors through all his works, rather than massing them in a special Arthurian Cycle in the Robinson fashion. So the parallel might be drawn on for a thousand words.

What do shop-girls mean when they say "Talk United States?" We, the citizens of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, to provide for the common defense and promote the general welfare, have ordained and established two languages, the United States Language and the American Language, for ourselves and our posterity; the one for informal, the other for formal occasions, one inherited from the Mermaid Tavern, the other from the Globe Theatre, and both of them changed, yet hereditary in style. No shop girl ever yelled at a floor-walker, "Talk American."

As to the distinguished Charles Cestre, French of the very French, who obviously has spent a bit more time in the Globe Theatre than the Mermaid Tavern, being French he is what they call pellucid in his Gallic lucidity and logic. If you do not get Robinson after reading this book, you simply do not belong; and should spend your culture-seeking days crouched before the radio, watching the jumping-speaking cartoons at the talkies, or reading a fat provincial newspaper. Cestre shows us how Robinson is subtle but clear; frank but not naughty; brave but tragic; intellectual without strain; philosophical without being too moony; penetrating and yet a gentleman; educated without being what they

call "high hat" in the funny papers; grammatical without being Latinized; solitary without being bitter; a scholar without pedantry; accustomed to New York but preferring villages with ancient orchards; giving full credit to passion in all his song yet loving that courage that is at last above the storm; believing in love but hardening his reader for its too frequent betrayal; above all a supreme novelistic over-concentrated portrait-painter of isolated male figures, yet giving to Eve her rose-leaf, her daisy chain, and her blessed comforting long tresses; and all this to be found in one stern reading of an over-educated New England poet who has gone back to the village with that supreme sigh of relief which is heard louder in the European world than the awful yell of glee with which the over-educated Osage Indian goes back to his blanket, his squaws, *his own* American Language, his stewed prairie-dog, and his live bareback broncho. (Try to make him play football once more, and see where you get. Try to read Robinson along with our magnificent Carl Sandburg, and see where you get.)

Cestre strains a little to prove there is not too much of a New England touch in Robinson. No New England touch! Robinson reads just like somebody from West Texas who has been eating cactus till irritated into Homeric song, doesn't he? Robinson reads just like a great fourth generation Viking from Minnesota, doesn't he now? Or some educated Sicilian bank vice-president from the gigantic branch of the Bank of Italy, Hollywood Boulevard, Hollywood, Los Angeles, U. S. A.? (I have stood on that corner often, dear friend, in classic Hollywood, and Dionysus often went by, but he was never the least bit in doubt. It would have been better for him perhaps if he had had a touch of hesitation in him. But even the *Educated* American-Italians do not hesitate.) Charles Cestre, you have done well, have rendered supremely logical and eminently deserved honors to a great man in the bulk of your book, but if Robinson isn't a Mayflower I have never met one. You are subtle enough to note that Robinson is subtle, but only a person with southern bloodhound blood in his veins can detect this New England footprint, trodden under by a thousand Frenchmen declaring it isn't there. This is a family matter, Sir. We can spot them every time. Does Robinson read like a fourth generation educated Iowa, German farmer? No. I know a good poet who does, and he also looks like a beautiful young slender German actor playing Hamlet. Does Robinson read like a fourth generation Irish boy whose ancestors have raised merry damnation in the democractic machine of Central Illinois from the days before Abraham Lincoln? He does not. I know a young poet like that though. He is as Irish as Donegal and as United States as the Star Spangled Banner and is going to write like an angel.

By a process of elimination, we could thus corner Robinson and drive him back to Maine. But would he stay there? He would not.

Neither would his books. All New Englanders are wonderful away from home. So likewise are the immortal letters of living-fire of New England songs. In spite of his over-advertised nuances, subtlety, implications, innuendoes, ectoplasm, twilight zones, finesse, cobweb-work, microscope scrutiny, neat realism, condensed-novelism, laboratory-work, Sherlock Holmes shudders, finger-print tracing, etc., in spite of all these, Robinson is readable, vital, passionate, and popular. I have seen half-naked and most presentable and thoroughly intellectual and healthy dancers claspings "Tristram" to breasts like those of the nymphs in the brake. In the wicked language of the O. Henry school, he "gets by." To speak with a more Confucian phrase, he is strong, salutary, and all conquering. But once I met an old, old Witch in Salem—and what she said I'll never tell.

The core of Cestre's book is a series of beautifully selected quotations arranged in that logical order so dear to the Frenchman when he is locked up in a library. Every quotation is elucidated so that a wayfaring man, though a Californian, may not err therein. Ten quotations per chapter, ample, clear, and sweet. Cestre's book is great and good, and invaluable as an introduction. But to the whole group of loyal younger poets who have read Robinson from infancy, the couplet from Flammonde will suffice:

Rarely at once will nature give
The power to be Flammonde, and live.

In some form that power has been given to every New Englander. They have educated all America, and have established the schools, the great schools, all the way to the Pacific. They have been whipped by their witches to the ends of the earth, and have turned and conquered them, and have thus become the glory of the world.

As long as the schools and the culture they have established are flourishing, Robinson will live and be read *ipse dixit, ex cathedra*, etc. Even longer. The New Englanders know how to write and speak the American language, and to prevail. But the rest of us will write, speak, and interchange that far different lingo, the *United States Language*, except at weddings, funerals, and births, and in Thanksgiving Day Proclamations. A judicious mixture or alternation of the two would make a civilized people—half Globe Theatre, half Mermaid Tavern. Heaven speed that new Elizabethan glory. Robinson splendidly prophesies that tremendous day.

VACHEL LINDSAY

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American Broadside Verse, from Imprints of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. Selected and edited, with an Introductory Note. By OLA ELIZABETH WINSLOW. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930. Pp. xxvi + 224. \$15.00.

In this volume Miss Winslow has reproduced by the zincotype process one hundred and one broadsides printed in the United States from the middle of the seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth century. A brief introduction and occasional textual notes are given for each piece, and a general introductory note is prefixed to the collection.

The study of the broadside in America—as the prefatory note remarks—has until recently been entirely neglected. The present volume is the first representative collection of its kind, and is thus a work of considerable interest to students of early American journalism. The editor has arranged her material under the appropriate headings of subject-matter, and, within these groups, in chronological order. "Funeral Verses and Memorials" provide the first section. It is significant that, of all the types of broadside-verse, the funeral elegy was the first to make its appearance, and is indicative of the serious turn of mind of the colonists. This group is followed by "Meditations upon Portentious Events," "Dying Confessions and Warnings against Crime," "War-Time Ballads and Marching Songs," "Comments on Local Incident," "Admonitions and Timely Preachments," and finally an interesting *genre* in the "New Year's Greetings" from news-boys to their patrons.

All of these categories, except the last, will be familiar to the reader of the contemporary English broadsides, and it is perhaps inevitable that a comparison should be made between the American and the English productions. It is to be expected that from the side of mechanical production the former would be less skilled and lacking in the variety of ornament and the abundance of woodcuts. In regard to the verses themselves, however, the achievement is noticeably inferior. The earliest pieces are evidently the work of new hands, amateurs at the ancient profession of turning an elegy or a news-story in a tuneable manner, interested but unpracticed imitators of professional productions. Although many of the colonists must have departed England to the pleasant strains of "A friendly invitation to a new plantation," and "Have over the water to Florida" (printed in Firth's *American Garland*), the authors of these pieces do not seem to have accompanied them. Even when the writers came to the full scope of their powers in the mid-eighteenth century, the authentic ballad-touch of the English writers seems to be lacking. It is for this reason that Miss Winslow is happy in having chosen to reproduce rather than

to reprint her collection: what is lacking in many of the verses is compensated for by the interest of the press-work and the woodcuts of the broadsides themselves.

The volume is beautifully printed and adequately edited, though a fuller account of information not easily available would have been welcome—as, for example, in the case of the murder ballads. On the other hand a few notes are perhaps unnecessary, such as those on the Biblical Dives, and the legend of the pelican.

B. M. WAGNER

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Charles Fenno Hoffman. By HOMER F. BARNES. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. Pp. viii + 362.

The name of Charles Fenno Hoffman is not widely known today, and few if any of his poems are remembered. Yet in the year of the first publication of "The Raven," Griswold—maker and marrer of poetic reputations in Poe's day—admitted to his anthology of American poetry no fewer than twenty-five of Hoffman's poems and only three of Poe's. Hoffman, to be sure, was a friend of Griswold; and Griswold, to be sure, took care of his friends, as he took care also to manhandle his enemies,—even in some instances after they had been laid in their graves. Hoffman, however, as appears from Mr. Barnes's account of him, was a very gentlemanly fellow in spite of the company he sometimes kept, a frank, and whole-hearted, and thoroughly unselfish fellow, nursing a grudge against no man, and (barring something of laziness) faithful to every responsibility committed to him.

Mr. Barnes, in this book, traces in detail the history of Hoffman's life from his early years in New York, when as a young lawyer and gentleman about town, he hob-nobbed with Washington Irving and other notables; through his various activities as editor, first, of the *Knickerbocker*, and then, in succession, of the *American Monthly*, the *New York Mirror*, the *New Yorker*, *Hewet's Excelsior*, and the *Literary World* (connections more numerous, even, than those that fell to Poe); through his labors in the New York Custom House (1841-44) and in the Consular Bureau in Washington (1849); down to his melancholy end in 1884 after spending more than thirty years in an insane asylum. Incidentally, Mr. Barnes takes account also of Hoffman's numerous friends, among whom were, besides Griswold, sundry other enemies of Poe, as Tuckerman, L. G. Clark, and Theodore Fay, but some also of Poe's friends, as R. M. Bird, Park Benjamin, and N. P. Willis; and he fills in the background of his story with a large body of literary historical information. In an appendix Dr. Barnes reproduces, in whole or in part, nearly a

hundred of Hoffman's letters, and some thirty of his poems not until now collected. The volume is liberally documented throughout, and the evidence adduced is carefully weighed and authenticated.

KILLIS CAMPBELL

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Carmen, Arsène Guillot, l'Abbé Aubain. Par PROSPER MÉRIMÉE. Texte établi et présenté par Maurice Parturier (Les Textes français). Paris: Fernand Roches, 1930. Pp. xxxv + 191. 19 fr. 50.

Notes sur Carmen. Par JEAN POMMIER. (*Bulletin de la Faculté des lettres de Strasbourg*, VIII [1929-30], 14-19, 51-57, 140-145, 209-216.)

The edition of Mérimée's *Oeuvres complètes* appearing in the convenient and carefully edited series called "Les Textes français," which began with the *Théâtre de Clara Gazul*, continues auspiciously with *Carmen*. M. Parturier's valuable introduction deals principally with the sources of the stories. Among other new results, Parturier shows (p. xvii) that Mérimée used *L'Espagne sous Ferdinand VII*, by the Marquis de Custine (1838).¹

Curiously enough, Parturier does not indicate the passage in which the most striking resemblance occurs, Custine, iv, 78 (cf. *Carmen*, ed. Parturier, pp. 6-7, or *Carmen et autres nouvelles*, published by D. C. Heath and Co., 1930, 5, l. 21-6, l. 20). After stressing the importance of water, cigars, and light in Spain, and making some remarks about Andalusian pronunciation, Custine ends:

Le culte du tabac et de l'eau est si universellement respecté dans le midi de l'Espagne, que je doute qu'un brigand, qui vient de dépouiller un malheureux, refusât le cigare à la prière de sa victime. Cet échange de petits services est devenu la vertu habituelle des Andaloux, comme l'hospitalité est celle des Arabes.

Compare Mérimée: "En Espagne, un cigare donné et reçu établit des relations d'hospitalité, comme en Orient le partage du pain et du sel." Moreover, Parturier identifies the elusive but

¹ The first two volumes of the copy of this work in the library of the Johns Hopkins University, dated 1838, are described as "troisième édition" (the third and fourth, also dated 1838, are of the "deuxième édition"), so that it would seem to have had considerable success. Mérimée's use of the work was pointed out, independently of M. Parturier, in a paper read before the Johns Hopkins Philological Society on February 20, 1930, but never published.

real soldier Chapalangarra² from the pages of J. Augustin Chaho's *Voyage en Navarre pendant l'insurrection des Basques* (1830-1835) (Paris, 1836), and suggests other use of this work. He seems also to have found the source of part of the end of *Carmen* in the story of *Le Picador et l'Alcade* in E. Magnien's *Excursions en Espagne* (1836).

In addition to these new sources, Parturier adds numerous details to those heretofore elicited as to the influence of Borrow.³ The view, however, that Mérimée took "tous les mots, tous les proverbes bohémiens" in *Carmen* from the *Zincali* (p. xxv), and that his knowledge of their language is "purement livresque" (p. xxix) is slightly exaggerated. The proverb *Sarapia sat pesquital ne punzava*, which Mérimée translated "Gale avec plaisir ne dérange pas"⁴ and added in the edition of 1847, is not found in Borrow.⁵ Borrow also seems not to mention the use of *Bari Crallisa*, "great queen," as an epithet of Maria Padilla, which Mérimée speaks of twice.⁶ As Mérimée speaks both times of a "tradition populaire" in connection with this phrase, one is inclined to wonder whether he learned it of his friend and "maître en *chipe calli*," Estébanes Calderón.⁷ It is also difficult to deny the evidence of Mérimée's letter to Gobineau of February 9, 1855, in which he speaks of *la chipe calli*, "que j'ai baragounée autrefois avec quelque succès à Madrid."⁸ It would be of interest to have details as to the influ-

² Pp. xvii, 175 (n. 1 on p. 37), ed. Heath, 33, l. 24. The vocabulary of the first printing of the Heath edition wrongly describes Chapalangarra as "imaginary." *Mea culpa*.

³ He fails to mention the point as to the "haras de Cordoue" made in the notes to the Heath ed. (p. 6, l. 32 and 28, l. 2).

⁴ Ed. Part., p. 52, n. 1; ed. Heath, p. 48, l. 15-6.

⁵ One might imagine that Mérimée learnt it from one of the Gipsies whom he met in the Vosges in 1845 or 1846 (cf. Parturier, pp. xxix-xxx). The likelihood that he did so is lessened by the fact that, as Professor Irving Brown, of Columbia University, kindly states, the passage is in Spanish Gipsy dialect. According to him, "*Sarapia* is from the word for measles, vulgarly used like our word 'itch.' *Sat* is the Romani ending *sa* (instrumental) 'with.' *Pesquital* passes for *caló* but I can't [nor can Pott, *Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien*, II (Halle, 1845), p. 371] trace the root. *Ne* is Gipsy, or what you will. *Punzava* [written *punsabar* (inf.) by Rebolledo, "*A Chipicalli*" (Granada, 1900) s. v], might possibly come from a Romani root [*pusabar*] "to prick" [Pott, *op. cit.*, I (1844), 407], modified by a similar Spanish word [*punsar*]."

⁶ *Carmen*, 71, l. 9, ed. Part., 87, l. 15, ed. Heath; *Histoire de Don Pèdre* (Paris, 1848) 120, n. 1.

⁷ On his relations with Mérimée cf. *Carmen*, éd. Dupouy (Paris, Champion, 1927), pp. xvi-xvii.

⁸ *Carmen*, éd. Dupouy, xxiii-iv; cf. also p. xxvi. Parturier (p. 175, n. 1 on p. 50), is wrong in stating that Borrow does not translate *pastésas* in *ustilar pastésas*; he renders it "with the hands" in *The Zincali*, pt. II, ch. vi (p. 274, ed. London-New York, 1923), a passage which Parturier quotes! Cf. Pott, *op. cit.*, II, 187. A philologist as distinguished and well-informed as Hugo Schuchardt found Gipsy material of value in *Carmen* (*ZrPh.* v [1880], 255, n. 1, 260, n. 2).

ence of Estébanez Calderón's *Escenas Andaluzas on Carmen* (p. xvi).

Despite the considerable mass of work that has been done by Parturier and others on *Carmen*, all of Mérimée's sources have not yet been pointed out. It does not seem to have been noted, for instance, that, as T. M. Hughes, *Revelations of Spain in 1845* (London, 1845), p. 322, states, "The most noted robber that has arisen in Andalucía, since the days of José Maria, is a man named Navarro, whose extraordinary activity has gained for him the name of the Andalucian Abd-el-Kader." Hughes then continues as far as p. 331 to tell of the exploits of this bandit, who seems to have furnished the José Navarro of *Carmen* nothing more than his last name.⁹ As to *Manon Lescaut* (p. xvi), the probability of some influence at least upon Mérimée (cf. Dupouy's notes on 77, l. 4 and 85, l. 2) will seem greater to some others than it does to Parturier.

Though Parturier deals thus chiefly with questions of literary obligations, he has several remarks of interest in other respects. Thus he suggests acutely (pp. xxi-ii) that Mérimée made Carmen a Gipsy and José a Basque because of his policy "de ne jamais dire du mal d'un pays où je dois revenir. Voilà pourquoi on m'aime tant en Espagne." His view (p. xxxiii) that "*Carmen s'affirme peu à peu comme le chef d'œuvre de Mérimée*" coincides with that expressed in the Heath edition (p. x), and may well be that of the future.

The text of Parturier, like that of the Heath edition, in essentials, is that of the edition of 1852, the last which Mérimée himself revised, a choice preferable to that of the first edition in book form (1847), followed by Dupouy. A list of variant readings of the various editions (pp. 181-90), considerably fuller than that given by Dupouy, is a valuable feature of this edition. On p. 35 the misprint *jacques* (1852) for the Spanish *jaques* should not have been followed.

There are also useful remarks on the two other stories in the volume. As regards *Arsène Guillot*, for example, Parturier gives good reasons for identifying her with Céline Cayot, a *figurante* at the Opera and a connection of Mérimée's. All in all, the new edition is a credit to M. Parturier and to M. Martino, who revised his work, and will be consulted with profit by all serious students of Mérimée.

It may be of interest in this connection to call attention to another recent study of *Carmen*, utilized by M. Parturier, and which is likely to escape the attention of American *Mériméistes*. It is M. Jean Pommier's *Notes sur Carmen*. Among other matters

⁹ This fact has been mentioned in the Heath edition (note on p. 12, l. 32), but without indication of source.

of interest, M. Pommier calls attention (p. 216, n.) to the fact that Mérimée published in the *Revue archéologique* (June, 1844) an article in which he referred to the problem of the location of Munda, so that the "mémoire que je publierai prochainement" mentioned on the first page of *Carmen*, had already appeared, in some sense. In this article Mérimée quotes the *Diccionario geográfico-histórico de la España antigua* of Miguel Cortés y López, which states (III [Madrid, 1836], 207):

Mirando al norte de Montilla hay una llanura cruzada por un riachuelo que trae su origen de la sierra de Cabra; los naturales le llaman Cachena. Esta llanura se hace pantanosa en tiempos de lluvias, y casi intransitable, como yo la experimenté este invierno.

M. Pommier correctly sees in this passage the source of Mérimée's "plaine de Cachena,"¹⁰ but he fails to notice that *Cachena* was an error on the part of Cortés y López' informant, who was not a native of the region, for *Carchena*, a stream which "riega las huertas ['irrigated lands'] tituladas de Carchena,"¹¹ so that Mérimée's reference to the "partie élevée" (*loc. cit.*) of the plain is likewise inexact.

M. Pommier is probably in error, however, in thinking (*loc. cit.*) that Mérimée mentions the "excellente bibliothèque du duc d'Osuna" at the beginning of *Carmen* only because Cortés y López speaks of the town of Osuna in connection with Munda, or because Mérimée himself had traveled in Andalusia (see Pommier, p. 52). Since the library in question was not located in Osuna but in Madrid, it is much more likely that Mérimée heard of it during one of his visits to Madrid, and probable enough that he worked there during his stay in Madrid in 1840.¹² As information about this library, which no longer exists, is not too easy to find, it may be worth while to state that it was established in Madrid in 1786,¹³ that it was purchased by the Spanish government in 1884, and its books divided among the National Library and other institutions,¹⁴ and that a striking pen-picture of its last days in 1876 is to be found in Morel-Fatio's *Études sur l'Espagne*.¹⁵

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¹⁰ Ed. Parturier, p. 4; ed. Heath, p. 3, l. 24.

¹¹ Madoz, *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de España*, v (Madrid, 1840), s. v. *Carchena*. The vocabulary of the Heath edition (first printing) inaccurately describes *Cachena* as "imaginary."

¹² See Trahard, *Prosper Mérimée de 1834 à 1853* (Paris, 1928), 210.

¹³ *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, cix (Madrid, 1894), 465.

¹⁴ Mario Schiff, *La Bibliothèque du Marquis de Santillane (Bibl. de l'École des hautes études*, t. 153; Paris, 1905), p. xi. M. Alfred Jeanroy called my attention to this work.

¹⁵ II (Paris, 1890), vii-x. The note about the library in the Heath *Carmen* (p. 133) gives no references to sources.

Studies in the Literature of Natural Science. By JULIAN M. DRACHMAN. New York Macmillan, 1930. Pp. xii + 487. \$4.00.

It is difficult to know just what point of view to take toward Julian Drachman's *Studies*; for the author's precise attitude toward his subject, in the book as a whole, is itself none too easy to determine. Mr. Drachman describes his plan clearly enough in his introductory chapter when he says he proposes to recount the history of nineteenth century science in England, emphasizing not the content but the literary quality of the books with which he is concerned. a field comparatively fresh and distinctly fertile. But while he presents some very interesting phases of his field, he does not develop its possibilities as far as the length of the book leads the reader to hope he will. For his stated purpose does not remain clearly in sight to the reader, as the book progresses. He more often than not spends pages to explain a writer's scientific ideas while confining to a few sentences his analysis of that writer's literary quality. This shift in emphasis is especially noticeable in the chapters on early theories of evolution.

The literary quality of a writer cannot, of course, be entirely separated from his ideas. But various historians of evolutionary theory have already described the scientific ideas of such men as Buffon, Erasmus Darwin, and Lamarck; and, approaching this book, one hopes that Mr. Drachman will bring the ideas, the psychological attitude, the personality, and the literary style of his writers into an organic relationship that will result in new and living pictures of great minds. In a few cases he does this; notably in the case of his most important writer, Charles Darwin; but more often he leaves the style, the personality, and the scientific achievements of a writer uncombined—mixed together, but not fused into a unit; and in such cases no living image appears.

Perhaps the author was troubled by not being sure of his audience. It is not easy to tell whether he intended the book to be a popular treatise—with purpose similar to that of De Kruif's *Microbe Hunters* or Durant's *Story of Philosophy*—or a contribution to scholarly research. The title and the style do not seem likely to attract large numbers of general readers; and yet a good deal of the information within its pages consists in a recapitulation of material already familiar to students of the history of science.

Mr Drachman has made some distinct contributions to our understanding of certain scientific writers. His discussions of Buffon and of Owen as writers are so good that one wishes they could have been longer; and his similar discussion of Charles Darwin is adequate in length, fresh and enlightening—by all means the best portion of the book. Some chapters on minor writers

cover extremely interesting ground; especially Chapter Twenty-three, on astronomical theories and controversies concerning possible life on other planets. Occasional statements which involve eighteenth century science are to say the least questionable; the adjective "Augustan" is a curious word to apply (page 84) to Erasmus Darwin's love of theory and scorn for the meticulous, neither of which traits resembled those of most Augustan scientists; and the statement (page 105) that Lamarck's theories led Cuvier to found a "school of facts" disregards the demonstrable and important fact that Cuvier's point of view is a direct inheritance from that of eighteenth century science, not to speak of its remoter ancestor, the philosophy of Francis Bacon. But the author has presumably specialized in nineteenth rather than eighteenth century scientific literature; in his main field he is on solid ground.

Mr. Drachman deals with a large amount of material, and the subject he proposes for consideration should interest any student of the histories of literature or the sciences. His contribution to scholarship lies in certain individual chapters or sections rather than in the book as a whole. But his volume is principally, as the modest "note" at the end of the text states, a preliminary exploration, of a field which will surely, one hopes, reward the further labors not only of other scholars but of Mr. Drachman himself.

G. R. POTTER

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Imperialistische Strömungen in der Englischen Literatur. By
FRIEDRICH BRIE. 2nd ed. Halle: Niemeyer, 1928. Pp. xv
+ 285. M. 13.

In the second edition of *Imperialistische Strömungen*, Professor Brie introduces minor revisions of the first edition, which appeared in *Anglia* (XL, 1916), and adds two new sections. In these he brings his investigations up to date. But in so doing he foregoes the advantage of closing with the close of an epoch; and, incidentally, he lowers the level of personal detachment by denouncing the English World-War whoops and by somewhat prematurely placing the blame for the outbreak of hostilities upon Lord Grey. Instead of this, one might reasonably prefer a Summary more detailed than his three-quarter page *Schlusswort*; the *liqueur* to his feast lacks body.

In exploring the currents of imperialism flowing through English literature, Brie guides his reader down each tributary from its source to its merging with the main stream, revealing the ideas that inform the literature as they rise to the surface: the Reforma-

tion's conception of an English God guarding and directing his chosen people; Humanism's analogy of Britain to Imperial Rome and its Machiavellian glorification of war and of power as rejuvenating forces; Puritanism's prescription of religion mixed with patriotism as a spiritual purgative; and so on down the centuries to the justification by Natural Selection of unethical warfare, and the paradoxical reconciliations of imperialistic aims with Utilitarianism, Humanitarianism, and Socialism.

Brie's collection of imperialistic literature is remarkably complete. Though I collected the same literature for several years, I am able to forward Professor Brie only half a dozen items, the most important being Purchas. Occasionally, however, prolific writers suffer from Brie's selection of evidence, as when, for example, he omits "The Truce of the Bear" and "The Man who Would Be King" from his illustrations of Kipling's Russophobia and his dream of an army-feeding white colony as a defence of India.

His literary estimates include some sweeping criticisms. He says (p. 130) that Tennyson is no more a leader in the field of imperialistic thought than in any other field. But Brie may have taken in just one field too many. In the Epilogue to the *Idylls*, 1871, Tennyson said before Sceley did (*Expansion*, 1883, p. 75) that Britain must expand or sink to a second-rate power; and he anticipated Cramb (*Origins*, 1899, pp. 21-22) in warning England that if she knows her own greatness and dreads it, her decline has already begun. Furthermore, the lines beginning

And that true North, whereof we lately heard
A strain to shame us 'keep you to yourselves'

constitute a rebuke to *The Times* for having advised the Canadians to take up their freedom as the days of their apprenticeship were over (Marriott, *England since Waterloo*, p. 533)—a rebuke that Brie must have been unaware of, to judge from his interpretation of the lines in question (p. 190). They therefore afford another instance of the knack Tennyson developed early—and long before Kipling's day—of converting a current topic into patriotic and imperialistic verse. The 1881 version of his "Hands all Round!" anticipates the younger poet's roll-calls of the Colonies; and the 1852 version, as Brie remarks (p. 154), antedates, though not in all its implications, Dilke's inclusion of America in a Pan-Anglistic partnership. In fact, not a bad case might be made out for Tennyson as the *vates* of "the new imperialism." Again, Brie's statement that Kipling is not a significant artist (p. 230) is in conflict with the innovations that Brie, himself, lists as Kipling achievements; not to mention the introduction of "the reportorial viewpoint" in story-telling, which has been credited to that writer. But, then, perhaps Brie would not regard as artistical

cally significant Tennyson's pioneer work in developing the dramatic monologue, and in using scientific discoveries as poetic themes. All told, however, Brie's estimates should meet with a high percentage of general agreement.

The main reservations fall upon Brie's literary and historical backgrounds. These would have gained in amplitude and truth had Brie not relied upon German work, excellent though it be, to the neglect of the far greater volume of such work written in English, not to mention the French contributions. For instance, thirty pages are allotted to the group of kindred spirits Carlyle, Ruskin, Kingsley, and Disraeli, whose imperialism, Brie justly observes, was greatly influenced by social reform. Of the five footnote references scattered through these thirty pages, only one is to a work written in English—Garnett's *Thomas Carlyle*. The large volume of non-German contributions to the literature of social reform is not referred to at all.

Indications are not lacking that Brie's minutiae and his generalizations have been affected by such a disproportion. For example, he records (p. 151) Disraeli's appeals for the regeneration of the nobility into real leaders of the people; but he fails to record the same appeals made at an earlier date by Carlyle (e.g., in the imperialistically striking close of the "Helotage" chapter of *Sartor*), and later on by Ruskin and Kingsley—appeals noticed more than once in the work of English and American scholars. Or take Brie's conclusions (pp. 101-2) that with Carlyle, Disraeli, Kingsley, and Ruskin, imperialism and social reform underwent parallel developments, explained by Carlyle's case, being really two separate attacks upon the same objective-Utilitarianism; and that in order to spread their imperialistic ideas, which had an inherent interest for a comparatively small circle only, they combined these ideas with proposals for social reform, which was a subject of general interest. How unnatural! Their imperialism and their social reform are hardly parallel developments; they are rather mutually interdependent outgrowths of the paternalistic as opposed to the individualistic cast of mind. Utilitarianism is only one of several stimuli against which this paternalism reacts. Each of the four resultant conceptions of society is an organic whole; the chief blood-bond is their fundamental paternalism. A deliberate attempt to float imperialism on social reform would be as hard to believe as to prove.

For Brie's historical background, also, his references indicate a similar reliance upon German contributions. In works devoted exclusively to English imperialism the proportion of German to English references is over two to one; whereas the English naturally, have contributed far more to this subject than the Germans. In the important category of work having restricted objectives—certain periods of English history or certain aspects of English

imperialism and closely related matters—Brie refers to only six English writers. The most apparent results of this neglect are omissions that would have been supplied by a wider reading among the English authorities in this category. For instance, Arthur Hassall's *History of British Foreign Policy from the Earliest Times*, 1912 (pp. 20-26), could have added to Brie's chapter on the Middle Ages the expectations of founding a continental empire attributed to William II by William of Malmesbury, and the indications of an important rôle played by King John in shaping England's *mare clausum* policy; Edmundson's *Anglo-Dutch Rivalry during the First Half of the Seventeenth Century*, 1911 (pp. 36, 37, and Bibliography), would have supplemented Brie's notices of the earliest political writings with several items, the most interesting of which, J. R.'s "The Trades' Increase," is apparently nearly half a century earlier than the date, 1660, set by Brie for the first expression of "mercantile imperialism"; and any one of a dozen books would have saved the omission of Cornewall-Lewis's "Essay of the Government of Dependencies," a monument of the first importance.

Brie's summaries of individuals are not always inclusive. Missing, for example, are Bacon's disbelief in the possibility of colonizing "Florida" or northeastern America and his consequent short-sighted advice to turn from such projects to the colonization of Ireland; Disraeli's conviction that Oriental peoples should be governed through the imagination, which prompted his crowning Victoria Empress of India; Seeley's belief that colonies had determined every war waged by England from the eighteenth century on, and his prophesy that the future belonged to the great states.

Brie's treatments of Humanism, Puritanism, Manchester, and Evolution are especially well done. But he has missed an opportunity to give us a chapter on the influence of dynastic aims upon English imperialism, so well illustrated by the Stuarts; the subordination of national to family interests by James I and his son in behalf of the Elector Frederick; and the restoration to France of Canada, which was taken in 1628 by Gervaise Kirke, held for three years, and returned by Charles I and Buckingham for the payment of the remaining £60,000 of the Queen's dowry—an ironic setting for what Brie happily terms the *Barock-Imperialismus* of the Stuart imperialistic literature. Though the elimination of France as a colonial rival begot scant literature, the reader should have an adequate reminder of this titanic struggle; Brie fails to give one, even when he treats Chatham. In his account of England's so-called completion of the Reich's encirclement, he omits reference to the provocations of William II's reign that aroused European-wide anxiety. And in attributing the English animus to fear of Germany's waxing economic, colonial, and naval competition, he fails to mention Chamberlain's three offers of an alli-

ance to Germany—a dream of Bismarck's—in '98, '99, 1901, carrying with them recognition of Germany's need for colonies; von Buelow's shabby rejection of Chamberlain's advances—probably the cross-roads of German colonial expansion; and Germany's curt refusals of Hardinge's proposals for fleet limitation in 1908 and of Haldane's in 1912. Brie's account is not history, but an indictment.

The most damaging omission from Brie's historical background is the English imperial achievement; for whether curse or benefit to mankind, it prompted the pride that inspires the literature with which Brie's book deals. Except for a foot-note allusion to the British North America Act, the Magna Charta of colonial freedom, Brie makes no reference to the official reports and Parliamentary Acts affording the barest record of the ingenuity that devised over seventy forms of government during the process of teaching peoples to govern themselves. No references to such reports as those submitted by Sir George Grey, the Colonial Office under the third Earl Grey, Lord Carnarvon, and Lord Selborne; no mention of the Acts of Parliament establishing the Commonwealth of Australia and the Union of South Africa. Brie's British Empire does not grow behind the literature; the Conquistadores and Proconsuls, who gave life to both, rarely enter his pages. On the other hand, he devotes page upon page to the Puritan streak in English imperialism, naturally anathema to Continental peoples; and he records systematically the yelps and gyrations of the whirling dervishes. British imperialism, as theme or setting, is a matter of Roman proportions; Brie has foreshortened its perspective to that of ward politics.

As I am forwarding my *corrigenda* to Professor Brie, I shall merely warn the too fastidious reader that he may miss Brie's spirited conduct of a fascinating story if he allows himself to be annoyed by the various and frequent misquotations of titles. But Brie's work will survive the criticism of it. He has made an amazingly full collection of literary material, shot it through with brilliant flashes of interpretation that illuminate many if not all of the dark corners, and presented his results clearly and firmly. His book is heartily recommended, not only to students of English literature, but to all British Imperialists of whatever nationality who wish to see the literary reflection of their spirit through a pair of honest German eyes.

JOHN M. BOOKER

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The Metres of English Poetry. By ENID HAMER. New York: Macmillan, 1930. Pp. xii + 340. \$3.25.

The Metres of English Poetry is not what many recent books on verse-form have been, an argument addressed to theorists. Principles are laid down in a chapter of 23 pages, and thereafter the book is a description, for readers and students, of the most important forms and kinds of meter: the couplets, blank verse, stanza-forms, trisyllabic, trochaic, and paeonic verse, classical forms, and so on. In each of these chapters the historical method is used, as in the late Professor Alden's well-known manual. The notation is very simple and there is an excellent and full index. Mrs. Hamer's style is always pleasant and readable, and her interpretations show that she has the esthetic sensitiveness appropriate to such a work, and unusual skill in the description of oral effects.

A good book. Whatever faults a critic may find with it will be those of the metrical theory it illustrates, not of its execution. Mrs. Hamer wrote the book at the University of Liverpool, and records her obligations to Professor Lascelles Abercrombie, whose doctrine (in *Principles of Eng. Prosody*, 1923) she in fact closely follows. That is to say, she expressly declares that English verse-rhythm is founded on *stress*; and when *time* is mentioned here and there it comes in anomalously and in defiance of her principles. American students are moving so rapidly in the opposite direction—toward the musical interpretation of verse—that many of them will be impatient of what will seem to them a reversion. And it must be said that when Mrs. Hamer lists 15 possible substitutions for the regular "foot" of blank verse she seems to be rattling dead bones of an ancient pedantry. One might almost as well try to classify the ways in which notes may occur in a musical measure of a given type. Nor can one help asking what she really means by saying that stress determines our verse when she marks a line of *Lochinvar*, for instance, with three stresses in one foot, two in another, and one in two others. What then, we ask is the law that makes these feet equivalent? The answer must be, Time or nothing.

In illustration of the practical shortcomings of a theory that disregards time and musical custom, attention may be called to the inadequacy of the rendering of *A Woman's Last Word*, the error in the reading of so simple a poem as Milne's *Bad Sir Brian Botany*, and the confessedly tentative interpretations of *The Old Familiar Faces*, a poem explained once for all by William Thompson of Glasgow in an extremely important work (*The Rhythm of Speech*) which Mrs. Hamer wholly disregards.

But I must repeat that those who accept its principles will find this an excellent manual of English verse—probably the best that we have.

MORRIS W. CROLL

A Bibliography of Fifteenth Century Literature with Special Reference to the History of English Culture. By LENA LUCILE TUCKER and ALLEN ROGERS BENHAM. University of Washington Publications in Language and Literature, Vol. II, No. 3, pp. 113-274. February, 1928.

The intention of this volume is, in the words of the compilers, to "bring together in usable form the material on fifteenth century England which would be available in a university library or in any research library." This addition to the number of already existing bibliographies they justify on the ground that it includes not only "data for such books as originated in the fifteenth century," but also "books about the fifteenth century."

Such a conspectus, recording within one set of covers a variety of material indispensable to the study of the fifteenth century, might well prove useful to the student making his initial approach to the period. For his presumptive need, however, of guidance by means of classification, topical arrangement and cross-reference, the compilers have, somewhat inconsistently, made little provision.

General boundary-lines are, it is true, indicated. The Table of Contents, recalling to some extent Professor Benham's earlier volume *English Literature from Widsith to the Death of Chaucer*, reads as follows: I. Bibliography; II. Political Background; III. Social and Economic Background; IV. Cultural Background; V. Linguistic Background; VI. Literature; VII. Appendix (dealing with the early XVI century). Section VI is sub-divided into General Texts; General Discussion; Drama (*a.* General Discussion and General Texts; *b.* Individual Plays and Cycles); Authors; Anonymous Works. Within these boundaries, however, lies unfenced range. Titles are marshalled under the alphabet only; in the "background" sections, primary sources, special discussions and works of general history are not segregated, and under the heading "general texts" all types of prose and verse are thrown together. It is, further, impossible to determine in advance under which section to look for a desired title or topic. The reader seeking information on (at a venture) manners and social code must run a finger down all the pages under Social Background, Authors and Anonymous Works, under each of which headings he would find one or more titles of "Courtesy Books"; and in the absence of cross-reference he would see no reason for relating Miss Rickert's modernization of the *Babees Book*, p. 32, to the texts printed by Furnivall in *EETS.*, xxxii, cited on p. 39.

Further confusion to the inexpert student might easily result from mis-classified items, a few of which may be noted. Peter Idle's *Instructions to His Son*, p. 142, and Quixley's translations of Gower, p. 142, are listed under Anonymous Works, while the

Commonplace Book of Richard Hill is listed under the latter's name as author, p. 111. The *Orologium Sapientiae*, listed as anonymous on p. 141, is quoted properly under Suso's name on p. 112. No distinction in registering titles is made between the True Coventry Plays and the *Ludus Coventriae*, pp. 90-91. A discussion of the *Southern Passion* and the *Cursor Mundi* has certainly no place under the caption Drama, and is, further, concerned with materials considerably antedating the fifteenth century. The compilers, indeed, exhibit a tendency to rate a work preserved in a fifteenth-century Ms. as belonging to that period, as witness Rolle's Prose Psalter, p. 77; the *Abbey of the Holy Ghost* (of which the better-known text, that printed by Horstmann in *Yorkshire Writers*, is not given), the early romance *Lybeaus Disconus*, p. 139, and *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, p. 143. The circumstance that these and kindred works were edited and re-vamped in the fifteenth century is relevant certainly to the cultural background of the period, but they should hardly be exhibited as representing its creative expression. One must of course recognize here the dilemma which faces the compilers of a "general" bibliography; a comprehensive treatment of earlier work preserved in Mss. of the fifteenth century is manifestly impossible, but, on the other hand, arbitrary selection from such a large field has relatively little meaning.

In a work which agreeably disclaims completeness, it may seem gratuitous to note omissions; but certain inconsistencies between present and absent titles tend to raise doubts in the reader's mind as to the basis of selection. For example, if Manly's comprehensive anthology of English literature, a work negligible from the point of view of the serious student, is cited, why not the more pertinent *Specimens of the Pre-Shakspearean Drama*? Under "General Texts," although one finds the Maitland folio, p. 150, one misses the well-known Hunterian Club edition of the Bannatyne Ms., containing both fifteenth- and sixteenth-century material. Strutt's *Dress and Habits of the People of England* is noted, p. 50, but not the *Sports and Pastimes* (London, 1845). Titles which might naturally have found place beside these are Brand, *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, 1849, and *Mediaeval England*, edited by H. W. C. Davis, 1924. Under the head of discussions of the drama are listed three articles by W. K. Smart, but not his outstanding contribution on *Mind, Will and Understanding*; and but one of Karl Young's authoritative articles on liturgical drama finds a place. To the list of dramatic texts should be added the Shrewsbury Fragment and, in the Appendix, the Norwich Grocers' Play.

Among minor inaccuracies may be noted an allusion to the prose *Sege of Troy* as a poem, p. 143, and the citation, on p. 83, of *PMLA.*, xx, for xxix. Some unfortunate mis-spellings of proper names have been let stand: Anna "Hunet" Billings, p. 3; W. C. Hazett, p. 93; Ramsey, R. L., p. 160; Jesserand, p. 11. "Jacobus

de Varagine," p. 105 and Index, can hardly be a slip in proof-reading, as it occurs four times. Proof has, however, been carelessly read. A casual survey reveals the following: 1845-1509, p. 14; Cambridgeshire, p. 44; 1843, Englishen, p. 54; Brigiltine, pp. 59, 140; Anfonse, p. 78; JEJP, p. 79; Penetential, p. 80; allussion, p. 82; Second Shepherd's, p. 84, Capito, p. 97; Coxton, p. 105; Secretorium, p. 124; More d'Arthur, p. 125; Oe, p. 131; Thophilus in Icelandic, p. 145; Specuulum, Berichtagun gzu, p. 145.

It is to be regretted that this volume, containing much valuable reference material, should have issued from the press without the benefit of those labors of analysis and revision which would have made it a work of less limited usefulness.

BEATRICE DAW BROWN

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The Revelations of Saint Birgitta. Edited from the Fifteenth Century MS. in the Garrett Collection in the Library of Princeton University by William Patterson Cumming. Publications of the Early English Text Society, Volume 178. London: Humphrey Milford, 1929. Pp. xxxix + 135.

Mediævalists will welcome this latest volume of the Early English Text Society series, a collection of the 'revelations' of Birgitta, a fourteenth-century Swedish saint, as they have come down to us in a fifteenth-century English version. Out of the seven extant manuscripts, no one of which had ever been previously edited, Professor Cumming selected the Garrett manuscript because of its having had prior selection and grouping, its well-desired brevity, and its close adherence to its Latin original. The editor has brought sound judgment and thorough scholarship to the task, and the result is a volume admirably in the tradition of Furnivall, Morris, Sweet, and other famous editors of the series.

The dates of Birgitta are 1303-1373. At the age of seven, she began to have visions, experiences which continued throughout her life, and the revelations of which constitute her principal religious work. At thirteen Birgitta married, and it was not until she had borne and reared a family of eight children (one of whom is known to hagiology as St. Catherine) that she consecrated herself, upon the death of her husband, to the religious life. With the assistance of King Magnus Erikson, whom she had not hesitated to rebuke for his worldliness, she founded the Birgittine Order. In 1349 she left her family and her native land to take up her

residence in the Papal City. Here, except for pilgrimages, she resided until her death in 1373.

It was Birgitta's practice to write or dictate the revelations of her visions immediately after their occurrence. In this her medium was Swedish. Afterwards one of her confessors would translate the passages into Latin, which was then read for her approval. The Swedish version, unfortunately, was then thrown away, but the Latin translations, carefully preserved by Birgitta's spiritual advisers, secured a wide popularity, even before the saint's death. With the establishing of the Birgittine Order in England in 1415, the lore and writings connected with the patron saint of the order became much sought after, so that in addition to minor items, seven manuscripts of the *Revelations* have survived.

The text itself has high interest. In addition to its being a sidelight on one phase of church history, it affords us another specimen of fifteenth-century London dialect. The small group of words hereafter appended will give some indication of what a treat it will be to the student of language history: *dysperpeler* = 'divider'; *reicetter* = 'harbinger' (of thieves); *impossible*; *to-fore* = 'before'; *abhonymable*; *fawtours* = 'adherents'; *reperell* = 'repair' (of tools); *ryghwosnes*.

Without giving the impression of having attempted to make his edition fool-proof, Professor Cumming has done a number of things to make the reader's way easier. He has modernized the punctuation and expanded the abbreviations. He has normalized the capitalization and cleared up the confusion between *p* and *y*. His vocabulary-list shows good sense; he wastes no space on words of obvious meaning. His sections on *Manuscript* and the *Life of St. Birgitta* he has managed to detail fully without making them dull and tedious reading. His foot-notes are packed with valuable bibliographical data.

E. E. ERICSON

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Aus Mittlenglischen Medizintexten. Die Prosarezepte des Stockholmer Mizelankodex X. 90. Von GOTTFRIED MÜLLER. Kölner Anglistische Arbeiten 10. Band. Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1929. Pp. 215.

Dr. Müller's volume will be welcome to students both of medical history and of Middle English language. Of the Stockholm codex, Royal Library X. 90, small extracts, largely verse, have been published by Stephens in *Archeologia* vol. 30 and by Holthausen in *Anglia* vol. 19. The present volume presents all the prescriptions

in prose. There remain unpublished: a list of plant names (1 p.), a treatise on urine (4 pp.), a tract on bloodletting (2 pp.), an herbarium (60 pp.). Historically these sections may be even more interesting than the part now issued; and it is to be hoped the editor will carry the work on.

The prose prescriptions reveal a confused mass of medical lore roughly arranged sometimes under the drug, sometimes under the disease, including much duplication and repetition. Diagnostics and diatetics are almost wholly absent. The nature of the volume suggests a compilation for "lay", rather than "scientific", use, based on any available source. This promiscuity of sources is borne out by the mixture of dialectic forms apparently carried over by scribes. Dr. Müller rightly postulates as eventual sources Medieval Latin treatises of scientific or pseudo-scientific nature; he also rightly denies that the Old English medical books serve as a medium between the Latin and Middle English texts.

Linguistically the placing of the MS is difficult because of the mixture of dialects. The editor assigns it to Norfolk or the boundary between Norfolk and Suffolk. Finality here seems to me out of the question. As to date, the editor decides on the fifteenth century, the work of the first and fourth hand being assigned to the beginning, that of the second and third to the middle of the century. Though linguistic tests are used for corroboration, the above conclusion is reached mainly on paleographic grounds. The assignment may be correct, but the argument seems of the flimsiest kind. No analysis is given, and one feels that the whole matter rests on similarities between our MS and two dated specimens in Skeat's *Twelve Facsimiles* and Thompson's *Introd. to Greek and Roman Palaeography*. The post-dating of four pages in the middle of the MS (scribes 2 and 3) on no further evidence than that they show "unverkennbar jungeren Ductus," is a bit bold. Naturally one asks what the characteristics are.

The volume is supplied with critical notes and a fairly adequate glossarial index, which, rather strangely, is arranged under modern head-words, not under the spellings of the manuscript.

HENNING LARSEN

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The Origin of the Icelandic Family Sagas. By KNUT LIESTÖL.
Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning, Ser. A, vol.
x. Oslo, 1930. Pp. x + 261.

Hardly any of the many fascinating problems connected with Old Icelandic literature is so important but at the same time so difficult to solve as the origin of the Icelandic sagas.

It is difficult to solve because there are so many questions involved in it, and some of them almost impossible to answer. How did it happen that the Icelanders of all nations hit upon this unique form of literature? Where did they get the idea from? As the family sagas themselves claim to be history, the question arises, how far that can be true. That again takes one into the study of oral tradition, how it is formed, and how it subsequently lives upon the lips of the narrators until it is fixed for all time by the man who ultimately commits it to parchment. And then, is that ultimate form of the saga to be attributed to the story-tellers or to the man who wrote it down?

These are some of the problems facing Professor Liestøl, but, of course, he is not the first one to tackle them.

There was a time, however, when scholars did not put so many questions, but took the sagas more at their face value, somewhat in the manner of the Icelandic peasant, who would not think of doubting a single word in them any more than he would dispute the words of the Holy Bible.

But sceptics ventured to scrutinize the Bible, how then could the Icelandic sagas hope to be spared? In fact there arose a host of scholars who dissected them, put them through all kinds of scholarly tests, and tried their best to strip them of their chief virtue: truthfulness.

The stock argument of these scholars was: it is impossible for an oral tradition to carry on truth for as long a time as the Icelandic sagas claim to do. And besides that many of the sagas show clearly that they are a work of art, composed by a skilful author not put on parchment in the artless manner of a chronicler. This is quite true in the case of some sagas. And they pointed to the—not few—obvious discrepancies between saga and saga, to the stereotyped motives found in many of them, they showed how the epic number three, so well known to folklorists, was a commonplace in the sagas, and finally they pointed to all the supernatural tales embedded in the sagas, and they asked: Who believes in all this? No wonder many lost their faith in the sagas.

But there was something lacking in the discussion on both sides. In the first place: nobody knew what happened in the tenth century, and so there was nothing to check the thirteenth century story with, it might be true and it might be false, and nothing could be done about it. In the second place: the Icelandic saga seemed to be without any parallel in world-literature of known origin, hence no light from the outside could be thrown upon its genesis. However, here the original and highly fruitful work of Knut Liestøl comes in.

He realized that it was futile to compare the Icelandic family saga to folktales of the ordinary character, it must be compared with family sagas only. Neither could it be compared to the numerous Icelandic family sagas of modern times, because these

were formed after the old literary patterns. But he found his material for comparison in studying the family sagas still narrated by the peasants in the valleys of Norway. These peasants, whose ancestors probably were illiterate, and whose knowledge of books probably was confined to the Hymnbook, the *Postil*, and the Bible—these peasants still took a special pride in handing on the stories of their ancestors of ca. 200-300 years ago. Here was a real oral tradition comparable to the oral tradition which the Icelandic clerks committed to writing in the 12th-13th centuries. Moreover, this Norwegian family saga could be checked by contemporary historical records, so that one could study the changes in tradition as time went on. I cannot refrain from quoting here an instructive example of what can be learned from this study.

When A. Olrik in *Epic Laws* (1908) had formulated his "trinary law" and found that it was "one of the fundamental principles of the architecture of the folktale," it was not long before a German had collected all the examples of *die epische Dreizahl in den Islendinga sögur* (*AfNF.*, 37 and 38). He found ca. 600 instances occurring in all of them, and the sceptics had one more proof of their unreliability.

Now Liestol puts this law to a test in the Skraddar tale where many triads occur:

1. Three beggars steal from the king's treasure chest.
2. These beggars spend three days with a woman in the far north.
3. Knut Skraddar buys three out of seven farms
4. Subsequently he buys the whole of Austegard, three hides of land in extent.
5. Knut Skraddar has three sons
6. At Knut's funeral the hearse-horse makes three attempts to pull the coffin.
7. The hearse-horse neighs three times.
8. Lisle-Knut, the son of Knut Skraddar, has likewise three sons.
9. The girl under the cuckoo-tree dresses and undresses three times.
10. And she wishes for three things.
11. At one time three people—a brother and two sisters each owned one of the three hides of land at Austegard.

Here we have no fewer than eleven triads in less than fourteen ordinary octavo pages. Such a large number is suspicious, and on studying the figures we are forced to conclude that they are epic. That the girl should stand under a cuckoo-tree, dress and undress three times, and wish for three things, is in accordance with a common popular superstition. The description of the horse pulling three times at the coffin, and neighing three times, must likewise be fiction. That Knut Skraddar should have three sons, and that his son Knut should also have three, is not unlikely in itself, but a fictitious element seems to be present all the same; for not only have Knut Nilsson and Knut Knutsson each three sons, but one of Knut Nilsson's three sons gets killed, and the same thing happens to one of Knut Knutsson's three sons. It would be remarkable indeed if the father and son not only had the same name and the same number of sons, but each lost one of three sons in the same way. The explanation must be that, as both men were called Knut, they were confused.

We can also see the influence of the epic triad in the fact that yet another Knut, who is Knut Knutsson's grandson, has three children, each of whom eventually inherits part of three hides of land at Austegard—an improbable occurrence, since two of them were daughters, and therefore not entitled to share the inheritance equally with the odal-born son.

Surely all this is very simple and quite in accordance with the accepted methods of folklore research. But let us see how it agrees with the facts. To begin with, the old records show that Knut Skraddar did own three hides of land at Austegard—that being the real size of the farm. He had at least three sons, one of whom was killed. Further, one of the sons was called Knut, and this Knut actually had three sons, one of whom was really killed. And it is also historically true that each of three children of one of the Knuts subsequently owned a third part of Austegard, although two of them were daughters.

Several of the unhistorical triads turn out to be well-established historical facts. . . . If this is so, we may expect to find the same in the Icelandic saga.

It would take us too far afield to discuss all the different aspects of Liestøl's book. Suffice it to say that he tries to answer all the questions put in the beginning of our review, and he reviews and weighs most of the arguments that have been put forth by different scholars concerning the Icelandic saga. Thus his book becomes an excellent summary of the *status quo* of the subject. In fact, it makes an epoch in these studies. But the strength of it lies in the comparison with the Neo-Norwegian family sagas. As to the Skraddar tale and other tales from Agder he had come to the conclusion that "what may be called the skeleton of the story is historical throughout. The men and women mentioned in it really existed, not one of them is imaginary. Their names are in most cases given correctly, even in the case of subordinate characters. The relationships are also correct in most cases. The generations are given in correct order. And the same may be said of many small, often quite trifling, points. . . . The unhistorical element is chiefly noticeable in the matter which serves to fill out and enrich the narrative, giving life and colour to it. These sagas do not differ so much in regard to historical facts or particular data as in the view taken of them." (*Norske ættesogor*, pp. 154-156.) And he adds the important point that the age of a tradition is not necessarily decisive evidence for or against its reliability.

As to the Icelandic sagas he says: "Basing our conclusion upon all these analogies we may consider the Icelandic family sagas to be at least as reliable as the Norwegian family sagas. . . . How much better and more detailed the old Icelandic traditions were than the later traditions in Norway, may best be seen by comparing Neo-Norwegian traditions, current for about a century, with the old Icelandic tradition in *Sturlunga*. The latter is much more circumstantial and coherent" (p. 251).

This is one of the most important conclusions reached by Liestøl.

It proves that the Icelandic sagas are what they claim to be—history—in the medieval sense of that word.

STEFÁN EINARSSON

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England und die Gesittungsgrundlage der europäischen Frühgeschichte, Studien zur Englandkunde. Von GUSTAV HÜBENER.
Frankfurt-am-Main: Moritz Diesterweg, 1930. Pp. v + 325.

In the ten studies that comprise this volume, Professor Hübener has sought to make clear the psychological basis of English culture, especially in the earlier periods. He finds that the Germanic race, in contrast with its original Alpine and Celtic neighbors, always has progressed from the imaginary to the real, from the dream to its fulfilment. It was this positive, forward-thrusting spirit that brought the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes to Britain, and it was the same spirit that determined their subsequent growth. Mr. Hübener shows how this Germanic temper has manifested itself at critical points in England's cultural history.

Mr. Hübener devotes his first two chapters to a study of the Germans before and during their migration to Britain. Then, in order, he takes up *Beowulf*, the increasing rationalization of the English language, the evangelization of the English in the seventh century, the reign of Alfred, the Norman Conquest, English witchcraft, the development of standard English in the fourteenth century, and the relation of Langland to English Protestantism. In every instance, he finds fundamental Germanic impulses at work. The Grendel-episode in *Beowulf*, for example, he regards not as fiction, but as a concretion of Germanic belief in heroic exorcism. And the comparative ease with which the English were converted to Christianity he attributes to the Germanic tendency towards monotheism and to the respect of the English for the theology under which they believed Rome had flourished. In general the English are represented as masters of their destiny, accepting or rejecting alien offerings solely as they were prompted by their racial genius.

The author has advanced an extremely interesting theory, and one that calls for the respectful attention of every one concerned with Old and Middle English times. The conclusions presented rest upon an extraordinary body of materials, including the folklore of almost every part of the world; and the handling of these materials is invariably deft and efficient.

Yet Mr. Hübener's emphasis is misleading. Even if we grant the possibility of psychoanalyzing a race whose beginnings lie more

than two thousand years in the past, we find it difficult to believe that the racial complex has been able to maintain itself uncontaminated, or even virtually so, during its long history. It is hard to believe, for instance, that during the stirring days of the seventh and eighth centuries the culture of the Mediterranean was not making a tremendously more important impression on the English *Gesittung* than Mr. Hübener allows to appear. He discusses the Christian conversion chiefly as it affected the kings and the nobility, pointing out that Christianity humbled the pride of several English kings, and thus brought into jeopardy one of the essential Germanic institutions; he fails to add that at the same time Theodore and Hadrian were in England, teaching a hitherto unilliterate race to turn the Scriptures into native verse, to write a Latin poem *De Virginitate*, and to compose an *Ecclesiastical History* that tells us nearly all we know about the period. Nor should we forget that the Romans had a sense of organization at least equal to that of the English, and that one of the best fruits of their organizing genius was the ecclesiastical unification of England under Theodore; this ecclesiastical unity, more than anything else, brought about the ultimate political synthesis. Finally, two of England's most valuable contributions to European civilization—the conversion of Germany by Boniface, and the enlightenment of western Europe by Alcuin—had their source in the Christian-Latin culture.

Perhaps it is unfair to tax Mr. Hübener with omissions of this sort in a book that does not profess to be other than a collection of rather closely-related studies. Nevertheless a protest is necessary against the tendency so noticeable in many recent German books on Germanic antiquities to minimize, explicitly or tacitly, the effect of non-Germanic civilizations on Germanic cultural history. The true story, if ever it becomes known, probably will show that the early English possessed not only the excellent Germanic traits with which Mr. Hübener credits them, but also one other of great price—that of adopting the best elements of more advanced cultures. Meanwhile, the student will do well to examine Mr. Hübener's contribution with all care, and at the same time, for the sake of balance, to reread M. Roger's *L'Enseignement des Lettres Classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin* (Paris, 1905).

PUTNAM FENNELL JONES

University of Pittsburgh

The Donne Tradition. A Study in English Poetry from Donne to the Death of Cowley. By GEORGE WILLIAMSON. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930. Pp. 264.

The author tells us that his book was begun as an essay on "The Talent of T. S. Eliot," which appeared in *The Sewanee Review*. This origin suggests at once the merits and limitations of his study. It is not heavily freighted with erudition. Nor is it, happily, an ordinary attempt at tracing the influence of Donne—a type of investigation which so often warps the judgment of the student who indulges in it. Mr. Williamson, of course, recognizes, as his title indicates, that the shadow of Donne was thrown over the seventeenth century. He has frequent occasion to show how the later metaphysical poets echoed their great predecessor. But the contribution of the book is not so much historical as critical. Beginning with an interest in T. S. Eliot, the author has apparently acquired his understanding of the seventeenth century primarily by seeing it through the eyes of Eliot. The result amply justifies this method of approach. Mr. Williamson's treatment of the metaphysical poets is distinguished by quick and intelligent sympathy with their intellectual and imaginative processes, and a constant conviction that "poetry of the type of Donne's has still to be reckoned with." In this spirit he has surveyed the work of Donne and Chapman—in the latter case working out a hint of Eliot's in *The Sacred Wood*—the "sacred line" and the "profane line," the "chief offenders," and the reaction against the metaphysical school in the time of Dryden.

Despite the freshness of treatment, however, one feels that the author is pressing his claims to originality rather hard when he says at the beginning of his book (p. 21) that "the place of the Donne tradition in the current of English poetry has yet to be adequately defined in our literary history." One balks, too, at the unsupported statement (p. 35) that "most of the psychological subtlety we find in Browning, especially in regard to love, is already in Donne, from whom Browning certainly drew much of his philosophy of body and soul." And I feel there must be some misunderstanding of Montaigne's philosophy in the following passage (p. 17): "If he [Donne] has any consistent philosophy, it is that of the arch-sceptic of the time, Montaigne; it is learning how to die—a view [sic!] that Montaigne took from Cicero. Donne early thought of death and was possessed by an over-earnest desire of the next life."

But such questionable passages are fortunately rare. And because of the general felicity of its critical comment and the stimulating point of view from which it has been written, the volume will take its place among the indispensable books on the shy and difficult poets of the seventeenth century.

LOUIS I. BREDVOLD

University of Michigan

BRIEF MENTION

The Sonnet in American Literature. A Thesis Presented to the University of Pennsylvania. By LEWIS G. STERNER. Philadelphia, 1930. Pp. xxi + 168. The author of this study does not seem to have grasped the full significance of his problem. The Introduction, a "survey of . . . American sonnets," presents interesting but insufficiently developed hypotheses. The larger part of the book consists of an anthology of American sonnets with brief enthusiastic comments which show little critical perception or ability to distinguish the characteristics of the various writers. It is not sufficient to say, for instance, that the work of Miss Millay is characterized by "a fine intellectuality and genuine felicity of language." The most valuable part of the book is the last, consisting of tables of over two hundred rhyme schemes; an inventory of sonnet sequences; and an alphabetical list of authors with sonnets classified according to type. There is need for a scholarly study of the American sonnet, but this work scratches only the surface of the matter.

PAUL MOWBRAY WHEELER

The Johns Hopkins University

Folklore in the Works of Mark Twain. By VICTOR ROYCE WEST. University of Nebraska Studies in Language, Literature, and Criticism, No. 10. Lincoln, Nebraska: 1930. Pp. 81. Those who remember the delectable "boy-lore" of *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn* will scarcely be surprised at the wealth of folklore or near-folklore scattered through the works of Mark Twain. These two books, with their Mississippi Valley background, are the most fertile folklore territory, but nearly every work of Mark Twain yields its bit of material relating to ghosts, devils, witches, luck, omens, proverbs, or superstitions. Mr. West has painstakingly culled and classified his material but only once does he give evidence of any thought about the fundamental problem of how far it is significant as folklore and what is legitimate, what illegitimate, literary use of folklore material. On page 80 he remarks of the dwarf introduced in *Tom Sawyer Abroad* that he "soon loses significance as folklore, for later appearances show him to have been created solely for purposes of the narrative." Mr. West never resumes a discussion almost forced upon him by this sentence, as well as by the subject itself. His work is, in short, a commendable piece of extracting and an interesting if essentially uncritical jaunt into the little-worked field of the relation of folklore to literature.

ARTHUR KYLE DAVIS, JR.

University of Virginia

Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature. Vol. x. 1929. Edited for the Modern Humanities Research Association by M. S. SERJEANTSON. Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes, 1930. 6 s. 6 d. With the present issue of its *Annual Bibliography* the Modern Humanities Research Association completes ten years of this important service to English scholarship. The beginnings of the bibliography were tentative and of uncertain value. The first issue in 1920 was a thin pamphlet and listed only 713 items. The second issue, though it had grown somewhat, still left much to be desired. But with the issue for 1923 it attained approximately its present size. In the number before us there are slightly more than 3,700 entries, filling 238 pages. The publication with which comparison is naturally suggested, of course, is the *Jahresbericht*. Indeed it is not unlikely that the *Annual Bibliography* owed its inception, at least in part, to the suspension of the *Jahresbericht* during the war. But if it was ever a question of possible competition between the two enterprises, such a possibility is no longer a very real one. The *Annual Bibliography* today is so much more adequate in both scope and completeness than the corresponding section of the *Jahresbericht* that in ordinary cases it is now scarcely necessary to consult the latter at all. There is always the possibility that some item will appear in the German publication that has escaped the English editor, but the list of capable and devoted collaborators, in the principal countries of Europe and in America, who contribute to the M. H. R. A. list makes the number of such items small. Moreover, not the least of the merits of the *Annual Bibliography* is the promptness with which it appears.

It is difficult to see how any college or university library in this country can be without so indispensable a tool to scholarship, and the price is so reasonable as to put it within the reach of every serious student for consultation in his own study. Some of the earlier numbers are out of print, but the Association plans shortly to reproduce these numbers and it is to be hoped that libraries and individuals will avail themselves of the opportunity that will thus be afforded them to complete their series.

A. C. BAUGH

University of Pennsylvania.

Einsame Menschen. VON GERHART HAUPTMANN. With Introduction and Glossary by M. BLAKEMORE EVANS and ERNST FEISE. Henry Holt, 1930. In this text the editors have made a valuable addition to the list of modern literary documents that are being rendered available for American colleges. The selection is a happy one, as this powerful play gives a good idea of Hauptmann's genius, while it offers a minimum of difficulty in the way of language. The few dialectical passages in the drama have been put into

literary German for the benefit of the student on p. 139-140. The introduction is admirable, treating of Ibsen's influence, of the intellectual conditions in Germany around 1880, and outlining the literary movement of *Naturalismus*. *Vor Sonnenaufgang* and *Das Friedensfest* are given especial attention. Of particular value are the analysis of the character of Johannes Vockerat, with the parallel quotations from Nietzsche, and the account taken from Julius Bab of the scene between Kitty and Anna in Hauptmann's direction of the play (xxxvii-xli).

The Bibliography contains a list of Hauptmann's writings in chronological order and a few well-selected titles of books on him and the period. "Suggestions for class discussion and topics for critical essays" are given for each act. The Glossary is very complete and serves every need of this text. The belief expressed by the editors that this drama may "be read with profit as the last text of the second year College course," is fully justified, and there are many who will welcome it for that purpose.

T. M. CAMPBELL

Wesleyan University

Mittelenglisches Lesebuch für Anfänger. Von Dr. KARL BRUNNER und Dr. RUDOLF HITTMAYER. Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1929. Pp. vii + 121. This little volume is the ninth number of the *Germanische Bibliothek* series, established by Wilhelm Streitberg. Ten of the Middle English writers are presented, Chaucer looming large, with selections from him making up 17 pages of the book. On the whole, the pieces have been judiciously chosen. As might be expected in the light of our language history, the Midland dialect gets the most attention, all the selections being in that medium except the three Southern pieces. One wonders why the Editors ignored Northern. Just as Southern specimens (*The Agenbite of Inwit*, for example) are valuable as prototypes of modern Southern English dialects (Cp. *zorge*, *worbernd*, etc. with words like *zide* and *vor* in the Dorset poetry of William Barnes), so Northern monuments like *Cursor Mundi* are valuable for showing the differences between Scotch dialect words and the corresponding ones of Standard English: *bane*—bone; *sae*—so; *mikkel*—much (earlier *muchel*). But limitation to 121 pages makes things hard for an editor. Preceding each selection is an explanatory sketch and literary history of the work, with an appended bibliography, not large but well-selected. Variant readings are given in the foot-notes. A commendable feature of the glossary is the reference to corresponding words in Old French, Old Norse, and Old English.

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A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MANUSCRIPTS, DOCUMENTS, ARTICLES, STUDIES ETC., CONCERNING THE LIFE AND WORKS OF GAUTIER DE COSTES DE LA CALPRENÈDE¹

It has been my purpose to include in this bibliography all known manuscripts and documents which would interest a student of La Calprenède. In the matter of books of literary history and criticism I have necessarily been forced to exercise some degree of choice; I have included those works which might rank as source-books, those which go into some detail in the discussion of this author and his work, and those which present some unusual and important, if brief, commentary upon these subjects. I have omitted the titles of general histories of literature, general manuals of criticism, feeling that it would be superfluous to mention them in a study of this sort. Although I do not enter into a catalog of the editions of the author's works, I have included here titles of several *Recueils*, *Bibliothèques*, etc., in which his poems are published or selections from his novels reprinted. Lastly, I have mentioned those works of fiction and drama, those letters and memoirs in which there are references to the author or his work, when these references seem of themselves to have a possible interest to the student, or to be valuable in establishing the position of

¹ Excluding the actual works of La Calprenède. I have in preparation a bibliography of the editions of his plays and novels which I hope to have ready for publication in a short time. I exclude also histories, novels, plays etc, which are considered sources of his work, as well as plays and novels which he may himself have influenced. Such items require more detailed proof than mere page references can provide and seem to me outside the scope of this study.

La Calprenède in the opinion of certain generations or localities. Here again choice must be exercised. As it is impossible to make a work of this kind complete, I have been as brief as I felt I could be, while including all works which, in my opinion, have a definite value for the study of this author.

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⁸ The *chanson* mentioned here is not found in the edition of the works of Benserade published by Ch. de Sercy, Paris, 1698, the only edition to which I have had access.

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¹¹ For discussion of no. 1100, see the first part of Dr. Lancaster's study, *La Calprenède dramatist* (my no. 76) and his *History of French Dramatic Literature*, p. 439.

THE EPISTOLARY PHRASE "DE VOSTRE MAISON . . ."
AS A POLITE FORMULA

Shortly before his death the poet Joachim Du Bellay addressed to his bosom friend, Jean de Morel, a letter which ended with the words: "De vostre maison au cloistre Nostre Dame, ce ⁱⁱⁱe d'octobre 1559."¹ The phrase "De vostre maison au cloistre" also occurs in another of his letters to Morel.² Basing his conclusions upon this evidence, the eminent biographer of Du Bellay, M. Henri Chamard, surmised that Du Bellay was at that time living in a house actually owned by Morel.³ It is our belief, however, that no such literal interpretation can be placed upon the phrase "De vostre maison . . ." but that it represents merely a hospitable salutation.

Another letter to Jean de Morel from a certain Benoist ends thus: "De Paris en vostre maison le ^{xx}e septembre 1568."⁴ If we interpret literally the statements included in Du Bellay's and Benoist's letters, Morel must have had more than one house in Paris, a circumstance which seems improbable, especially in view of a letter in which he describes his abject poverty, signed: "De vostre maison à Paris ce ^{xxii} Sept^{bre} 1571."⁵ This letter contains a desperate appeal for financial assistance from the writer to his former pupil, Henri d'Angoulême, the illegitimate son of Henri II.

There exist two other letters of the Morel family in which we hesitate to accept "De vostre maison . . ." in its literal sense. In a letter to Scévole de Sainte-Marthe, in Loudun, Morel used the ending: "De vostre maison à Paris ce ^{xxi}e novembre 1570."⁶ Lucrèce de Morel, his daughter, concluded in a similar fashion a letter written to Madame de Bryante, in 1572.⁷

¹ Bibl. Nat., fonds latin 8589, fol. 32. Published by Pierre de Nolhac, *Lettres de Du Bellay*, Paris, 1883, p. 40.

² Munich Library, Cod. Mon. Lat. 10383, fol. 148. Published by M. de Nolhac, *RHL*, 1899, pp. 351-361.

³ *Joachim Du Bellay*, Lille, 1900, p. 390.

⁴ Bibl. Nat., fonds latin 8589, fol. 75.

⁵ Bibl. Nat., fonds latin 8589, fol. 78. To Alesme, treasurer of Henri d'Angoulême.

⁶ Bibliothèque de l'Institut, MS 290, fol. 42.

⁷ Munich Library, Cod. Mon. Lat. 10383, fol. 265.

The examples already cited ⁸ lead one to suspect that the phrase "De vostre maison. . ." may have been a mere formal salutation. If we insist upon its literal exactness, we can not escape one of two questionable implications. In the event that the writers were more or less permanent tenants of the houses from which they wrote, we should find Jean de Morel in the peculiar rôle of landlord of the houses occupied by Du Bellay and Benoist while tenant of the properties belonging to Alesme, Sainte-Marthe, and Madame de Bryante. If the writers were mere visitors, we must infer that poets and humanists had a great fondness for doing their correspondence in the homes of the very friends to whom they were writing.

In the above instances, the proprietorship of the houses from which the letters were written can not be definitely settled. But the published correspondence of the Noailles family furnishes examples in which it is unquestionable that the writer was the actual owner of the house. Gérard de Saint-Marsal, "seigneur de Puydeval et de Conrots," ⁹ signed two of his letters to his first cousin, Henri de Noailles, as follows: "De vostre Conrots, ce 25 d'avril 1576" ¹⁰ and "De vostre Conrots, ce 15 mars 1576." ¹¹ In other letters to the same man he used the salutation "De Conrots" ¹² and "De Puydeval." ¹³ Obviously he was writing from his own home. And M. du Breuil, or de la Breuillie, seigneur of the estate which bore the same name, ¹⁴ ended a letter to Henri de

⁸ This phrase also occurs once in the correspondence of Pierre de Ronsard. In 1565 he had been granted the priory of Saint-Cosme-lez-Tours (L. Froger, *Ronsard ecclésiastique*, Mamers, 1882, p. 32) A few years later the encroachments of industrial developments upon his domains brought forth the poet's bitter complaints. He sought the aid of "Messieurs le Maire et les Eschevins de cette ville de Tours" and closed his letter to them with: "De votre maison de Saint-Cosme, ce xvii^e juillet 1568." (*Oeuvres*, éd. Laumonier, Paris, Lemerle, 1914-1919, VII, 128.) The house of Saint-Cosme could have belonged to those officials only in a figurative sense.

⁹ Louis Paris, *Les papiers de Noailles de la Bibliothèque du Louvre*, Paris, Cabinet Historique, 1875, I, 92.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 146.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 128, 130, 133.

¹⁴ "Jourdain du Breuilh, seigneur dudict lieu. Martin a dict qu'il est

Noailles with the words: "De vostre la Breuillie ce 20 avril 1585."¹⁵ Likewise a certain Le Burg, writing to Noailles, terminated thus: "De vostre Burg, ce dimanche 20 juillet 1585.—Le Burg."¹⁶ We have been unable to find any reference to Le Burg in contemporary documents, but it is evident that Burg is the name of the property, of which Le Burg himself would have been the most logical owner. Need we insist that "De vostre Conrots" is for Saint-Marsal, writing from his country estate, substantially the same salutation as "De vostre maison à Paris" for the inhabitant of an unnamed house in Paris? "Conrots" or "La Breuillie" indicates both the name of the property and its location.

Henri de Noailles received two other letters signed in a similar manner. We can find no record of his ever having owned an estate known as Bech, at Servières, yet a certain Dupeyron, writing of the depredations suffered by the former's château of Malesse during the religious wars, ended his letter with the words: "De vostre maison de Bech, à Servières, ce 22^e juin 1574.—Dupeyron."¹⁷ And, curiously enough, a certain Ruaud, in his letter of October 18, 1585, closed with: "De vostre *Lion d'or* de Limoges, ce jour Saint Luc."¹⁸ We have here an unquestionable reference to an old tavern of Limoges, whose modern namesake exists even today.

It seems certain, therefore, that the phrase "De vostre maison . . ." merely represents a gesture of extreme cordiality and hospitality. It is equivalent to saying: "You are always welcome in my

de la compagnie de M. Dempville [Montmorency-Damville] par quoy a esté déclaré exempt comme estant de ladicte compagnie." Cf. A. Lecler, "Rôle du ban et arrière-ban des nobles du Haut-Limousin en 1568," in the *Bulletin de la société archéologique et historique du Limousin*, 1894, xli, 560.

¹⁵ *Papiers de Noailles*, p. 203. A reference in this letter to his service with Montmorency, indicates that this is the same Le Breuil to whom we referred in the preceding note. Although signed "La Breuillie," M. Paris lists the letter as from "Mons. du Breuil ou de la Breuillie à M. de Noailles."

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 121. Henri de Noailles, in a letter to his mother (*Ibid.*, p. 282), refers to a "Mons. de Payrans," who is "seigneur de Pech." We strongly suspect *Bech* of being identical with *Pech* and *Dupeyron* with *De Payrans*. The extreme difficulty of deciphering much of the handwriting of the sixteenth century, together with the uncertain state of orthography in that period, might well account for these variants.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

house. When you visit this city, my home is yours." This very idea is implied in the Latin "hospes" and has doubtless existed among civilized people of all ages. As an epistolary salutation, it is scarcely more exaggerated than our own "Yours" etc.

But what is the immediate origin of this phrase? We had at first hoped to find here an expression akin to the Spanish "Su casa de Vd. está en la calle X" in response to the question "Where do you live?" But we have discovered no evidence of the existence of a Spanish epistolary formula similar to "De vostre maison. . ." Our efforts to find examples of this usage in Italian have been equally futile. The date of its introduction into French letters is likewise difficult to fix, but it probably disappeared by the end of the sixteenth century. To judge from the improbability that such letters were written from the homes of the persons to whom they are addressed, it would be dangerous, in the absence of supporting proof, to attempt to deduce the ownership of property from such salutations.

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SOME DATA ON JUAN RUIZ, ARCHPRIEST OF HITA

James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, in his *Historia de la Literatura española*,¹ speaking of Juan Ruiz, says:

Además, Guadalajara le hace suyo, y Francisco de Torres (m. en 1654) autor de una historia inédita de esta ciudad, pretende que Ruiz vivía aún en ella en 1415. Esta fecha (que podría ser un mero *lapsus* por 1315) está en completo desacuerdo con los hechos indiscutibles de la vida de Ruiz.

Similar references to this history of Torres have been made by others writing about Juan Ruiz, beginning with Tomás Antonio Sánchez. His statement,² which is repeated, with some slight changes, in the *Biblioteca de Autores españoles*,³ runs as follows:

En esta cancion el Arcipreste . . . se trata de anciano; y acaso habria ya fallecido el año de 1351, como se conjeturará despues. Y asi no se hace creible lo que dice Don Francisco de Torres en su *Historia MS. de*

¹ *Historia de la literatura española*, Madrid, 1926, p. 39.

² *Colección de poesías castellanas anteriores al siglo XV*, Madrid, 1790, iv, vi-vii.

³ *B. de AA. EE.*, Madrid, 1898, LVII, xxxiii.

Guadalaxara, esto es, que vivia en aquella ciudad, entonces villa, el año de 1415, á no ser que haya equivocacion por 1315, en que ciertamente vivia y podia ser poeta joven, si era ya anciano en tiempo del Arzobispo Don Gil.⁴ Esto se puede comprobar con lo que dice el mismo Torres en la citada historia, conviene á saber, que eran contemporaneos el Arcipreste, y el poeta Alonso Gonzalez de Castro. Y habiendo sido éste algo anterior, ó algun tiempo coetaneo del Arcediano de Toro, que florecio en el reinado * de Don Juan el I, se colige que nuestro Arcipreste y Alonso Gonzalez de Castro, lo fueron tambien por los años de 1315.

Sánchez's statement is thus fuller, but neither Sánchez nor any of those who refer to Torres give the text in question. At the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid there are two copies in manuscript of the *Historia de la ciudad de Guadalaxara por Francisco de Torres, su Regidor perpetuo, año de 1647*. Of these two manuscripts, 1690 and 1689, the latter is "corregido por el mismo autor." As a matter of fact, the spelling of 1690 is often better than that of 1689. In book II, chapter 5 of Ms. 1690 and in chapter 26 of Ms. 1689 we find the following heading: "De las Segundas Cortes de Guadalaxara, y cosas sucedidas en ella hasta el año de 1437." All the events of the chapter are of the fifteenth century. The dates are given in the margin in Ms. 1689. Thus, the election of Fernando as king of Aragon in 1412 comes shortly before the paragraph in which the Archpriest of Hita figures, and the death of San Vicente Ferrer in 1419 follows shortly after it. Though Ms. 1689 is to a considerable extent a rewriting and revision of Ms. 1690, they differ only slightly in this paragraph. I give the reading of Ms. 1689 (62 recto), the "corrected" one, exactly as it stands, with the variants of Ms. 1690 (153 verso).

Por los años de 1415 hubo dos Poetas señalados en Guadalaxara (1) el uno fue Alonso Gonzalez de Castro cuya sucession (2) es hoy en los de Villariega, y Villegas (3) que tambien descienden de Pedro (4) Rodriguez de la Camara llamado de la camara (5) por ser dela (6) del Rey dñ. Alonso el Onceno (7), fue Pedro (8) Rodriguez hermano de fernan (9) Rodriguez Pecha Camarero mayor del dño Rey; el (10) segundo Poeta fue el Arzipreste de Hitta (11) que hizo (12) un gran Volumen (13) de Proverbios en verso.

. Variants of Ms. 1690: (1) Guadalaxa. (2) Castro: cuya sucession (3) Villasinga y Villegas, (4) Po. (5) Camara: (6) de la (7) Don Alonso el Onceno (8) Po. (9) herº. de Fernan (10) dicho Rey. El (11) Arcipreste de Hita (12) hizo (13) volumen.

⁴ Archbishop of Toledo, 1337-1367.

^{*} 1379-1390.

The date 1415 may be a mistake on the part of Torres as to the time the Archpriest of Hita was in Guadalajara, and it certainly does not fit in with what seems to be indicated in the poem itself, especially the references to Don Gil de Albornoz, who ordered the imprisonment of Juan Ruiz, since Don Gil left Spain in 1350 and died in 1367. One can hardly call it a mere "lapsus" or "equivocación" if it is meant that Torres by a slip of the pen wrote 1415 for 1315. He groups the paragraph very definitely with other events of the early fifteenth century. Again, it would hardly seem to refer to the Archpriest as "poeta joven," for he is spoken of as one who "hizo un gran Volumen de Proverbios en verso." Although we do not feel that we can accept Torres's statement, it is perhaps worth while to have it in its setting and judge it for ourselves rather than repeat what Sánchez said about it.

There is one other reference to the Archpriest in Torres which is not mentioned by Sánchez. Toward the end of the *Historia* there is given a list of famous people of Guadalajara. Under R there is no mention of Juan Ruiz. In Ms. 1689, the "corrected" one (169 recto), under "Poettas" we find: "El Arzipreste de Hitta que hizo un Gran Volumen de proverbios en Verso. Alonso Gonzalez de Castro florezio en sus poesias por los años de 1415." In Ms. 1690 (346 verso), under "A" we read: "El Arcipreste de Hita (que no he savido asta aora mas nombre suyo) hizo un gran volumen de proverbios en verso. Alonso Gonzalez de Castro florecio en sus poesias por los años de 1415." This confession of ignorance as to the name of the Archpriest, a confession which the author leaves out in his "corrected" edition without giving us, however, any further information about him, makes us hesitate to take too seriously his date of 1415 if the person in question is really our Juan Ruiz.

On p. vii of the work of Sánchez already cited we read:

9. Siendo pues anciano Juan Ruiz en el pontificado de Don Gil, no sería de estrañar que hubiese ya fallecido el año de 1351. No faltan fundamentos para conjeturarlo. Don Baltasar Porreño, cura de Sacedon y de Corcoles, segun se intitula, escribió la *Vida del Cardenal Don Gil de Albornoz*, en un tomo en 8. que se imprimió en Cuenca, patria del Cardenal, el año 1626. En el fol. 34. dice que Don Gil hallandose en el Monasterio de San Blas de Villaviciosa, por una escritura fecha á 15^o de Junio de

*The date in Porreño is June 16, as in the Spanish translation of the document printed below.

1350,⁷ unió á dicho Monasterio ciertos prestamos, y mandó al Arcipreste de Hita, ó á su lugarteniente, le diese la posesion. Aunque Porreño nos llamó el nombre del Arcipreste, creemos que en la escritura no se omitiria. Por otra bula ó escritura dada en Villanueva, diócesi de Aviñon, á 7 de Enero de 1351, hizo tambien donacion al citado Monasterio, de cierta casa y heredad que habia comprado al Arcipreste de Hita, llamado Don Pedro Fernandez, mandandole al mismo tiempo, pusiese al Monasterio en posesion de aquellas fincas.

10. De aqui se puede sospechar que el año de 1351, á 7. de Enero habria fallecido, ó entrado en otro destino el Arcipreste y poeta Juan Ruiz, y que el inmediato sucesor se llamó Pedro Fernandez. Creyendo que de estas escrituras citadas como existentes en aquel monasterio Geronimiano, podria resultar alguna noticia de nuestro poeta, he solicitado copia de ellas, ó á lo menos satisfaccion á ciertas preguntas relativas á él, pero ni mi solicitud ha tenido efecto, ni mi súplica ha merecido contestacion. Son pues muy escasas las noticias que se pueden dar de un poeta acreedor en su genero de muy singular estimacion.

So far as I know, this document of June 16 has never been printed. Villaviciosa is a small town thirty-eight kilometers from Guadalajara and five from Brihuega. Villaviciosa, or Villadeleitosa as he sometimes called it, was a favorite residence of Don Gil de Albornoz. In a church of the town there was an image of San Blas, for which the Cardinal built a hermitage adjoining his own house. In 1347 he authorized the founding of a monastery, and in 1348 he raised the hermitage of San Blas to a monastery of Augustinians. At various times he made important donations of land or houses or income to this monastery, to which he seems to have been especially devoted. After his death the monastery seems to have been neglected by the Augustinians and finally, after a good deal of controversy, it was transferred to the order of Hieronymites. The decree of "exclaustración," or secularization, of the monasteries in 1836 ended the history of the place as a monastery. To-day there exist only a few ruins. The possessions of the monastery were sold and scattered, and I have been unable to find the Latin document referred to by Sánchez. Through the kindness of a priest of Brihuega, however, my attention was called to a

⁷ By a queer twist of fate, this date, which is correct as 1350 in the Sánchez original, is printed as 1450 in the reprint of the article in the *Biblioteca de Autores españoles*, LVII, xxxiii. Sánchez thus seems, in the reprint, to make a mistake of a century, as he suspected Torres had done.

history of Brihuega⁸ which contained a Spanish translation of what is apparently the same document. No indication is given of where the Latin document is located, nor is there any mention of Juan Ruiz in connection with it.

DONACIÓN HECHA POR EL ARZOBISPO DON GIL DE ALBORNOZ AL
CONVENTO DE SAN BLAS DE VILLAVICIOSA.

(Traducido directamente del latín)

Texto castellano

Gil, por la misericordia Divina Arzobispo de Toledo, Primado de las Españas y Conciller del Reino de Castilla, para perpetua memoria, considerando que al Sacristán del Monasterio del Bienaventurado Blas de Villaviciosa, del Orden de San Agustín, cerca de Brihuega, pueden convenirle muchas cosas de Osma⁹ y de cuyos réditos el dicho Osma no obtiene gran partido, entregamos íntegra la porción de préstamos de Trijueque asignada a nuestra mesa episcopal y la mitad de los préstamos que en la Iglesia parroquial de Muduex, vacante al presente por el fallecimiento de Fernando Sánchez que al tiempo de su muerte poseía dichos préstamos, damos, unimos, anexionamos e incorporamos con todos sus derechos y pertenencias a la dicha Sacristía del Monasterio de San Blas. Y mandamos y encargamos a todos los Arciprestes de Hita y a los que ocupen su puesto, que por autoridad nuestra den posesión incorporal al mencionado Sacristán o Procurador, en las referidas porciones prestimoniales con todos sus derechos y pertenencias que a ellas correspondan y las defiendan de cualquiera detentador o inductor, entregando al dicho Sacristán o Procurador, que lo pidiere en su nombre, con sus réditos, frutos, prevenciones, derechos y obvenciones, todo íntegramente y apliquen a los que a ello se opusiesen las censuras Eclesiásticas. Dada en el pueblo de Villadeliciosa cerca de Brihuega, nuestra Diócesis, el día diez y seis de Junio del año del Señor mil trescientos cincuenta sellado con nuestro sello en testimonio de verdad.

Martín Muñoz.

(Firma del arzobispo D. Gil.)

Contrary to Sánchez's hopes, the document gives no indication as to the name of the person who held the position of Archpriest of Hita in 1350, and thus does not inform us whether Juan Ruiz was alive at that time or not.

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⁸ Antonio Pareja Serrada, *Brihuega y su partido*, Guadalajara, 1916, 623-4. From this book, as well as from Porreño, *op cit.*, I have derived some of the information given above concerning San Blas de Villaviciosa.

⁹ Osma had just come under the authority of Don Gil on January 11, 1350.

OOR ESCUTEZ SEINURS . . .

The last two folia, ff. 239-240, of vol. I of the so-called Gundulph Bible, formerly in the Sir Thomas Phillipps collection, now Huntington MS. 62, contain the poems of Alcuin (18 lines)

In hoc quinque libri retinentur codice Moysi

Ad laudem Christi propriamque in secula salutem.

and Theodulph (246 out of 250 lines)

Quicquid ab hebreo stilus atticus atque latinus

. . . (to line 246 inclusive)

Lector, cui fulvum mentis acumen inest.

found in a number of ninth and tenth century Vulgate MS. Bibles.¹ The Vulgate text of the Gundulph Bible seems to be in a hand of the second half of the eleventh century. The poems of Alcuin and Theodulph were apparently written approximately a century later. The handwriting of these two folia is closely similar to that of facsimile 2 of Plate XI of M. Prou's *Manuel de Paléographie Latine et Française*,² dated 1183, whereas the writing of the text of the Bible would be close to that of Plate IX, facsimile 2, dated 1058.

An interesting feature of this transcription of these descriptive verses is the fact that the last four lines of Theodulph's poem (lines 247-250)³

Semine sic messor proviso plurima parvo

Grana vehit, voto fertilior cluens,

Dumque opus id cernis, relegis dum carmina nostra,

Theodulfi clemens sis memor, oro, vale!

have been omitted, and in their place there have been written six lines in Old French, in a hand that, though in general similar, is clearly later than the preceding Latin. After lines 245-246 of Theodulph's poem

¹ For MSS. and text see E. Dümmler, "Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini" (in *Mon. Ger. Hist.*, in 3 vols., Berlin, 1881), for Alcuin, I, 287; for Theodulph, I, 440-442, and text, 532-538; S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers Siècles du Moyen Age* (Nancy, 1893), 93, 108 sqq., 146 sqq., 192 et passim.

² 4e éd., Paris, 1924.

³ Dümmler, *op. cit.*, I, 538.

Plura referre mora est, in paucis collige multa,
Lector, cui fulvum mentis acumen inest.

there follow immediately, without pause or unexpected spacing, these six lines, ending the second column on the recto of f. 240:

Oor escutez, seinurs, que deus vus seit ami!
L chevalier e seriant, baielei e meschin,
Cest atre poure gent nel quier mie tolir.
Chancun bien fete plereit vus aoir?
Deu munt seint michiel dici qu'en puntif
E de cordres sur mer dici qu'en aufrie . . .

The contiguity of twelve-, eleven- and ten-syllable lines will be noted. Aside from a slight difference in the handwriting the only distinctive mark of the French is that in each of the six capitals, O, L, C, C, D, E, two dots, one above the other, have been placed. The scribe was ambitious for the dissemination of the subject matter contained in the codex to which he had appended this *envoi*. Knight and laborer, in every land, from East to West, from North to South were to hear this 'chancun bien fete.' His specific geography was, for a medieval poet, fairly accurate—from Mont St. Michel to the Pontus⁴ (Euxinus) and from Cordova by the Sea to Africa.

Owing to their quite obviously occasional character, these six verses may never have been copied. Throughout the two volumes of the Gundulph Bible there is not so much as a single marginal gloss in French, nor the slightest clue to the identity of a scribe or owner previous to the thirteenth century⁵ beyond the title page ascription in general terms: *Prima pars biblie per bone memorie Gundulfum Roffensem episcopum. . .* in a hand certainly not antedating the middle of the thirteenth century. Prof. A. Langfors has not listed these verses in his *Les Incipits des Poèmes Français antérieurs au 16^e siècle*.⁶

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⁴ Prof. E. C. Armstrong has suggested these renderings of "puntif" and "cordres sur mer."

⁵ The Bible was in the possession of the Priory of St. Andrew at Rochester in 1202, according to a catalogue of monastic MSS. of that date. See W. B. Rye in *Archæologia Cantiana*, III, also separately printed as "A Memorial of the Priory of St. Andrew at Rochester."

⁶ Paris, 1917.

A VIRGILIAN SIMILE IN TASSO AND CHATEAUBRIAND

In reading *les Natchez* for borrowings from Tasso, I have noted an epic simile which seems to come ultimately from the *Aeneid*, perhaps more directly from the *Gerusalemme liberata*, and which has escaped the attention of Dr. L. H. Naylor in his excellent study on *Chateaubriand and Virgil*.¹ It is perhaps worth while, for the sake of completeness, to point out this further case of possible influence. The passage in question is found in *les Natchez*, III, p. 222,² and describes the jealous rage of Ondouré:

Lorsqu'un sanglier, la terreur des forêts, a découvert une laie avec son amant sauvage, excité par l'amour, le monstre hérissé ses soies, creuse la terre avec la double corne de son pied, et, blessant de ses défenses le tronc des hêtres, se cache pour fondre sur son rival: ainsi Ondouré. . . .

The passage from Virgil (*Aeneid*, XII, 103-106) deals with a bull, but there are enough similarities to justify the *rapprochement*:

mugitis veluti cum prima in proelia taurus
terrificos ciet atque irasci in cornua temptat
arboris obnixis trunco ventosque lacessit
ictibus aut sparsa ad pugnam proludit harena.³

Tasso's imitation is much closer than Chateaubriand's (*Ger. lib.*, VII, 55):

Non altramente il tauro, ove l'irriti
geloso amor co' stimoli pungenti
orribilmente mugge, e co' muggiti
gli spiriti in sé risveglia e l'ire ardenti;
e'l corno aguzza a i tronchi, e par ch'inviti
con vani colpi a la battaglia i venti;
sparge col piè l'arena, e'l suo rivale
da lunge sfida a guerra aspra e mortale.

Chateaubriand may have felt obliged to modify the passage as he did in order to show more originality in imitation than Tasso, with whose poem he was extremely familiar. Perhaps he was reserving the bull for later use (*Natchez*, x, 308 and xi, 335) and chose to substitute a boar for the sake of variety. In another pas-

¹ Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1930.

² In *Oeuvres complètes*, Paris, Garnier, n. d., T. III.

³ A similar passage is found in *Georgics*, III, 232-235. Cf. also Lucan, *Pharsalia*, II, 601 sq.

sage he changes Virgilian bulls into steeds (*Natchez*, x, 309),⁴ and in the next to the last paragraph of Book iv, beginning, "Sur les rivages du Nil ou dans les fleuves des Florides," these Protean bulls become crocodiles—or alligators, *ut libet*.

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THE MORALITY THEME IN BOOK II OF
THE FAERIE QUEENE

There are several reasons for believing that Spenser may have been influenced by the morality plays. In the first place, since many of them were presented during his lifetime, it is highly probable that he saw some of them performed. Again, his "nine comedies" prove that he was interested in the dramatic form. Knowing what we do of his method, we may assume that no matter what style of play he intended to compose, he would have read and observed all the styles of drama that he could obtain. Furthermore, the evidence of Book I indicates that he was familiar with the morality form at least in its broader aspects.

In the morality play as it developed in England there is a regular formula. Man, or some abstract quality representing a human protagonist, first leads a life of virtue, is seduced by evil, despairs, repents, and is then forgiven, strengthened, and saved by Divine Grace. This, in short, is the structure of the first book of *The Faerie Queene*. The Redcrosse Knight falls into sin through his own failings, and so has to be saved from Despair by external means and be spiritually renewed by Holy Church. Obviously there is no such analogy in the story of Guyon, for he never falls from virtue, is never really in need of being saved, and is not prepared for his final adventure by religion, but by reading chronicle history. With the Palmer (Reason) for his guide, Guyon, after meeting with Amavia and the slain Mordant, sets out to destroy the enchantress Acrasia. As in the typical morality, the path is frequently beset with the forces of evil or guarded by the agents of righteousness. From Medina's house of moderation Guyon proceeds on his way, withstanding successively Furor and Occasion,

⁴ Cf. L. H. Naylor, *op. cit.* 134-135.

idle pleasure typified in Phaedria, and all the temptations of wealth and power in Mammon's Cave. While in a state of exhaustion he is physically but not spiritually despoiled by the Paynim brethren, rescued by Arthur, and instructed in the House of Alma; and is finally victorious over sensuality in its most seductive form.

The difference then, between the books of Holiness and Temperance seems to correspond roughly to the difference between the early morality plays where the salvation of the soul was the dominant theme, and those later ones in which other themes of an ethical or social nature were introduced and indeed often occupied the foremost place.¹

It may be that Spenser wished to show how the principle of Temperance could in itself be a sufficient guide to a virtuous life. This would account for the fact that in Book II there is little apparent fluctuation on the part of the hero between good and evil.

In Henry Medwell's *Nature* (ca. 1490), although the protagonist falls into error, it is notable that he decides to change his mode of life without the intervention of abstract advisers.² When Mankind asks Reason where he may find preparatives against the sins, he is told,

Thou shalt find them within thine own breast.
Of thee it must come; it must be thy deed;
For voluntary sacrifice pleaseth God best.
Thou canst not thereof have help or meed
But if this gear of thine own heart proceed.³

A late morality play, *The Trial of Treasure*, (1567) is reminiscent of Book II in structure, for the hero, Just, remains upright throughout and prevails against Lust and Inclination. It is true that the author takes care to remark that these victories were won through God's aid, but there was certainly no formal course of strengthening or purgation, and so this aid is hardly more than the gift of a sense of moral values. In the same play Just is contrasted with Lust, a character who remains vicious throughout. In *The Longer Thou Livest, the More Fool Thou Art* (1560?),

¹ For treatment of some later morality plays see Dr. Louis B. Wright, "Social Aspects of Some Belated Moralities," *Anglia*, LIX (July 1930), pp. 107-148.

² See W. Roy Mackenzie, *The English Moralities*, p. 73.

³ In John Farmer's "Lost" Tudor Plays, p. 122.

the hero Moros also remains depraved in spite of all attempts to reform him. This type of play, according, to Mackenzie, is due to French influence, and in a note he cites two similar French plays, *Bien Avisé*, *Mal Avisé*, and *L'Homme Juste et L'Homme Mondain*.

The old enemies of God and Man as set forth in Prudentius's *Psychomachia*, namely the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, are still present in Book II. It has been suggested that

in Mammon's Cave the World is overcome. Arthur prevails against the Devil in the person of Maleger, the captain of the vices. Guyon, in the bower of Acrasia, resists the temptations of the Flesh. The ninth canto shadows forth the struggle of the Soul within the body.⁴

This general idea is certainly correct, but I should think it open to question that Spenser had thought out the allegory in any such definite scheme as Dr. Triggs implies. If he did, however, it would not have been necessary for him to go back to early church Latin, for the same organization occurs again and again in later works, notably in the speech of the First Vexillator in *The Castle of Perseverance* (ca. 1425), and in Reason's address, with which the second part of *Nature* opens. So much for the broader outline.

One of the most emphasized sins in all morality literature is that of idleness. In Ovid's *Remedia Amoris* and later in an old French poem, *Les Echecs Amoureux*,⁵ the practical solution of the problem of idleness is active participation in the duties of this life. Lydgate wrote an original poem on the subject,⁶ in which it is called the "moder of vices alle." Again in his *Triumph of Virtue*, one is warned,

Be no sluggard, fle from ydilnesse
Connyng conquer by vertuous dilligence;
Slouth of vices is cheef porteresse,
And a step-moodir to wysdam and science.

Lydgate's master, Chaucer, inveighs against idleness in the opening stanzas of *The Second Nonnes Tale*, and at greater length in the "De Accidia" section of *The Persones Tales*. Here as a remedy is offered "fortitudo." The fact that both of these are to a consider-

⁴ Lydgate, *Assembly of Gods*, ed. Triggs, EETS., extra ser., no. 69, introduction, p. lxxxv.

⁵ See E. Sieper, *Les Echecs Amoureux*, Weimar, 1898, in *Litterar-historische Forschungen*.

⁶ *A Poem Against Idleness*, Percy Society reprints, vol. 2, pp. 84 ff.

able extent translations only indicates further spreading of the idea. Earlier, in Alanus's *De Planctu Naturae*, in the description of Dame Nature's damask tunic, we find: "In its principal part man laid aside the idleness of sensuality, and by the direct guidance of reason penetrated the secrets of the heavens."⁷ In Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* (translated by Lydgate), Grace Dieu tells Nature the only reason she has given her to rule over so much is because she wants to keep her from being idle,⁸ and elsewhere in the same work Nature herself declares, "I hate al maner ydelnesse." These ideas bore fruit in the morality plays, so that there is scarcely one that does not give some preachment on the matter, and to list all the instances would require more space than this paper could allow.

All this calls to mind the emphasis given the subject in Book II. To go to Phaedria's garden, Guyon has first to cross the Idle Lake, and when once there he withstands temptation largely because he is aware that such idle dalliance keeps men away from the performance of their duties. The same motif is obvious in the episode of Acrasia's bower, notably in the description of the dress of Genius, the porter,

His looser garment to the ground did fall,
And flew about his heeles in wanton wize,
Not fit for speedy pace, or manly exercise,⁹

and in the stanza on the young man whom she has seduced,

His warlike armes, the idle instruments
Of sleeping praise, were hung upon a tree,
And his brave shield, full of old monuments
Was fowly ras't, that none the signes might see.¹⁰

Uncaring he sleeps on, while he should be about his duties and feats of arms. There is too the incident of Mammon's Cave where the money god tempts Guyon with riches. Perhaps his chief objection is against the idleness that the possession of wealth might bring on:

Me ill besits, that in der-doing armes,
And honours suit my vowed dayes do spend,
Unto thy bounteous baytes, and pleasing charmes,

⁷ From the translation by D. M. Moffatt, *Yale Studies in English*, no. 36.

⁸ EETS., extra ser., no. 77, ll. 3761 ff.

⁹ II, xii, 46.

¹⁰ II, xii, 80.

With which weake men thou witchest, to attend
 Regard of worldly mucke doth fowly blend,
 And low abase the high heroicke spright,
 That ioyes for crownes and kingdomes to contend;
 Faire shields, gay steedes, bright armes be my delight.
 Those be the riches fit for an advent'rous knight.¹¹

At least twice afterwards he reiterates the same idea,—that he has a task to perform and will not take a short-cut to success through wealth and thus be its "servile slave."

There is an interesting analogue to the Phaedria incident in *The Play of Wyt and Science* (ca. 1545). Wyt must conquer the giant Tediousness before he can marry Science, the daughter of Reason. Rather early in the quest he deserts Honest Recreation, and unlike Guyon, who is guided by the spirit of Temperance, he is unable to resist the lure of Idleness and falls down in her lap. After some very uncomfortable experiences, he is finally forgiven by Reason and is ready for a second battle with the giant. The analogy to Guyon's adventures is strengthened, I think, by the fact that Wyt is reinforced for his final struggle by three characters, Study, Diligence, and Instruction, while Spenser's hero is fortified by studying history. Let it be noted too that this play is of the practical rather than of the religious type. This preparation through study is quite in line with Lydgate's advice,

Reede in bookys of antiquyté,
 Of oold stooryes be glad good thyng to heere,
 And it shal tourne to giet commodité.¹²

Further evidence that antiquity was respected for its pedagogic value is not wanting. In *The Longer Thou Livest*, Ignorance adopts the name Antiquity further to deceive Moros. In this connexion also should be mentioned such long works as *The Fall of Princes* and Thomas Occleve's *De Regimine Principum*.

To return to Mammon's Cave and its seductions of wealth and ambition, it is my impression that the evils attendant upon money, while usually mentioned as a matter of course in early works, are not emphasized to the extent they are in the later morality plays. If such is really the case, it is probably due to the changing eco-

¹¹ II, vii, 10.

¹² From "Triumph of Virtue," Percy Society reprints, vol. 2, p. 219. On the same theme, see his *Troy Book*, Prolog, lines 80 ff. (EETS., no. 97).

monic conditions, which saw the accumulation of large fortunes, whereas earlier, when money was scarcer, the evils were almost entirely theoretical. Be that as it may, the money problem was of current interest, and there is severe criticism of the power of wealth in such plays as *The Trial of Treasure*, *The Tyde Taryeth No Man* (1576?), *The Longer Thou Livest*, and *All for Money* (1578). These titles are for the most part self-explanatory. The emphasis in nearly every case however is not upon money as an evil *per se*, but upon money ill-got and ill-used. Thus Guyon's objection that he might not receive anything until he knew that it was well-got becomes more than a mere prudish objection.¹³ Similarly, in *Nature*, Liberality urges Mankind to follow her, but warns

. that should be do
Of well-gotten goods; else it is naught;¹⁴

and in the same dialogue, she warns against being either a spend-thrift or a miser, saying,

Take the midway, betwixt them two,
And flee the extremities howsoever thou do.

In similar fashion is Measure's position on the subject of great fortunes and expenditures stated in the argument with Liberty in *Magnificence* (1515?), for "Wealth without Measure wolde bere hymselfe to bolde."¹⁵

In *The Trial of Treasure*, when Inclination advises Lust to give the "apple of Paris" to Lady Treasure, he uses substantially the same arguments as does Mammon; namely, that wealth may be used as an easy way to success. He promises that if his candidate is favored,

You shall never wante the societie of Pallas;
Juno, nor yet the armipotent Mars,
Can not resiste your strengthe be they never so fearece;
And as for Venus, you shall have at pleasure,
For she is boughte and solde alwayes with Treasure;
She of her power hath whole countreies conquered,
The moste noble champions by her hath been murthered.¹⁶

The terrible evils of the misuse of wealth, which are implied in

¹³ II, vii, 19.

¹⁴ Farmer, "*Lost*" *Tudor Plays*, p. 129.

¹⁵ In Ramsay's edition, EETS., extra ser., no. 98, p. 5.

¹⁶ Percy Society reprints, vol. 28, p. 25.

Inclination's harangue and which are treated in Book II, are also found clearly outlined in a passage too long to quote, in the Prologue to Lupton's *All for Money*.

The Trial of Treasure is further notable for its denunciation of ambition, through the character Just, who speaks of it as,

. that sickness incurable;
A! wicked Adrastia, thou goddes deceivable,
Thus to plucke from men the sence of their mynde,
So that no contentation therein they can finde.¹⁷

This very passage might easily have been employed to describe the "route of people . . . of every sort and nation under skye" who strive with one another to climb aloft on Philotime's golden chain. Moreover in this play, Lady Treasure appears on the stage as a beautiful woman finely dressed. Incidentally it may be recalled that Philotime was thrust out of heaven through jealousy of the gods, and in like manner in the play of *Queen Hester* (printed 1561), Ambition is turned out of his court because of Aman's jealousy. Again, the spectacle of Judas and Dives bewailing their punishments in *All for Money* is paralleled by the wretches in Spenser's Garden of Proserpina.

All for Money is not so serious in tone as *The Trial of Treasure* but the moral is, "the love of money is the root of all evil."¹⁸ Greediness and Wantonness are denounced in *The Tyde Taryeth No Man*, and numerous other instances in the contemporary literature might be adduced.

The principle of guardian angels in theory and their actual appearance in scholastic literature are common enough. One of the most striking is the "fayre Yonglyng of ful huge beaute" in Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of the Soul*.¹⁹ Probably the closest resemblance to Book II however, is to be found in *The Castle of Perseverance*. When Mankind has forsaken the path of virtue, his good angel mourns and causes Shrift to come to his aid, and later insists on his repairing to the Castle of Perseverance. Here he is strengthened by the counsels of Charity, Abstinence, Chastity, Generosity, and Industry. Belial in person leads an attack of the forces of evil but is repulsed. In both this play, then, and in

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹⁸ Mackenzie, *The English Moralities*, p. 195.

¹⁹ See especially Capit. vii and ix. Cf. *F.Q.*, II, viii, 5.

Book II there is warning by an angel, entrenchment in a castle, instruction (not primarily religious in character), an attack by the captain of the powers of darkness, and his subsequent defeat. I do not believe that the split in the action between Guyon and Prince Arthur invalidates this as an analogue.

The castle device is conventional. It also occurs in the play of *Mary Magdalene* (ca. 1490?), where Mary's castle is besieged and taken, and Lechery and the bad angel enter. In *Nature*, Reason compares the life of man to the besieging of "a strong town or castle." The five gates of Alma's castle against which the enemies of Temperance bring their assault are discussed in *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*.²⁰

There are a number of minor annotations which might be suggested. For instance, similar to Guyon's binding of Furor and his subsequent loosing by Pyrochles, are in *The Trial of Treasure* Just's bridling of Inclination and Lust's liberation of him later.

It may be recalled that the porter to Acrasia's bower was called Genius, but that Spenser takes particular pains to distinguish between what he actually represents and the real, beneficent power Genius.²¹ This device is well known in the morality play, and as Professor Mackenzie remarks, "In almost every English Morality the Vices resort to the trick of changing their names for added effectiveness." In *The Longer Thou Livest* Idleness becomes known as Pastime, Incontinence as Pleasure, and Wrath as Manhood; in *Nature* Sensuality remarks that Envy, Wrath, Gluttony, Covetise, Sloth and Lechery have changed their names to fool Mankind;²² in *The Tyde taryeth No Man Hurtful-helpe*, Paynted-profite, and Fayned-furtherance become known respectively as Helpe, Profite, and Furtherance.

In *The Faerie Queene*, when, "Distempred through misrule and passions bace," Man has fallen from his high place, he becomes like any one of various animals, as portrayed in the beasts which have been enchanted by the sorceress Acrasia. Against this very thing Reason warns in *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*:

Ye shal be men & ellys nauht;
And yiff the trouthe be wel sauht,
Whan that I am fro yow gon,

²⁰ EETS., extra ser., no. 77, lines 4390 ff.

²¹ II, xii, 47.

²² Farmer, "Lost" Tudor Plays, p. 81.

Ye may avaunte (& that a-noon,)
 That ye be (thys, no fable)
 Bestys & unresownable.²²

In Medwell's *Nature* Reason tells of the effects of Sensuality upon man:

For sensuality, in very deed,
 Is but a mean which causeth him to fall
 Into much folly, and maketh him bestial;
 So that there is no difference, in that at the least,
 Betwixt man and an unreasonable beast.²³

Elaborations of the idea occur repeatedly throughout the play.

In *Nature* the character, Shamefacedness, who offers to help Mankind whenever he asks for it vaguely suggests Alma in *The Faerie Queene*. It may perhaps be worth noting that in the play, *Albion, Knight* (ca. 1560), the hero represents in addition to his moral qualities the spirit of England, apparently in somewhat the same way as Spenser's characters often do, and specifically Prince Arthur.

It may be seen, then, that there are in the literature under examination many ideas, analogues, and hints which are to be found in Book II. Many of these occur also in classical writings, but it seems more likely that Spenser received the chief imprint from late scholastic works and, since we know that he was interested in the dramatic form, from the morality plays in particular. Finally, it is not necessary to postulate any direct sources, since most of the features are conventional.

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THE MAIDEN AND HER LAMB, *FAERIE QUEENE*,
 BOOK I

Professor Greenlaw, in a note on "Una and her Lamb,"¹ considers the suggestion of Messrs. Padelford and O'Connor,² that Spenser found his original of Una and her lamb in old versions of the Saint George legend in which the king's daughter is sacrificed along with a sheep. Professor Greenlaw confirms the view

²² EETS., extra ser., no. 77, p. 55, lines 2019 ff.

²³ Farmer, "Lost" Tudor Plays, p. 52.

¹ MLN., XLII (1927), 515-516.

² SP., XXIII (1926), 159.

"that Spenser was following the ancient legend rather than contriving a subtle allegory of truth and innocence." But he points out that there is no necessity for postulating any one literary source for Spenser's use of the legend and cites two fifteenth century pageants which provide all the elements of the story as used by Spenser and avoid the transformation of the sheep into the lamb as required by the sources suggested by Messrs. Padelford and O'Connor. My purpose is simply to cite additional instances of the occurrence of the legend to illustrate its wide dissemination and to show that the maiden and the lamb frequently appeared together.

When Edward IV visited Coventry in 1474 there were numerous pageants presented in his honor.

Also upon the Condite in the Crosse Chepyng was seint George armed and kynges doughter knelyng afore him with a lambe and the fader & the moder beyng in a toure a boven beholdyng seint George savyng their doughter from the dragon.³

Nearly all of the necessary elements reappear in the Saint George pageant of Edward VI's coronation procession. At the little conduit in Cheap "was sett a stage, whereupon was Seint George on Horsebacke in Compleat Harnes, with his Page in Harnes also, holding his Speare and Shield, and a faire Maiden holding a Lamb in a string."⁴ While the above account appears to indicate a defective representation of the legend, the elements of real significance to us, the maiden and her lamb, do appear.⁵

There are numerous instances of the occurrence of the legend exclusive of the pageant. George Scharf⁶ mentions a votive painting of Saint George, mounted on a brown charger, about to take the last blow at the dragon which has already been wounded through the neck. Near the saint stands a princess "with a lamb

³ Thomas Sharp, *A dissertation on the pageants or dramatic mysteries anciently performed at Coventry*, London, 1825, p. 154. Also cited in EETS., E. S. No. 87; Robert Withington, *English Pageantry*, 1918, p. 154.

⁴ John Leland, *Collectanea*, London, 1770, iv, 319.

⁵ Other apparently defective representations of the legend in the form of pageants which I have not cited because the accounts do not include both the maiden and the lamb may be found in Leland, *op. cit.*, iv, 197; Withington, *English Pageantry*, p. 112; *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, ed. J. G. Nichols, Camden Soc. Pub., 1847-8, p. 201.

⁶ *Archaeologia*, XLIX, 244.

in a string." In the foreground kneel Henry VII, the Queen, and their children. This painting, according to Scharf, was probably designed for the altar of some chapel of Saint George. In addition to this painting the author cites various representations of the legend as depicted upon armor, coins, woodcuts, statuary, and tapestries. Joseph R. Smith⁷ prints the title of "A most excellent ballad of St. George for England, and the King's daughter whom he delivered from Death, and how he slew a mighty dragon." Possibly this may be the poem, "Saint George for England," (printed in 1601 by Richard Vennard in *The Right Way to Heaven*), which begins as follows:

A Virgin Princesse and a gentle Lambe,
Doomb'd both to death to gorge this ugly beast:
This valiant victor like a Souldier came,
And of his owne accord, without request
With never daunted spirit the Fiend assail'd,
Preserv'd the Princess and the Monster quail'd.

The piece goes on to compare Saint George's victory over the dragon and his preservation of the princess with Christ's victory over the devil and his preservation of the church. The closing stanzas laud Montjoy as Saint George's knight and urge him to

Quell that Hell's shape of divellish proud Tirone . . .
That our deere Princesse and hir land be safe.

Vennard's book was dedicated to the Queen; and this use of the legend, with its direct reference to her Majesty and to political events, is not far removed from Spenser in spirit.

The foregoing paragraphs offer, I believe, sufficient evidence to show the wide diffusion of the legend in one form or another. Therefore, as Professor Greenlaw has pointed out, it is impossible to cite any one occurrence of the story as Spenser's source. Furthermore, several of the instances I have cited include both the maiden and the lamb. If some particular occurrence of the legend is to be postulated as the poet's source, why is it necessary to select one that requires the transformation of the sheep into the lamb?

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⁷ *Catalogue of Ancient English Ballads*, London, 1856.

A ROMANTICIZED VERSION OF *HERO AND LEANDER*

In *MLN.* for June, 1929, G. P. Shannon calls attention to Henry Petowe's poem, "The Second Part of *Hero and Leander* containyng their further Fortunes," which was published in 1598 as a continuation of Marlowe's unfinished work.¹ Mr. Shannon describes the poem as a weak piece of rhetoric, full of "such claptrap as a tournament, a knight in disguise, a cruel duke, happy wedding bells and final metamorphosis into pine trees."

As poetry Petowe's effort may be weak, but as an attempt to retell the old story in terms of a mediaeval romance it is interesting and significant. It is well known that long after mediaeval romance fell into disrepute in English literary society its materials continued to interest the lower classes. Petowe's deliberate use of stereotyped romance situations to enhance the popular appeal of his poem is an early illustration of this interest.

But if Petowe was the first to borrow from romance to adorn the *Hero and Leander* story he was not the last. As late as the eighteenth century the same device was employed by an unknown chapbook author to satisfy the literary tastes of the populace for whom the chapbooks were designed. It is obvious from a comparison of the two romanticized versions that he was not influenced by Petowe's poem. Probably, since we have no evidence that this was ever reprinted before 1850, it was not even known to him. I have not been able to find a source for the chapbook version or to trace it back earlier than the first quarter of the eighteenth century, but present it as an interesting illustration of the presence of the elements of mediaeval romance in some of the byways of eighteenth century literature.

There are five chapbook editions of the *Hero and Leander* story in the Harvard University collection, all based on the same original and varying from each other only in slight details. My study is based on these copies, for I have not been able to examine those listed in the British Museum Catalogue. Since, however, Harvard possesses a greater number of different editions and a copy apparently older than any noted in the English catalogue, the items here

¹ Bodleian Library. Excerpts of poem are to be found in Dyce's edition of Marlowe's works, 1850, vol. III.

listed probably give a fairly accurate idea of the chapbook treatment of the Hero and Leander story.

A. "The Famous and Renowned history of the unfortunate but noble lovers, Hero and Leander. Printed by E. M. for T. Norris at the Looking Glass on London Bridge."²

This is the only one of the chapbooks that I have been able to date with any certainty. Thomas Norris's activities as a London book-seller extended from 1695-1732, the year of his death.³ Since he moved his shop to London Bridge in 1711, our chapbook must have been printed after that year and before 1732. An address to the reader signed J. S. (Shirley?) tells us that the author has drawn the story "into a small compass, though very much to the purpose, containing much variety and Delight, so that it may be accounted the Perfection of History, dressed in a method that cannot but please."

In this romanticized version, Hero is no longer a priestess of Venus but lives at the court of her father, Armilius, prince of Sestos. Leander, marching through the city in a triumphal procession on his way to Abydos, sees her, falls in love with her, but does not learn who she is. Unable to forget her, he returns to Sestos secretly. Upon his arrival he rescues Armilius and his daughter from a band of "pirates" who have attacked them in the forest. Leander recognizes Hero as his love, but rides away without disclosing his identity or his love for her. In gratitude for his rescue, Armilius plans a tournament to which in true romance style Leander comes in disguise, bearing on his shield a heart shot through with sun's rays, and the sentiment, "She for whom I suffer is ignorant of my love." He overthrows the Prince of Persepolis, to whom her father plans to wed Hero and who before Leander's arrival had been ready to claim the prize, and so wins the diamond-studded coronet and at the same time a jealous rival. The prize he gives to Hero, concealing in it a letter declaring his love, but leaves the court without disclosing his name. Altamansor, the jealous prince, sends twelve of his followers to murder him, but Leander slays eleven of them and spares the twelfth only that he may report to his master the failure of the plot.

² *Catalogue of English and American Chapbooks and Broad-sides in Harvard Library*, 1906, no. 496.

³ *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers, 1668-1725*, H. R. Plomer, 1922.

When Hero learns that this handsome suitor is Leander, with whom she has secretly been in love since the day of the procession, she speedily sends a letter to him by Amoressa, her nurse and confidante. On the way Amoressa is pursued by a fearful monster, but Leander is resting nearby and saves her after a terrific struggle with the beast. Amoressa delivers the letter and promises to help the lovers, but counsels secrecy because of Altemansor's great power.

In the meantime Armilius, ignorant of Hero's attachment, proposes Altemansor for her husband, and refuses to listen to her protests. Anxious letters between the lovers follow, until Leander finally reveals himself to Armilius as his rescuer and asks for Hero's hand. Armilius rejoices to find his gallant hero but considers himself bound by his promise to Altemansor. The latter, fearful lest his rival should be successful, attempts to poison him. Failing in this, he attacks Leander by night, but is himself killed in the scuffle. There is a moment of hope for the lovers, but it disappears when Armilius promises Hero to the slain prince's brother, and imprisons her to make flight impossible. With the help of Amoressa, however, Leander visits her and persuades her to flee with him.

At this point the author returns to the familiar form of the story: Leander brings the boat but loses it in the tempest; unable to find another and unwilling to disappoint Hero, he swims after it and is drowned. Hero, made desperate by the sight of his body floating beneath her window, jumps into the sea to join him.

B. "Hero and Leander or the Unfortunate Lovers: An Ancient and Esteemed Romance. To which is added Leander's Epistle to Hero and Hero's answer. Both translated from Ovid by N. Tate, Esq. Printed for A. Cleugh, no. 23 Ratcliff Highway; and C. Stalker, Stationers' Court, Ludgate Street. Price Sixpence."⁴

This is by far the longest of the chapbook forms, containing additional letters between the lovers as well as between Leander and Armilius, long soliloquies, and a lengthy description of the beast that pursues the nurse. Aside from these rather wordy additions, the only change in detail is that the nurse is called Amphillicia throughout the story.⁵ Since the names of Cleugh and Stalker

⁴ Harvard Catalogue, No. 495.

⁵ In *A* the nurse was called Amphillicia at first, but was later referred to as Amoressa.

do not appear in Plomer's Dictionary or in any earlier one, and since the advertisement, on the cover, of Pope's "Essay on Man" gives us 1733 as a *terminus a quo* for this copy at least,⁶ the edition is probably a later and much embroidered version of *A*.

C. "The famous history of the two unfortunate lovers, Hero and Leander. Glasgow, Printed for the Booksellers."⁷

The similarity of phrasing in *A* and *C* make it apparent that *C* was based on *A*, although it is a somewhat condensed form and was probably published later. The nurse is called Amoresa throughout the story.

D. "The Famous History of the two Unfortunate Lovers Leander and Hero. Printed for the Booksellers."⁸

This small paper pamphlet is very like *C* and was probably an even later edition based directly on *C*. Some slight changes in phrasing, however, and the fact that in *D* the nurse is first Amoresa and then Amphilia indicate that *D* is not a reprint of *C*.

E. "The Famous History of the two Unfortunate Lovers Hero and Leander who Ended their Lives in the Sea for each other. Printed and sold in Aldermary Churchyard, London."⁹

This is an example of the extreme condensation which was possible in a chapbook. A great many of the details given in the other editions are omitted: no conversations are recorded, the letters are abbreviated or omitted altogether, and no mention is made of Hero's marriage to Altemansor's brother, of the rope-ladder by which Leander made his final visit to Hero, or of Leander's vision of the mermaids with their warning song.

The exact dates and relationship of these five editions, only a few, probably, of many editions of a once popular chapbook are relatively unimportant. Their literary value and influence are negligible. Their importance lies in showing that an author of the eighteenth century strove to please his public by decking Hero and Leander in the worn trappings of mediaeval romance.

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⁶ The *Essay on Man* was published in 1733.

⁷ Harvard Catalogue, No. 497.

⁸ Kittredge Collection of Chapbooks in Harvard Library.

⁹ Harvard Catalogue, No. 498.

NOTES ON THE RALEGH CANON

In a review of Miss Agnes M. C. Latham's edition of Raleigh's poems,¹ I some time ago pointed out the likelihood that certain poems printed in *The Phoenix Nest*, 1593, and standing in juxtaposition with those known to be by Raleigh, might well also be Raleigh's. I am now able to present external evidence in reinforcement of this suggestion. The evidence comes from Harleian Manuscript 7392, and with it some additional light upon the Raleigh canon.

1. At fol. 36v of the manuscript is to be found this version of a poem which appears in *The Phoenix Nest*² in close proximity to those which have been authenticated as Raleigh's:

Would I wer changde, into that goulden shower,
That so devinely stremed from the skyes,
To fall in droppes vpon the dainty flower,
Wher in her bed, she solitary lyes.
Then would I hope such showres, as richly shine,
Would pierce more depe, then thes wast teares of mine.

Or would I were, yt plumed swan, snow whight,
Vnder whose form, was hidden heavenly power,
Then in that river wold I most delight,
Whose waves do beate, against her stately bower.
And on those bankes, so tvne my dyinge songe,
That her deafe eares, should thinke my plaint to longe

Els wold I wer Narcissus, that sweete Boy,
And she herself the ffountayne, Cristall cleere,
Who ravisht with the Pride of his own Joy,
Drenched his limmes, wth gazing over neere.
So should I bringe my Sowle to happy reeste
To end my Lyfe, in that I loved beste

FINIS. RA.

Let me say at once, concerning the subscription, that in this manuscript "RA" is similarly placed after copies of two poems which Miss Latham ascribes to Raleigh on other evidence; and that "SYD" and "Sr P SY" are used to designate Sidney, and "EL" and "ELI" to designate Queen Elizabeth.

2. If we may place trust in the ascriptions of the collector of

¹ *MLN.*, XLV, 200.

² Edition of T. Park, *Heliconia* (1815), II, 103.

the manuscript, we may assign to Raleigh not only the poem I have quoted, and the version of it appearing in *The Phoenix Nest*, but also the following poem which appears on fol. 36r:

Sweete ar the thoughtes, wher Hope p^esuadeth Happe,
 Great ar the Joyes, wher Harte obtaynes requeste,
 Dainty the lyfe, nurst still in ffortunes lappe
 Much is the ease, wher troubled mindes finde reste.
 These ar the fruietes, that valure doth advaunce
 And cuts of Dread, by Hope of happy chaunce.
 Thus Hope bringes Hap; but to the worthy wight,
 Thus Pleasure comes; but after hard assay,
 Thus ffortune yelds, in manger oft for spight,
 Thus happy state is none without delay.
 Then must I needes advaunce my self by Skyll,

*to And lyve, *and serve, in hope of yur goodwyll.

FINIS RA.

This so far as I know, has never been previously printed. It is a slight enough addition to the Raleigh canon, but I see no reason for not accepting it. In style it accords with the early poems of Raleigh, such as his commendatory verses before *The Steel Glas*, 1576 (beginning, "Swete were the sauce would please ech kind of tast"), and the poems quoted from in *The Arte of English Poesie*, 1589. It should also be compared with the poem in *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*, 1576, beginning, "Swete were the ioyes, that both might like and last," which was signed "W. R." in the editions of 1578 and 1580, though ascribed differently in the first and in several subsequent editions.

3. The manuscript also gives additional strength to one of Miss Latham's ascriptions, namely that of *A Farewell to False Love*, consisting of thirty lines which begin, "Farewell false loue, the oracle of lyes," printed without author's name in Byrd's *Psalmes, Sonets and songes*, 1588, in Thomas Deloney's *The Garland of Good Will*, 1631 etc., and in *Le Prince d'Amour*, 1660, but according to Bullen assigned to Raleigh in a manuscript formerly in the possession of Mr. Bertram Dobell.³ The poem, substantially in the version printed by Miss Latham from Byrd and from Rawlinson Poetry Manuscript 85, where again it is anonymous, appears in the

* That this is not the present manuscript is proved, if proof be needed, by the fact that in Dobell's manuscript the poem was designated as a reply to one by Sir Thomas Heneage.

Harleian manuscript under discussion at fol. 37r, with the subscription "FINIS. RA."

The same subscription follows a copy, at fol. 36v, of the eighteen lines beginning, "Callinge to minde, mine ey went longe abowte," which appeared in *The Phoenix Nest* without its author's name, but which for long has been assigned to Raleigh on the evidence of Cotgrave's *Wits Interpreter*, 1655, several manuscripts, and a quotation from it in *The Arte of English Poesie*. For the sake of completeness I may add that one other poem by Raleigh (one which also appeared in *The Phoenix Nest*) is copied in the manuscript, twenty-four lines beginning, "Her flace, her Tonge, her Wytte,"⁴ at fol. 66v; and is subscribed "Raley" but in a different hand from that of the original transcriber.

The trustworthiness of the ascriptions in the manuscript under discussion is enhanced by the facts I have just recorded; namely, that in three cases poems already judged upon other evidence to be Raleigh's are ascribed to him, and that no poem is ascribed to him that is known to be another's. I may say that a rather hurried examination revealed no false ascriptions to other authors among the many poems of the manuscript. Scribbling at the end of the manuscript suggests that Robert Allott was either the compiler or an early owner.

4. Finally, I wish to call attention to the following passage appearing on p. 16 of William Vaughan's *The Golden Fleece*, 1626:

For this cause I minded to lay aside my *Melodie*, one of my chiefest Receipts, to restore mad men to their wits, in respect of these thanklesse times; and thus to lament my doubtfull disaster, as Sir *Walter Raleigh* did to our late *Queene Anne* of happy memory:

*My broken pipes shall on the willow hang,
Like those, which on the Babylonian bankes,
These ioyes foredone, their present sorrow sang;
These times to worth yeelding but frozen thankes.*⁵

From the introductory sentence, one cannot be sure whether Vaughan is quoting Raleigh or imitating him. These lines do not occur in *S. W. Raghlies Petition to the Queen*, 1618, or in the

⁴ Miss Latham's edition, p. 38; see her notes for evidence of Raleigh's authorship.

⁵ In the third line of the quatrain, "These" is doubtless a printer's error for "Their."

conjectural first draft of that petition discovered by Miss Latham; and if they are Raleigh's then they represent an entirely different address to the Queen, as the poems just mentioned are in three-line stanzas. If Vaughan was imitating Raleigh, he did so skilfully; the quatrain would fit perfectly into the eleventh book of *Cynthia*. The third line seems to echo the first line of the twelfth (fragmentary) book.

My dayes delights, my springtyme ioyes foidevnn.

My suggestion is that the four lines are quoted by Vaughan from a poem by Raleigh, addressed to Queen Anne, in which the unfortunate poet adopted the style and stanza-form, and perhaps utilized some phrases, of his unfinished books of *Cynthia*.

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THE DATE OF A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM

The seventh of the extant Elizabethan poetical miscellanies, *The Phoenix Nest*, was published in 1593. The only known complete copy of *The Arbour of Amorous Devices*, in the Huntington Library, is dated 1597. This is now recognized as a miscellany, although for a long time, because of the skill of Richard Jones, its printer, in drawing a red herring across the trail, it was erroneously ascribed to Nicholas Breton. It contains one of the most lively and quaint of all Jones's "Epistles to the Reader." In it he says: "and had not the Phenix preuented me of some of the best stuffe she furnisht her nest with of late, this Arbour had been somewhat the more handsomer trimmed vp." This passage suggests that an edition of *The Arbour*, now lost, actually was issued in 1594. The allusion to *The Phoenix Nest* seems to indicate that "R. S." and his printer, John Jackson, anticipated Jones in printing some of the verses there included. Jones would hardly have made such a statement if the "preuention" had occurred four years earlier; at least he would not have used the term "of late." The preface postulates almost definitely an edition dated 1594, not extant.

The third poem of *The Arbour*, entitled "A poem of a Mayde forsaken,"¹ contains a passage which, because of its striking simi-

¹ Upon the basis of internal evidence, I conjecture that this poem was

larity to a part of Bottom's song in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, has often been noticed as an allusion to Shakespeare. It begins with the conventional situation, "as late I lay within an arbour sweet." The poet hears a maid lamenting "Cupid slights" which "kill the heart." She calls upon the woods, rocks, birds, and beasts to witness her faithfulness in death. The poem concludes:

The red breast then did seeme to be the Clarke.
 And shrowded her vnder the mosse so greene,
 He calles the birds each one to sing a parte.
 A sight full strange and wotthy (sic) to be secne,
 The Larke, the Thrush and Nightingale,
 The Linnet sweete, and eke the Turtles true,
 The chattering Pie, the Iay, and eke the Quaille,
 The Thrustle-Cock that was so blacke of hewe
 All these did sing the prayse of her true heart,
 And mourned her death with dolefull musick sound
 Each one digged earth, and plyed so their part,
 Till that she was close closed vnder ground.

The entire poem has the unmistakable ring of the broadside ballad. The second of the quoted stanzas at once suggests Bottom's song in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, III, i:

The Woosel cocke, so blacke of hew
 With Orange-tawny bill.
 The Throistle, with his note so true
 The Wren and little quill
 Tita. What Angell wakes me from my flowry bed?

Numerous scholars² have noted the similarity of these passages as an allusion by Breton to Shakespeare. The author of the present poem wrote in all seriousness; his poem is intended to be most pathetic. It is not likely that he would introduce into it a passage

written by Richard Edwards. The fifth poem in *The Arbour*, "A Ladies complaint for the losse of her loue", was recently reprinted by Professor Hyder E. Rollins (*RENS.*, iv, 205) from British Museum Add. MS 26737, f. 106v, where it appears as "An Elegie on the death of a Sweetheart", signed "The songe of Emelye per Edwardes". The style of "The Mayde forsaken" as well as of the first and second poems of the miscellany is almost unmistakably the same. I conjecture that a manuscript of a number of Richard Edwards's ballads fell into Jones's hands and was utilized to form the first part of *The Arbour*.

² Among them Steevens, Halliwell-Phillipps, Furness, and Ingleby.

heard in the theatre on the lips of the stupid clown, Bottom. On the other hand, it is quite probable that the similarity in the two passages represents an allusion by Shakespeare to the present ballad. To heighten the contrast between the dainty Titania's idyllic lines and the coarse bellowing of the stupid Bottom, he needed a stupid stanza from a stupid street-song, preferably one at the time known well enough to be recognizable to the audience. What more apt for the purpose than a garbled version of the "Mayde forsaken"?

If the hypothesis is accepted, some light is thrown upon the troublesome question of the date of composition of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Scholars' guesses have ranged from 1589 to 1598, the date of Mere's mention of it. Of course, the ballad may have been current before Jones printed it in *The Arbour*; but it is reasonable to infer that its inclusion in a published miscellany would add to its popularity and make it generally better known. Granted the acceptance of the hypothesis that there was published an earlier edition of *The Arbour*, the evidence furnished by these significant passages is in strong support of those who contend for c. 1595 as the date of composition of Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, on the ground of the supposed allusions in the play to the storms, pestilence, and dearth of the winter of 1594, and of its supposed composition to grace the nuptials of the Earl of Derby and the Lady Elizabeth De Vere.

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MACBETH AND MUNDY AGAIN

Could Shakspeare have been influenced by Anthony Mundy in his passages on darkness in *Macbeth*? In the *Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntington*,¹ the following lines,

Muffle the eye of day,
Ye gloomy clouds (and darker than my deeds
That darker be than pitchy sable night)
Muster together on these high topped trees,
That not a spark of light thorough their sprays
May hinder what I mean to execute—

¹ Listed by Henslowe in 1597-1598 and printed in 1601. See Dodsley's *Old English Plays*, viii, p. 190.

invite comparison with

Come, seeling night,
Scarf up the tender eye of pitiful day,
(III, ii, 46-47)

and

Come, thick night,
And pall thee in the dunnest smoke of hell,
That my keen knife see not the wound it makes,
Nor heaven peep through the blanket of the dark,
To cry 'hold, hold!'
(I, v, 48-52)

That Shakspeare knew this play has been fairly well established; and as Miss Celeste Turner has noted,² it may have furnished him at least one other memorable image.

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HONORIFICABILITUDINITATIBUS

This 'word' has interested commentators on *Love's Labor's Lost* 5. 1. 44, and various earlier occurrences of it have been exhibited as likely sources of that passage. The accumulation of these at least serves to show that the term was a commonplace; and, such being the case, it is perhaps vain to look for a definite origin of Shakespeare's knowledge of it. Nash has the expression (*Lenten Stufte*, 1599, in *Works*, ed. by McKerrow, 3. 176), and Marston (*Dutch Courtezan*, 1605, Act 5, in *Works*, ed. by Halliwell, 2. 182). 'Wie Shakespeare das Wort kennen lernte,' says A.

² Miss Turner suggests that Shakspeare may have united one line from the *Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntington* (Dodsley, p. 173),

"Making the green sea red with Pagan blood,"

with another from the sequel to this play, *The Death of Robert, Earl of Huntington* (Dodsley, p. 268),

"The multitudes of seas dyed red with blood,"

in composing the lines,

"The multitudinous seas incarnadine,
Making the green one red." (II, ii, 62-63)

See *University of California Publications in English*, II, No. 1, 1928, Anthony Mundy, *An Elizabethan Man of Letters*, p. 118.

von Mauntz (*Shak. Jahrb.* 33. 273), 'darüber fehlt noch jeder sichere Anhalt. Der Möglichkeiten sind gar viele. Die wahrscheinlichste scheint mir die zu sein, daß englische Gelehrte jener Zeit de Balbi's *Catholicon* kannten, und unter Benutzung desselben Vorträge gehalten, oder Unterricht erteilt haben, in welchem Falle das 13 silbige Wortungeheur . . . in weiteren Kreisen bekannt werden konnte.'¹

A more obvious parallel, not before cited, I think, is the following, to be found in Erasmus, *Adagia* 3. 2. 69 (Hamaxiaea): 'Exstat jocus cujusdam in Hermetem quempiam hujusmodi sequi [sic] pedaliū verbum affectatorem:

Gaudet honorificabilitudinitatibus Hermes,
Consuetudinibus, sollicitudinibus.'

The popularity of the *Adagia* in Shakespeare's time need not here be insisted on. The book promptly found a place in the schools;² and was naturally better known to schoolboys when Shakespeare was one than it is to his commentators to-day.

Among the parallels previously brought forward is a passage in the Prologue to the anonymous *Complaynt of Scotland* (1548 or 1549):³

Ther hes bene diverse translatours ande compilaris in ald tymys, that tuke grite plesoir to contrafait ther vlgare langage, mixand ther purposis witht oncoutht exquisite termis, drevyn, or rather to say mair formaly, revyn, fra Lating, ande sum of them tuke plesoir to gar ane vord of ther purpose to be ful of sillabis half ane myle of lyntht, as ther was⁴ ane callit Hermes, quhilk pat in his verkis thir lang tailit vordis: *Conturbabuntur, Constantinopolitani, innumerabilibus, sollicitudinibus*. Ther vas ane vther that vrit in his verkis: *Gaudet honorificabilitudinitatibus*. Al sic termis procedis of fantastiknes ande glorius consaitis. I haf red in ane beuk of ane preceptor that said til his discipulis: *Loquere verbis presentibus, et utere moribus antiquis*: that is to saye, thou sal speik comont langage, ande thou sal lyve eftir the verteous maneirs of antiant men.

¹ Joannes de Janua (De Balbi), *Catholicon* (A. D. 1286). Other parallels are mentioned by Mauntz, by Max Hermann (*Euphorion* 1. 2. 283), by Karl Borinski (*Anglia* 18, N. F. 6. 450), and by Paget Toynbee (*Dante Studies and Researches*, p. 113).

² Foster Watson, *English Grammar Schools to 1660*, p. 425.

³ Ed. by Murray, *EETS.*, Extra Series xvii, p. 16; the passage is connected with Shakespeare by George Stronach, *Notes and Queries* 9. 9. 494.

⁴ Vas? Murray (p. cvii) says the (French) printer used no w.

This evidently bears some relation to the passage just quoted from the *Adagia*; Hermes and the 'vther' are quite as vague to the author of the *Complaynt* as 'quidam' and 'quispiam' to Erasmus. Yet the Scottish account contains matter that is not in the *Adagia*; in particular Erasmus does not specify the long words used by Hermes.

Murray gives good evidence from the language and typography of the *Complaynt* to prove that it was written and printed in France.

Now, in the *Revue du seizième siècle*, VIII (1921), 137, Abel Lefranc has quoted, merely as an analogue to Shakespeare, a passage that must be placed beside that from the *Complaynt*. It is from the Prologue to a translation into French of Cebes' *Tabula* and some Dialogues of Lucian, done by Geofroy Tory.⁵ The portion Lefranc quotes is as follows:

Mais toutesfois j'en doute, que telle forgerie de motz cornuz et exquis fust descendue ou precipitée de la langue latine en la nostre, car il s'en est trouvé et s'en treuve encore aujourd'hui maintz qui pensent avoir fait grosse besoigne s'ilz ont escript en langue latine ung mot estrange et long à outrance. Comme celluy qui dist, et ce neantmoins ingenieusement: *Conturbabuntur constantinopolitani innumerabilibus sollicitudinibus*.⁶ Et l'autre, nommé Hermès, qui mettoit tant sa felicité à escrire en motz longz et exquis qu'il en fut gaudy et batu de son baston, quant ung autre ingenieux homme composa contre luy en motz affectez et longz d'une brasse de syllabe ce distiche qui s'ensuit:

Gaudet honorificabilitudinitatibus Hermes,
Consuetudinibus, sollicitudinibus.

Je dis volontiers cecy en passant affin qu'on ne se attende point trouver motz inusitez en ce vostre petit livre. Je sçay qu'il fut jadis ung homme saige et philosophe qui dist ung jour à son amy: *Loquere verbis presentibus, et utere moribus antiquis*. c' est-à-dire: Parle en langage commun et viz selon bonne meurs anciennes.

⁵ *Table de l'ancien philosophe Cebes, natif de Thèbes, et auditeur Daristote, en laquelle est descrite et paincte la voye de l'homme humain tendant à vertus et parfaite science*. Paris, 1529. Lefranc promised to publish a full account of this book; if he has done so I am unfortunate in not being able to find it. The title-page, however, as reproduced in the printed Catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale, informs us that Tory made his French from a Latin version, and of Tory himself, that he was from Bourges, and that he was a bookseller at Paris, Rue Saint-Jacques.

⁶ Not recognized as a sentence in the *Complaynt*.

This is plainly the original of the passage just quoted from the *Complaynt*; it forms one more link between that book and France; and explains the relation of the Scots passage with Erasmus. In the French the sentence, *Conlurbabuntur*, etc., is one thing, and the anecdote about Hermes, taken from Erasmus, is another. The Scottish author has run them together. No doubt any one to whom Tory's book is accessible will find further resemblances between his Prologue and the Prologue of the *Complaynt*.

Neither of these books, I suppose, was known to Shakespeare; the *Adagia*, on the other hand, probably was. But where did Erasmus find the anecdote? And who was Hermes?

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JAMES HUTTON

MINISTRELS AND MUSICIANS IN THE REGISTERS OF ST. BOTOLPH ALDGATE

The fact that from 1592 to 1622 a number of actors resided in the London parish of St. Botolph Aldgate,¹ makes the occurrence during the same period of forty-one persons who appear in the Registers as "musition" or "minstrell" of possible importance to the historian of the theatre. Nine, to be sure, are royal musicians² whose connection with plays was presumably confined to

¹See my paper on "Actors' Names in the Registers of St. Botolph Aldgate," *PMLA.*, *XL*, 91 ff.

²I give in connection with each such fresh information as the Registers provide:

(1) "Humfrey Baach one of the Kinge Chappell" lived in Minorities street. He married "Susanne weekes daughter of one John Weekes late of our parish" on 12 Feb. 1617/18, and had children Simon (christened 21 Dec 1618) and John (christened 5 March 1619, died 2 May 1620).

(2) Lodowicke Bassance must have been elderly when he married, in Nov. 1592, Elizabeth Damon (possibly a daughter of William Damon, *vide infra*). He died 18 July 1593, and his posthumous daughter was christened on 2 Sept.

(3) "Robert Benson an Aged-man who was one of the Kings Trumpeters" was buried on 20 Nov 1619.

(4) William Damon of the Queen's Chapel, famous in the history of Tudor music, lived here from 1584 to his death. His children were christened William (25 April 1585) and John (28 May 1588). His own death is not recorded in the Burialls, though his non-cupative will was filed from the parish on 12 July 1591 (*Archdeaconry Court of London, Act Book II*, 67); but his wife's demise is entered for 14 Aug. 1593.

court productions. But the remaining thirty-two may have served any of the dramatic companies in the neighborhood³ not only as musicians but as players, in a day when "musician and actor were by no means exclusive terms."⁴ This is particularly likely of the seven minstrels in the group, for whom it would be interesting to establish a connection with the Curliam theatre, just to the north-west, which was famous for its jigs.⁵ Always mindful that some of the men whose names are given below may have been mere

Fidlers or some Rogues with staffe and wallet
To sing at doores,⁶

but that others may have had an actor's part in the plays of the period, I present this list of names from the Registers. To save space, I give for each man, not the entire entry, but the date, the designation of the parish clerk, and when it exists, an address:⁷

(5) Joseph Lupo, composer and musician for the violins, lost his wife Lavora on 30 May 1595.

(6) Peter Lupo, his brother, also musician for the violins, had children born to him as follows: Jane (1571), Katheryne (1575), Thomas (1577), Albanus (1579) Elizabeth (1581), Philip (1582) and Fardinandoe (1585), all but the first by his second wife "Katherine Wickes widdow" whom he wedded on 27 Oct. 1575.

(7) Gomer von Osterwerke "one of the Quenes Majesties musicians for the flutes" lost his second wife, Gartlith, on 19 Aug. 1587 and took to himself a third in the person of Marye Parkins on 7 Oct. of the same year. His children were Gomer (christened 2 July 1590), John (christened 22 Aug. 1591) and Joyce (buried 1 Sept. 1588). The musician himself was buried on 27 July 1592 according to an entry which corroborates the Audit Office Record to the effect that he died on 26 July.

(8) Edward Pearce, Gentleman of the Chapel in 1589 and Master of Paul's in 1600, is probably the "Edward Pearce Musition" whose son William was buried on 20 July 1600.

(9) Robert Wroth "one of the Kinges Maiesties Trumpetters" was buried on 12 Aug. 1619.

³ The Theatre in Shoreditch, the Boar's Head in Aldgate High, and the house of "the Prince's Company in Whitechapel;" cf. the Curtain *infra*.

⁴ T. W. Baldwin, *The Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearean Company*, p. 77; cf. also, p. 146. For specific instances in which the same men sustained the two rôles see, *passim*, G. E. Bentley's *Shakespeares Fellows* in *LTLS* for 15 Nov. 1928 and his "Records of Players in the Parish of St. Giles Cripplegate," *PMLA.*, XLIV, 789 ff.

⁵ C. R. Baskerville, *The Elizabethan Jig*, p. 106.

⁶ Wither, *Abuses Stript and Whipt* (1613), Book II, Satire 3.

⁷ I shall be glad to furnish an entry in full to anyone interested.

<i>Name and Address</i>	<i>Year of Entries</i>	<i>Designation</i>
Ashbie, ⁸ Roger bull alley (1617)		
3 kinge alley (1618)	1617, '18, 1620, '24	Musition (2) Fidler (2)
Baker, Jasper Rosemarie lane (1616)	1615, '16, '18, '19, '21, '24	Musition (6)
bull alley (1618)		
Baker, Robert	1596	Ministrell (1)
Barley, ⁹ James of Eastsmithfeild	1620	Musition (1) fidler (1)
Batcheller, Thomas	1616	Musition (1)
Bateman, Richard 3 Kinge alley	1612, '13, '14, '15, '17, '19	Musition (5)
Collier, John Beare Alley	1617, 1620	Musition (2) ¹⁰
Coweye, Adam	1606	musition (1)
Crosone, Robert	1604	Trompettar (1)
Daffee, William blew Ancher alley	1618	Drummer (1)
Day, ¹¹ Christopher Hatchet Alley	1612, 1613	Musition (2)
Ellison, Griffin	1618, 1624	Musition (1)
Feilde, ¹² William	1593, '94, '96	musition (1) ministrell (1)
Godfrey, Edward neere houndsditch	1618	Musition (1)
Knott, Thomas	1599	trompettar (1)
Langlie, ¹³ Robert Ali's Langdell	1601	Minstrell (1)

⁸ The orthographic vagaries of the period make it possible that he was related to Edward Ashborne who is listed among the attendants and musicians in the King's Company in 1624 (J. Q. Adams, *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert*, pp. 74-5).

⁹ He may have been a connection of William Barley, Stationer, who was brought before the High Commission in 1598 for selling at Cowdray a twopenny book on her Majesty's progress; cf. E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, iv, 65. There was a musician named William Barley who in 1596 published *A new booke of tablature, shewing howe to play the lute, cpharion and bandora*; Pollard-Redgrave (*Short Title Catalogue*, § 1433) cite a unique copy in the British Museum.

¹⁰ He was also "free of the Bricklayers." John Collier may have been the son of John the "silkeworker" who was living in St Giles Cripplegate in 1567 (cf. *Return of Aliens*, I, 356).

¹¹ Chambers (*op. cit.*, II, 313), gives a Thomas Day of the Chapel in 1601.

¹² Possibly a relative of Nathan, Nathaniel, or Richard Field.

¹³ He may have been kin to Francis Langley, Henslowe's rival at the

<i>Name and Address</i>	<i>Year of Entries</i>	<i>Designation</i>
Linke, Geoffrey	1595, 1598, 1619	minstrell (1)
		Musition (1)
Lowicke, Ralphe	1601	Minstrelle (1)
Marston, ¹⁴ John	1585, 1587, 1593	Musition (1)
Moulde, John	1618	drummer (1)
Newton, ¹⁵ Richard	1593	musition (1)
Olyver, Edward	1593	musition (1)
Row, ¹⁶ Thomas	1605, 1607	musission (2)
Shacklock, ¹⁷ Edward	1617, 1620 ¹⁸	Musition (1)
Red Lion alley		
Shander "mr "	1618	Musition (1)
Simson, ¹⁹ William	1616, 1617	Musition (2) ²⁰
Nightingdale lane		
Spence, Thomas	1602	Muzessione (1)
Tatum, William	1596, 1606	minstrell (1) seruante to John Tatam (1) ²¹
Thrum, Penitent ²²	1597	luteplayer (1)
Vause, ²³ Anthonie	1618	Trompetter (1)
Warren, Thomas	1593, '96, '97, '99, 1600	minstrell (5)
White, ²⁴ John	1625	Musition (1)
Wilkinson, ²⁵ Rowland	1600	Minstrell and Cittizen of London (1)

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EMMA MARSHALL DENKINGER

Swan; cf. Chambers (*op. cit.*, I, 368; II, 131-133; IV, 36-7), and Baldwin, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

¹⁴ Possibly the same person as "John Merson, servant to Edward Smythe, bugler, borne in Shanne in Burgundye, came into England two yeares paste," who appears in the "Libertas Sancti Martini Lee Graund" according to the "vewe taken the sixt daye of Aprill, anno 1583" (*Return of Aliens*, II, 351).

¹⁵ He may have been a connection of John Newton, who belonged to Charles's Men in 1610-1625 (cf. Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 330).

¹⁶ A Walter Rowe prepared a songbook for the Princess Louise Charlotte of Brandenburg in 1632 (cf. Baskervill, *op. cit.*, 236). William Row, mercer, appears in the Revels Accounts, 1571-1579 (Feuillerat, *Doc. Revels Ellis*, 137, 161, 273, 290).

¹⁷ I have found the name in Professor Moore Smith's transcript of the records of Trinity College Cambridge; there from 1557 to 1562 payments were made to "Sr Shackelocke for his players" (*Malone Society Collections*, II, 2, 159 and 163.).

¹⁸ The second entry has to do with the burial of Elizabeth his widow who is described as one of "Mr. Dowes Pencioners in the Ward." See my note on Robert Dow's benefactions in this parish (*PMLA.*, XL, 109).

¹⁹ He may have been kin to the family of recusant players which included Christopher, Cuthbert, John, and Richard (*Chambers, op. cit.*, II, 339).

MASSINGER AND THE HOUSE OF PEMBROKE

The connection between the Massinger family and the House of Pembroke has long been known, and has been carefully summarized by Maurice Chelli in his book *Le drame de Massinger*, Paris, 1924, pp. 39-42. There it appears that the dramatist's father, Arthur Massinger, was in the service both of Henry Herbert and, after his death in 1601, of his son, William; that he was a gentleman of Pembroke's retinue and an envoy who at various times was entrusted with commissions of some importance; and finally that he was quite possibly a member of parliament. It has not, however, been noticed, I think, that there are three letters among the manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury¹ which refer to Arthur Massinger as a servant of Pembroke. For the sake of completeness I reprint them here.

²⁰ He was also "free of the Barbour-Chiurgions."

²¹ He is so described in the second entry, which has to do with his death. Is John Tatum the same person as John Tatham whom Professor Bentley found living in St. Giles in the Fields in 1639 (*R/S.*, vi, 165), and identified with the city poet?

²² However appropriate his surname may have been for a luteplayer, Penitent seems to have borne a strange Christian name for an actor. But cf. Constance and Temperance, the daughters of Thomas Bourne of St. Giles Cripplegate (*PMLA.*, xlv, 795); and Ruth, Timothy, Simon, and Michael, children of Christopher Goad, another actor of the same parish (*ibid.*, 803).

²³ His wife Anne is described as "a Black-more" and he himself as "of the said Countrey." If he is the same person who appears as "Anthonie Vause, attendant vpon the Spanishe Embassadour" and living in Queenhithe Ward in 1583 (*Return of Aliens*, II, 285), he was the son of Anthony "being a Portingall and a felt-maker," who with his family attended the parish church of Mary Magdalyn (*idem*, III, 382). Our Anthony would naturally have sought other employment following Mendora's withdrawal from England in January, 1584. He may have found it in the theatres.

²⁴ Possibly related to William White, the property-maker (cf. Fenillierat, *Doc. Revels Ellis*, 294).

²⁵ The only Wilkinson mentioned by Chambers (*op. cit.*, IV, 261) is John the "colliour" who was in 1549 brought to book because he suffered and maintained "interludes and playes to be made and kept within his dwelling house."

¹ *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, K. G., &c preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire. Part VIII.* Historical Manuscripts Commission, London, 1899, pp. 264, 352, 439.

The Earl of Pembroke to Sir Robert Cecil.

1598, July 18.—Your kindness deserves better respect from me than that I should by any mine action occasion unto you any inconvenience; therefore, although I am very sensible of the unkindness lately offered unto me by the refusing an honest gentleman whom I did recommend, and in naming another whom I do not like, yet will I proceed for remedy thereof in none other sort than yourself shall allow. Therefore for that matter I have written to the Lords Massinger hath the letters to deliver, and the copy wherewith first to acquaint you, unto whom I refer him to be directed. My heartiest thanks for your good furtherance of my request for Mr. Edward Penruddoke—Wilton, 18 July, 1598.

The Earl of Pembroke to Sir Robert Cecil.

1598, Sept. 18.—It pleased your father to promise me his furtherance to her Majesty in some causes concerning her Highness's service at the Council in the Marches of Wales. Although to the general loss of the whole realm, and to mine exceeding grief, God hath taken him from us, yet my comfort is that as you inherit his virtues, so towards myself you will continue his friendship. My businesses I refer to my servant Massinger his report, which I pray you credit, for neither can I without your too great trouble, nor without some inconvenience to myself, commit them to my letters.—Wilton, 18th September, 1598.

The Earl of Pembroke to Sir Robert Cecil.

1598, Nov. 15.—I send by my servant Massinger the indentures of the names of the 200 soldiers now sent out of this county of Wilts for service in Ireland. Although my care has been great to perform what was required therein, yet I had rather Sir Nicholas Parker (who by chance passing by this way has seen them) should report the sufficiency of their persons and arms than I to make it known unto you by my letters. Massinger has also a copy of the return now sent up for sheriff in the 12 shires of Wales, to be delivered to you. I pray you prefer Thomas Lewes of Ruperry for sheriff of Glamorganshire, and Mathew Herbert for sheriff of Merionethshire. They are most worthy this place which I seek for them.—Wilton, 15 Nov., 1598.

It is plain that Arthur Massinger was a gentleman of some importance in the Pembroke household, and that his dramatist son had good reason to expect that his call for patronage, in the dedication of *The Bondman*, would not go unanswered.

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MASSINGER'S *THE PICTURE*, BANDELLO, AND
HUNGARY

The relationship of Massinger's *The Picture* to its source has already been thoroughly investigated, but some significant aspects of its plot have not been touched upon by either Köppel,¹ or his follower, Merle.² Massinger called this drama a "*true Hungarian History*"³ and indeed, originally, the plot borrowed from Bandello through Painter's *Palace of Pleasure* had a historically genuine Hungarian background. The king at whose court the Bohemian gentleman, hero of the *novella*, acquired fame and fortune, is a great historic character: King Matthew I of Hungary (1458-1490) was one of the most distinguished princes of the fifteenth century. His efforts to create a center of Renaissance culture on the shores of the Danube were celebrated by scores of the foremost Italian humanists. After his death, his wife, Beatrice of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand, king of Naples, retired to Naples, where she personally met Bandello, took kindly interest in him, and helped him in hours of distress.⁴ He repaid her kindness by repeated enco-miums and by placing her and her husband in leading rôles in the *novella* in question (I, 21).

Thus, the king and queen were truly historic characters in the *novella*. Although Bandello asserted that his stories were "not fables, but true stories, unless he was misled by him who told them" to him,⁵ according to Reinhold Koehler's⁶ and Gaston Paris'⁷ investigations, it is manifest that this time Bandello mingled poetry and reality. He borrowed the entire anecdote with all its details from an episode of *Perceforest*, a French epic of the fourteenth century, and in addition to the French version, the story is known in

¹ *Quellen-Studien zu den Dramen G. Chapmans, Ph. Massingers u. J. Fords*, Strassburg, 1897.

² *Massingers "The Picture" und Painter*, II, 28, Halle a. S., 1905.

³ *The Plays of Ph. M. with Notes, Critical and Explanatory*, by William Gifford, London, 1853, p. 252.

⁴ Fr. Picco, *Quaranta Novelle Scelte di Matteo Bandello*, Sonzogno, Milano, n. d. (1911), p. 7.

⁵ Dedicatory to II, 21, and elsewhere also.

⁶ "Zu der Erzählung Adams von Cobsam 'The Wrights Chaste Wife,'" *Jahrbuch f. rom. u. engl. Lit.*, 1867, pp. 44 ff.

⁷ *Romania*, V, 23 (1894), pp. 102 ff., and especially p. 107, n. 2.

at least four variants, in Turkish, Persian, and English, and in the *Gesta Romanorum*. Accordingly, Francesco Picco's dating of Bandello's *novella* ought to be modified a trifle: Picco conjectures that it was composed between 1506 and 1512.⁸ Since Queen Beatrice died in 1508, it seems doubtful whether Bandello would have assigned her a rôle in a fictitious story while she lived; I would suggest that the *novella* was not composed before 1508.

Although besides the royal couple there was no Hungarian element at all in the *novella*, the prestige of King Matthew's name was great enough for readers to take Bandello's word for its truthfulness. Matthew's humanist biographers, Bonfini and Galeotto, were widely read in the sixteenth century; it is significant that an Italian humanist, Pietro Bizzari, who spent some time in England also, published an epigram on Matthew's death as late as 1565.⁹ When Massinger enlarged Bandello's anecdote with a secondary plot dealing with a lovelorn king and an all too ambitious queen, he could not possibly use the name of Matthew or Beatrice, with whom he and his public were thoroughly familiar. Instead, he selected another historic name from the long list of kings of Hungary, that of Ladislas. Hungary had had five kings by this name, but it is certain that Massinger could not think of Matthew's immediate predecessor, Ladislas V, as Resi Gielen suggests,¹⁰ for this Ladislas died young and a bachelor; besides, the character assigned to Massinger's hero does not fit any historic king of Hungary. Honoria, the Queen, is an entirely fictitious person, for there has never been an Hungarian queen by this name. All in all, we must suppose that Massinger's aim was to eliminate as much as possible of the genuine historic elements of the plot; he kept merely the vague Turkish wars of Hungary which had been going on since the fourteenth century.

To conclude, Massinger based the subtitle of *The Picture* on the assumption that Bandello's *novello* was an authentic Hungarian story. By changing the historic characters of the plot, however, he unwittingly forfeited the only Hungarian element of his drama. There remained only the vague Turkish wars as a really Hungarian

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 52, n.

⁹ *Poematum Libri II*, Aldus, Venetiis, 1565, p. 148 b.

¹⁰ *Untersuchungen zur Namengebung bei Beaumont, Fletcher und Massinger*, Münster, 1929.

motive in *The Picture*, and the passages in the drama censorious of court and courtiers do not concern Hungary but most probably relate to conditions in England about 1629.¹¹

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NEW VERSES BY JOHN WEBSTER

To the few "occasional" pieces of verse written by John Webster, the dramatist, may be added another example which has not been noticed by Dyce or Hazlitt, or by Mr. F. L. Lucas in his excellent edition of the *Complete Works of John Webster* (1927). This is a set of seven descriptive or "emblematical" verses on an engraving preserved in the Print Department of the British Museum (call-number 1849-3-15-15) bearing the title, "THE PROGENIE OF THE MOST RENOWNED PRINCE IAMES KING OF GREAT BRITAIN FRANCE AND IRELAND," and having the publisher's note: "Are to be sould at the Vnicorne in Cornehill neare the Exchange by Will: Riddiard."

The print, which measures $11\frac{3}{8} \times 18\frac{1}{2}$ inches, is described in the B. M. *Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits*¹ as

A memorial plate, representing James I seated on throne, holding sceptre and skull, with Queen Anne and Prince Henry on either side of him, their hands on skulls. On l. of the print stand Charles I and his Queen with their living children Charles, Mary and James . . . and on r. Elizabeth, titular Queen of Bohemia, with the King and their ten children.

At the foot of the throne are seated two deceased children—probably Margaret (b. 24 Dec., 1598) and Mary (b. Ap., 1605), both of whom died in infancy.² On the left wall is represented an angel unrolling a scroll on which is depicted the infant son of Charles I, who died shortly after birth (13 May, 1629). On the right, beneath a balcony, is hung a framed genealogical table that

¹¹ Thus Chelli's contention, according to which Massinger in his pseudo-historical dramas merely amplified the themes inherent in the plots themselves, is not borne out by *The Picture*. Cf. M. Chelli, *Le Drame de Massinger*, Paris, 1924, p. 54.

¹ By Freeman O'Donohue and Henry M Hake, v (1922), 32.

² A third child also died early, "Duik Robert" (b. Ap. or May, 1601). The *Catalogue* is mistaken in calling them children of Charles I.

traces the ancestry of James beginning with Edward IV. Skulls are also represented with the figures of the King of Bohemia (d. 29 Nov., 1632) and of his eldest son, Frederick Henry (d. 17 Jan., 1629).

The *Catalogue* notes that the print

is evidently the second state (issued after 1633 [the birth-year of James II]) of a plate originally published in James's lifetime. The figures of Henrietta Maria and her children are additions; also the death's heads assigned to King James, to the King of Bohemia and to the latter's eldest son.*

It may be suggested, however, that the verses descriptive of Charles (given below) imply his betrothal to Henrietta Maria and that she was included in the original issue of the print. If this be true, the engraving may be dated between December, 1624, when the marriage treaty was ratified and the death of the king on 27 March, 1625. This would make the verses one of the latest productions of the dramatist.

Seven of the principal characters portrayed are given letters which refer to the similarly-lettered descriptive verses below. The latter occupy the whole lower portion of the engraving; that is, each stanza is placed end-long to each other in the order, from right to left, G F, B, A, C, D, E, each being separated from the other by a bracket. The last stanza on the left, i. e., E, bears beneath it the inscription: "Hæc composuit Ioannes Webster."

The verses are as follows.

A [*King James*]

Tu decus omne tuis

Ars vtinam mores, animūq; effingere posset;
pulchrior in terris, nulla Tabella foret.
*Could Art, his gifts of mind, express as well,
no Picture in the World, should this excell.*

B [*Queen Anne*]

Mors sceptrā, ligonibus æquat

*Queene Ann, resignes her Scepter vnto fate,
and yet in death, you may obserue her State,
whē outshines, all the Jewels of the Crowne,
shee left behind her, a most cleare renoune;*

* In this case, the figures of the two children of the King of Bohemia,

C [*Prince Henry*]

Vno Auulsu non deficit Alter.

*Prince Henry (to our generall sorrow) die'd,
eare, his beloued Sister was a bride,
Never did a great Spright, earlier shoot
but the Prime blossomes, seldome become fruit*

D [*Frederick, King of Bohemia*]

Virescit vulnere virtus

*Great in thy birth, & greater in thy choice
but absolutly greatest, in the voice
proclaimes thee constant, vnder fortun's spight;
thus enuy, death, and hell thou putst to flight.*

E [*Elizabeth, Titular Queen of Bohemia*]

Phœnix/Vnica semper auis

*One Phœnia at a Tyme, and this is shee;
sweet, as her funerall nest of Spicery
o may your father, frō your fructifull wombe,
plant vniversall peace in christendome.*

F [*Prince Charles*]

Diis Genita: & magnos progēture Deos

*Happy Coniunction; wch to men doth show,
So blest an Influence, such blisse below;
The same as when in their high sphears about
The God of war do meet and Queene of Loue*

G [*Two deceased children of King James*]

Hec propere nimis coronandæ

*Hæc cum parca tulit duo dulcia pignora regis
flebilis agnouit crimen et erubuit*

*When Fate before their due matured tyme
Pulld these two branches frō their royall stem
The Fates themselves confest their heedles crime
and in acknowledgment did blush for shame*

BERNARD M. WAGNER

Cambridge, Massachusetts

Henrietta (b. July, 1626) and Philip (b. Sept., 1627), would also be additions.

THE COPY FOR *THE CARELESS LOVERS*

The quarto of Edward Ravenscroft's *The Careless Lovers*¹ contains a number of stage directions that differ from any I have observed in plays of that period.² These directions, which must have been inserted by the prompter, deal with (1) properties needed for the various settings of Acts IV and V, (2) properties to be brought on the stage, (3) off-stage business, and (4) the calling of certain characters in time to take their cues. These notations are found throughout the play and typographically they resemble the ordinary stage directions. They generally occur in pairs, the preliminary direction preceding the second by an average of 20 speeches or 43 lines. Thus on p. 58,

{ *Call Lovel,*
 { *Careless*

is followed 21 speeches, or 40 lines, later by "*Enter Lovel and Careless.*"

The structure of *The Careless Lovers* changes abruptly at the end of Act III, and act and scene headings likewise change. Acts I, II, and III—the first portion composed by Ravenscroft (see below)—consist of one scene each. Each act is numbered and each ends with a couplet, but none has the location of the action

¹ *The Careless Lovers: A Comedy Acted at the Duke's Theatre.* Written by Edward Ravenscroft, Gent. London, Printed for William Cademan, at the Popes Head in the Lower Walk in the New Exchange, 1673.

² Similar stage directions may be found in a few plays of an earlier period, notably in Massinger's *City Madam* (1658) and in several plays first printed in the 1657 folio of Beaumont and Fletcher; and their occurrence has been noted by V. E. Albright, *The Shakesperian Stage*, 106-07, P. H. Farrier, *Critical Edition of The City Madam* (U. of Va. diss. unpublished), 13-14, and Bullen's Variorum ed. of Beaumont and Fletcher, II, 105-06. Farrier and Bullen surmise that the plays in question were printed from prompt copies, but do not prove the truth of their assumption by citing the evidence to be found in Massinger's *Believe as You List*, of which we have the autograph MS with the autograph license of Henry Herbert. No one, I think, has suggested that the actual prompt copies were sold to the publishers at this time because they could not be used in the theatres, or that the scarcity of such stage directions as we are now dealing with in earlier and later quartos may be evidence that when the theatres were open, prompt copies were not normally permitted to leave the possession of the actors.

indicated, and no settings are described, though Act III is an interior scene. Acts IV and V, also numbered and ending with couplets (that of Act IV is printed as prose), consist of three scenes each, and though these scenes do not have formal headings and numbers, many of them have properties listed, as for instance IV, [iii]:

Tables, Chairs } *Enter Mrs. Breeder, Olappam,*
Candles, Bottles } *Drawer in Tavern.*

or V, [iii]:

Hall-Table and } *Enter Lovel, Jacinta, the Scene changes,*
Candles, 4 Chaires. } *and a Room in Muchworth's House.*

A second group of directions reminds the property man to have needed articles at hand. On p. 39 we find:

{ *A Bottle of Sack,*
and Glass ready
for Beatrice.

and two pages later Beatrice makes her entrance. On p. 64, "[Beat. on the Beir ready." warns the prompter to line up the funeral procession described as follows on p. 66:

Toby in the habit of a Bearer, 4 Bearers with a Coffin on a Beare; 4 Maids in white, bearing up the 4 corners of the Sheet; they walk around the Stage, set down the Corps as to rest themselves; attended with some few followers.

A direction on p. 33,

Enter Beatrice.
[Bring Napkins and stop their Mouths.],

is peculiar in lacking a preparatory direction and in naming properties and stage business that are not alluded to in the dialogue.

Stage directions that indicate sound effects and other off-stage business are met with in many plays, but few of them are preceded as in *The Careless Lovers* by a "warning." The direction on p. 15 is a good example:

{ *Ready to shut*
the Boul.

The business takes place on p. 16, "[*Shut the Boul.*" "[*Knock ready.*" on page 40 is followed by a double direction:

Knocking at the Door.] *[Knocking within.*

Several of the directions quoted above would serve as a warning to the actors as well as to the property man or prompter. Others have only one purpose, to get an actor ready for his entrance, as on p. 58, for instance, "[*Call Hilaria*," prepares for the entrance on p. 60. Although five of the principal characters are thus warned, the prompter is not always reminded to call them. And sometimes his chief interest seems to be in the minor characters, as on p. 62:

{ *Call* Careless, *Musick*,
{ Breed. Clap.

This is printed in the midst of a conversation between Careless and Hilaria and shows that the prompter was concerned with getting *Musick* and two other minor actors ready for their entrance 44 lines later.

Most of the stage directions are in content just what one expects to find, but even these have a typographical interest, for they are now on the left side of the page, now on the right, and again in the center; and occasionally entrance and exits are omitted. Sometimes the directions are wholly in italics, sometimes all but the proper names are italicized, and sometimes only the proper names. In many cases "entrances," usually printed in the center of the page, are preceded and followed by a space, but often one space or the other is omitted, as if the manuscript had been revised and the original stage direction crowded by the revision.

Now Ravenscroft has told us something of the history of the play and the rest^{*} may be pieced out or surmised. He says in "The Epistle to the Reader":

. . . It was written at the Desire of the Young Men of the *Stage*, and given them for a *Lenten-Play*; they ask't it not above a Week before *Shrove-Tuesday*: In three dayes time, the Three first Acts were Made, Transcrib'd, and given them to write out in Parts—The Two last Acts took me up just so much time: one Week completed it.

Since Easter fell on April 2, 1673, the play must have been written

^{*}In 1694 Ravenscroft reworked the play and incorporated portions of Massinger's *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, calling the product *The Canterbury Guests; or, A Bargain Broken*. This plagiarism has long been overlooked, though Genest noted it, II, 57-58.

in March. By November 24 it had been entered⁴ in the *Term Catalogue* and before the end of the year it was in print.

Examination of the stage directions, taken in conjunction with Ravenscroft's explicit statement, leads me to the belief that in this case, at least, a Restoration play was printed directly from the prompt copy. The nature of many of the stage directions, the irregularity with which directions are located on the page, and the inconsistency with which they are spelled and punctuated indicate that the compositor worked with the fair copy mentioned by Ravenscroft, on which the prompter had noted in helter-skelter fashion whatever was necessary to running off a performance. Furthermore, the compositor was faithful to his copy. He did not attempt to make the stage directions consistent in form and punctuation or to eliminate the unusual ones.

One proof was run off and corrected, for we find a list of errata on p. 77. This makes numerous trifling corrections (but fails to correct the numbering of pp. 25-32, and even perpetuates the error) and catches the compositor in one misreading of the copy. On pp. 60-61 is a short passage of four unimportant speeches followed by "*Enter Hilaria*." Someone marked the passage for deletion and inserted another "*Enter Hilaria*" at the beginning of the cut. The compositor included the "cut" and both "entrances." To correct this, the proof-reader closed the list of errata with: "p. 53 [really p. 60], l. 29. dele *Bet. Sir we are still &c.*" The play seems to have had no other editing. If there had been any opportunity to make corrections, Ravenscroft, who had already seen one play through the press, or anyone in authority at the playhouse, would have removed from the proofs the stage directions which give *The Careless Lovers* its bibliographical interest.

JAMES G. McMANAWAY

Baltimore, Maryland

⁴ Here it has an alternate title: "*The Careless Lovers, or The Conceited Travellers.*"

REVIEWS

Hamlet 1603. By GIOVANNI RAMELLO. Torino: Fratelli Bocca, 1930. Pp. vii + 293.

A volume of nearly three hundred pages devoted to a minute analysis of the First Quarto of *Hamlet* cannot fail to be of prime importance to those interested in the problem of the "Bad Quartos." Later critics will be able to make use of this book even if they lack the elementary knowledge of Italian which would enable them to read the simple and straightforward comment; for much of Ramello's work consists in the textual comparisons which he has made, and these are of course quoted from the English text.

The author announces that he purposes to apply a rigorously inductive method to the examination of the texts in order to clarify the muddled criticisms which have hitherto been made. He then classifies the irregularities of Q_1 and concludes that a large part of it must be spurious and due to the inexpertness or ignorance of the compiler. As a basis of comparison the text of Q_2 is taken, supplemented by the Folio, for Ramello regards Q_2 as set from Shakespeare's autograph copy, which he thinks was given to the printer when the play was entered on S. R. in 1602, a transcript of it serving as the playhouse copy and undergoing various changes between 1602 and 1623.

More than 100 pages are given to the citing of passages from Q_1 with the corresponding passages from Q_2 and a running commentary on the kinds of errors shown in Q_1 . These include passages which do not make good sense, metrical irregularities, grammatical and stylistic anomalies, and dramatic inconsistencies. The author concludes that all the divergencies in Q_1 of whatever sort involve the existence of the play as represented by Q_2 . Except for the substitution of the names of Polonius and Reynaldo for Corambis and Montano, which do not "render necessary the slightest modification of the text," we may regard it as "established that Shakespeare has given us just one version of his masterpiece," and that "the problem of the genesis of *Hamlet* does not exist any longer."

While it seems fairly clear from the argument up to this point that Q_1 is at every stage derivative from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, it does not follow from any considerations that Ramello has set before us that there was no revision of the drama after the time when the "compiler" heard it on the stage. The rearrangement of the scenes by which Hamlet's "To be or not to be" soliloquy was shifted, the scene of Horatio and the Queen, the changed attitude of the Queen, and other smaller differences in Q_1 might all con-

ceivably be due to the "compiler"; but it does not in the least follow that Shakespeare's play, when it served as the "text-base" for Q_1 , was without these features. Ramello observes that "the compiler has returned to the narrative of Belleforest" for some of these particulars, but will not admit that this very fact argues against his position. He is on safer grounds when he remarks that as the publication of Q_1 was apparently due to the great success of *Hamlet* on the stage, there would be no point in revising the work. The question as to whether or not Shakespeare revised his *Hamlet* is left just about where it was, and "the problem of the genesis of *Hamlet*" still exists.

A more interesting and more original discussion follows in the chapter on "Unitary origin of the spurious elements." The author concludes that the regular verses are no better and no worse than the irregular, that many irregular verses have no trace of corruption, that confusion and inconsistency often appear in regular verse although in the most severely mutilated scenes the irregular verse predominates, and that the compiler "was accustomed to scatter irregular verse through that which is regular." The phraseology of both the regular and irregular verse is marked by a superfluity of exclamations, repetitions, and grammatical forms rare in Shakespeare. Noting an obvious parallel in two passages, one of which is a corruption of Shakespeare and the other an addition, Ramello decides that the "corrupter" and the "reviser" are the same.

Whether the pirate had a confederate or did the whole job himself is not a matter of great consequence. If one thief proves sufficient, nothing is gained by insisting upon two. But the positiveness of Ramello in announcing his conclusions tempts one to remark that here again the conclusion is not legitimately drawn from the facts presented. If, as the present reviewer is forced to believe, the "reviser" was a different man from the "corrupter," that does not mean that the signs of his hand would not appear where the "corrupter" was most obviously at work. His task was to supplement the "corrupter's" report throughout the entire play. The parallel cited occurs in two lines of verse which were both obviously written by the "reviser," though in the first instance he was patching the "corrupter's" report. With his facility in writing blank verse the "reviser" would never have set down the speeches of Marcellus line by line as he had learned them and then have put in absurdly irregular lines the perfectly scannable verse which was spoken by some other character on the stage with him. Where we have a characteristic that is really distinctive, like the "lest that" which occurs five times and, as Ramello notes, is of course not to be found in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, we find that all five instances occur in the regular verse of the "reviser." But the accuracy and care with which the Italian critic has listed the

extraneous interjections, the repetition of phrases, and the un-Shakespearean grammatical forms in Q_1 will assist English students to study the play more carefully than some of them have hitherto done.

It is natural if not inevitable that anyone who made so detailed a comparison of Q_1 with the authentic text would find that the pirate must have been the actor who took the part of Marcellus. Some recent essays, which we know Ramello had not seen, since his bibliography was compiled before they appeared, would have saved him from the mistake of giving this actor also the rôle of Voltimand, whose long speech is a transcript and not a memorial reproduction; from repeating Widgery's error of selecting the First Player (instead of the Second); and from the impossible conjecture that the First Gravedigger might also have been played by the actor-thief.

The list of errors which may be charged to the printer and more especially the list of Q_1 readings which agree with either Q_2 or F_1 against the authority of the other, will be found useful for reference. The book concludes with copious extracts from the English critics with such comments upon them as could easily be conjectured from the constructive portion of the book. There is an Appendix on *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, which is treated in exactly the same manner that Q_1 was treated, with exactly the same conclusions reached: that it was derived by "reporting" from the play as preserved in Q_2 ; that all its inconsistencies are ironed out by a collation with the true text; that the parallels with Kyd presuppose no *Ur-Hamlet*, but are accidental, or explainable on other grounds, or derived from readings of Q_2 . There can be no doubt that Ramello's book is indispensable for those who intend hereafter to consider the Q_1 problem; and it is equally certain that there is something still to say about that problem in spite of the tone of finality which the latest investigator (like some others before him) has assumed.

HENRY DAVID GRAY

Stanford University

The Doctrine of the English Gentleman in the Sixteenth Century.

By RUTH KELSO. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1929. Pp. 288. \$2.50.

Students who consider the ideals of an age important for understanding its literature, as well as those who prefer to project literature upon a background of social history, will find Miss Kelso's book especially important. It begins with Italian, French, and English theories and definitions of nobility, gentility, and virtue, and of the gentleman. Miss Kelso deduces certain general

conclusions. As changing conditions deprived the noble of his prerogative as a warrior, he sought an outlet in other fields. And these fields were for Englishmen civil rather than military. Hence Elyot's *Boke of the Governour* is addressed, not to the knight, but to his sixteenth-century descendant, the gentleman. In England, certainly, no tradition has from the sixteenth century been more notable than that which posits, for the person well born, service to the state in fields not necessarily military. But although such was the ideal, practice and ideals did not always agree. Arms continued to hold, by convention, an important place in the gentleman's life. Other occupations came to be winked at. Bars were lowered until the gentleman might without great derogation engage even in certain trades. The change from feudal and chivalric ideals was largely complete by the beginning of the seventeenth century.

If, as Elyot, Mulcaster, and others maintained, the person of good birth was more likely to benefit the state than one of base origin, it was only sensible that he should receive special training. Miss Kelso sketches the change from the knightly to the Renaissance ideal of education, indicating differences between Italian and English aims: the former tending toward perfection in the individual as an end in itself, the latter insisting upon the usefulness to society of training up what Elyot termed "governors." The difference in aim led to differences in method, the most salient feature of English theories of education being that experience of the world was favored over book learning. Miss Kelso would have done well to stress the further point that, beginning with Elyot, education aimed chiefly at character rather than mere intellectual attainments—an aim consonant with English fondness for principles from moral philosophy.

Of the gentleman's moral code, including courtesy, Miss Kelso has a good deal to say, particularly of the relation of Renaissance notions to Christian and chivalric and pagan. Into matters of etiquette she goes but slightly. There is an interesting attempt to relate the gentleman's code of honor to the duel. And as no account of gentle nurture would be complete which failed to deal with physical exercise and recreations, there is a brief sketch of sixteenth-century field sports and indoor games.

Not least in importance are the 109 pages in which Miss Kelso gives us the first real bibliography of this subject, including works from Continental countries. Though it claims to be only a working list, it provides an excellent basis for future studies. An index provides a useful key to bibliography and text. Miss Kelso has read widely and assimilated the materials thoroughly. This admirable book should provoke further interest in the relation to society of the aristocrat and the ideals of his class.

W. LEE USTICK

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Chateaubriand and Virgil. By LOUIS HASTINGS NAYLOR. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1930. Pp. xv + 212. (The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages)

Professor Naylor's *Chateaubriand and Virgil* is the development of a dissertation presented at the Johns Hopkins University in 1923, one of a series of studies devoted to Chateaubriand by pupils of Professor Chinard. Few investigations could be of greater educative value to their authors than these studies of great writers, although they only could bring confirmation of well-known facts and serve chiefly to assemble materials for a critical edition of Chateaubriand's works. Publication, in such cases, should follow as a reward for the accomplishment of an arduous task. This has been made possible for Naylor in the bi-millesimal anniversary year of Virgil's birth, with the happy result that he has now been able to incorporate in his book the pertinent results of the findings of Miss Smead and Miss Miller, Pierre Moreau, C. R. Hart, and Blaise Briod. It follows that *Chateaubriand and Virgil* may be recommended as the broadest study of what can be termed the principal literary sources of Chateaubriand.

This volume is well planned and fully documented except at the beginning and end. Naylor's Introduction is an attempt "to present the concept of Virgil in France between 1790 and 1830." However, the affirmations: "Among all the romantic poets . . . there was current a tradition regarding Virgil" or "Virgil wrote that his hero wept. Aeneas was, therefore, according to the Romanticists, a Romantic hero" (pp. xiii, xiv) do not carry much conviction, unsupported by any evidence at all. The reviewer also confesses complete ignorance of the concept of "le Virgile poitrinaire" (put in quotes by Naylor without explanation) the last words in the book. "Virgil in the life of Chateaubriand," the first chapter, explains the romanticist's familiarity with the poet, and points out how often Chateaubriand's fondness for Virgil was due to the similarities which he discovered in their lives as set forth in his autobiographical writings, thus creating in France a new image of Virgil as a melancholy and tender poet, after 1802. "Chateaubriand as a critic of Virgil," chapter two, continues the discussion of melancholy, and presents Chateaubriand's views upon the originality of Virgil in his imitations of Homer (as a screen against accusations of plagiarism). Here too are set forth, largely from *le Génie du christianisme*, its author's "statements concerning the religion of the Romans as a source of literary inspiration." René did not always understand Virgil, as in *le Génie*, where he interprets the picture of the Sibyl's frenzy as an indication of melancholy: "*Les tours négatifs sont particuliers à*

Virgile, et l'on peut remarquer, en général, qu'ils sont fort multipliés chez les écrivains d'un génie mélancolique " (p. 103).

"He (Chateaubriand) is never so content as when the comparison in his work forms a mosaic of which the stones are taken from many passages." His borrowings from Virgil, found in *les Natchez*, in *Atala*, *René*, and *le Génie*, as well as in *les Martyrs*, are analyzed in the three remaining chapters, showing a preference for the *Aeneid* and the *Georgics* but much familiarity with the *Eclogues*. These borrowings group themselves under five heads: (1) the representation of female characters; (2) the themes of travel and life in exile; (3) combats; (4) descriptions of nature, (5) and comparisons of human beings with the lower animals. In *les Martyrs*, the Virgilian supernatural machinery is drawn upon frequently to provide a setting for the tale.

Naylor shows excellent taste in his enjoyment of Chateaubriand's landscapes in the Virgilian manner. His own style is generally free from the pitfall of gallicisms (*récit*, p. 149, *procédés littéraires*, p. 187). Two indices, one from Virgilian source-material to Chateaubriand's works, the other from the French text to Virgil, add further proof of Naylor's ingenuity and capacity for taking pains, if more were needed than excellent typography.

WILLIAM LEONARD SCHWARTZ

Stanford University

Le Roman Belge contemporain Charles de Coster, Camille Lemonnier, Georges Eekhoud, Eugène Demolder, Georges Virrès.
Par BENJAMIN MATHER WOODBRIDGE. Préface de Maurice Wilmotte. Bruxelles: La Renaissance du Livre, 1930. xxi + 214 pages.

Un livre qui doit être salué comme nous offrant enfin quelque chose de concret sur les écrivains belges contemporains dont on parle beaucoup et dont on sait si peu. Il est étonnant que M. Woodbridge ait été le premier qui ait songé à profiter de son séjour en Belgique (profitant de la libéralité de la "Commission for Relief in Belgium, Educational Foundation") pour examiner de près le pays et écrire un livre comme celui-ci. C'est tout à son éloge. Les Belges l'ont senti, et le vétéran des lettres belges, M. Maurice Wilmotte, a tourné en sa faveur une préface dont M. Woodbridge n'a pas à se plaindre.

L'auteur ne donne pas une histoire de la littérature belge, mais choisit quelques représentants auxquels dans sa table des matières il affixe un adjectif—qui, cependant, à lire le livre même, ne paraît

pas toujours très caractéristique, ou du moins pourrait bien induire en erreur. Le roman de Ch. de Coster n'est "historique" que comme cadre, mais prétend bien parler pour les contemporains; le roman de Lemonnier est bien "mystique," mais c'est le mysticisme du naturalisme le moins chaste (il a passé trois fois devant le tribunal pour accusation de pornographie); pour Virrès, l'auteur a senti lui-même que "roman catholique" n'irait pas et il écrit "romancier catholique" car, en effet, Virrès comme les autres est avant tout un réaliste convaincu et ne glisse au catholicisme qu'incidemment; c. à. d. que s'il est bien, lui, catholique, les romans ne le sont pas spécialement.

Mais laissons cela. Le but du livre était de montrer en ces écrivains la tentative de créer une littérature qui soit bien foncièrement belge avant tout. En lisant M. Woodbridge, le lecteur verra jusqu'où ils ont réussi. En somme, l'impression qui demeure est qu'ils ont créé une littérature de "vigueur brutale et [de] crue observation" selon l'expression de M. Wilmotte. Ils ont fait en littérature ce que les fameux peintres flamands avaient fait en art, et les formules de Taine semblent s'appliquer décidément bien fort à la Belgique. Chacun cependant exprime avec des nuances ce réalisme violent et gras: de Coster en ressuscitant un type populaire, Till Ulenspiegel, qui est pour les Belges ce que Pantagruel est pour les Français, Falstaff pour les Anglais, Don Quichotte pour les Espagnols; Lemonnier, le plus foncièrement belge, en mettant son honneur à ne reculer devant aucune truculence ou indécence: Demolder en alliant son goût du sensuel avec un très remarquable sens de la plus délicate féerie (peut-être le plus original); Virrès, en y mettant à l'occasion du catholicisme de prolétaire. Quant à Eekhoud, il est le moins clair psychologiquement; on ne voit point, même après avoir lu le volume de M. Woodbridge, comment se concilient dans ce cerveau, ces fanatiques plaidoyers pour les êtres en marge de la civilisation, et cette aristocratie de sentiment qui fait qu'il ne veut que les regarder mais récuse leur manière de vivre et de penser. Que faire de cela: "Tu rêves donc la révolution, l'anarchie.—Oh, que non! . . . Je ne trouve les gueux adorables que comme tels. . . . S'ils se révoltent, j'entends que ce soit isolément, chacun pour soi, sans qu'il entre dans leurs transgressions un esprit de revendications sociales" (136)? En cet être fougueux, qui veut être à la fois "sociologue humanitaire et artiste," on entrevoit par moments un frénétique, presque un déséquilibré.

M. Woodbridge est discret, dit M. Wilmotte;—oui, il l'est peut-être même un peu trop. Il est difficile en le lisant de ne pas penser souvent à deux grands écrivains, Verhaeren et Maeterlinck qui sont belges aussi, et qui ont tous les traits des auteurs présentés. Comment se fait-il qu'ils aient, eux, acquis en quelque sorte droit de

cit  dans la litt rature fran aise de France, tandis qu'on ne peut en dire autant de ceux  tudi s par M. Woodbridge? Sans doute, ils ne sont pas romanciers, et comme tels ils  taient hors du cadre du livre; mais nous avons comme une id e que, m me s'ils avaient choisi le roman comme moyen d'expression, ils auraient perc  aussi. Quel est donc ce quelque chose qu'ont ces deux et que les autres n'ont pas? Il serait int ressant de le rechercher.

ALBERT SCHINZ

University of Pennsylvania

Thomas Chatterton, the Marvelous Boy. To which is added The Exhibition, a Personal Satire. By ESTHER PARKER ELLINGER. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930. Pp. 75. \$2.00.

In all the warring schools of contemporary psychology there are as yet no concepts which give unity to the young science. Faced by this confusion of tongues, most critics choose psychoanalysis and lend a credulous ear to some of its most fantastic formulations. So far as I know only one literary critic, Louis Peter de Vries, has done full justice to all the contemporary schools of psychology and to their parentage.¹

Most literary psychoanalysts have been Freudians. But Esther Parker Ellinger has turned to Freud's rebellious pupil, Adler, to read the riddle of Chatterton, the marvelous boy. While Adler, with his "inferiority complex," is just as restricted in his outlook as Freud, with his Protean conception of "sex," Miss Ellinger has certainly chosen the formula which rescues Chatterton from the pruderies and the vague mutterings of "insanity" which have beclouded the reputation of that amazing young poet from his day to this. Her diagnosis is completely convincing.

There is, I think, only one flaw in her work. She points out quite properly that we have no right to make light of Chatterton's aesthetic achievement because he was a neurotic. But she exonerates Chatterton of deceit because he was a neurotic. We must either blend cause and effect with *all* values, aesthetic as well as ethical, or we must maintain that the descriptive and appreciative points of view are mutually exclusive. We cannot use science to allow us to praise the beauties of Chatterton and to forbid us to blame his moral aberrations. It should be added, however, as Miss Ellinger's finely objective biographical sketch shows, that Chatter-

¹ *The Nature of Poetic Literature*, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1930.

ton was, in the main, a youth of lofty moral insight and practice and that his venial sins would give no great offense to anyone who is not hopelessly vinegar-visaged.

Nevertheless this little volume is an admirable example of what is needed in a day when most academic literary critics are too concerned with antiquarianism and most journalistic literary critics are irresponsible impressionists. Moreover, the volume contains a carefully edited text of an important but hitherto inaccessible satire, *The Exhibition*. Finally, the careful sifting of the work of earlier critics is noteworthy for its catholicity and discrimination.

HERBERT ELLSWORTH CORY

University of Washington

German Plays of the Nineteenth Century. By T. M. CAMPBELL.
New York: F. C. Crofts & Co., 1930. Pp. 437. \$4.00.

This volume, including twelve dramas from eight dramatists, can give our students a fairly comprehensive idea of the development of the German drama in the nineteenth century, from the rise of romanticism to the rise of naturalism:

Tieck: *Der gestiefelte Kater*; Werner: *Der vierundzwanzigste Februar*; Kleist: *Der zerbrochene Krug*, *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg*; Grillparzer: *Sappho*, *König Ottokars Gluck und Ende*; Heibel: *Maria Magdalene*, *Herodes und Mariamne*, *Agnes Bernauer*; Ludwig: *Der Erbförster*; Anzengruber: *Das vierte Gebot*; Hauptmann: *Einsame Menschen*.

While there are bound to be subjective differences as to the inclusion of this or the omission of that drama—personally I regret only that instead of *Sappho* Mr. Campbell did not include *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen* or maybe *Medea*—on the whole, the selection has been made judiciously. The notes are brief and to the point, qualities much to be desired. The Introduction is a scholarly and useful piece of work, well written, concise, enlightening. It is all that such introductions should be: it gives the student the necessary information, and the teacher will read it with pleasure and profit. I wish to take issue on a few points:

(1) I doubt whether Tieck deserves to be called "a great poet" (p. 4). Novalis, Hölderlin, Eichendorff essentially were, but Tieck is only a near poet.

(2) Instead of saying that "Wieland's enthusiasm for Robert Guiskard was unbounded" (p. 6), why not quote Wieland's words since they sum up Kleist's dramatic endeavor?

(3) I feel, too, that Mr. Campbell is driving a good point too

far when he says of Grillparzer's heroes that "they collapse in the consciousness of their own impotence" (p. 12) and of his women "that they are of the traditional kind, not concerned in the least about guarding their rights as individuals, but only with captivating and holding the men they love" (p. 14). Is this true of Medea or even of Hero?

(4) And last: "It was the misfortune of the Romantic drama that the leaders of the movement had no liking for Schiller." It would not have affected the salvation of the Romantic drama one iota if they had loved Schiller. They did not learn dramatic art from Sophocles and Shakspeare, and would not have done so from Schiller. Why? Such things are not learned. Witness Gottfried Keller's long and unsuccessful struggle with the drama. By and large the romantic movement was lyric and epic, and not dramatic.

The proof-reading has been done with care. A few errors can easily be corrected by any reader, *e. g.* Danton's Tod (page 14), Weisze (page 3 but Weissenfels on page 6), S. Vischer (instead of Fischer, 385), Monaledschi (Monaldeschi, 430). The special introductions to the various authors and the individual plays seem to have been added as an after thought; they are dry and perfunctory. They might well have been left out.

FRIEDRICH BRUNS

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Voltaire and the English Deists. By NORMAN L. TORREY. Yale Romanic Studies, Vol. I. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930. Pp. x + 224. \$2.50.

Although Voltaire's indebtedness to England has long been studied with great care and much light thrown on many aspects of it, the specific problem of the relation of Voltaire to the English Deists has been the subject usually of mere assumption or guess work. The explanation is not difficult: Deism as a philosophical school is dead and uninteresting; and, one congratulated oneself, Voltaire's obligations in that direction were obvious enough not to require detailed investigation. Thus we find Churton Collins, who was by no means a careless worker, writing as follows in what has been among the standard discussions of the subject: "Most probably Voltaire owed infinitely more to Bolingbroke than to all the other English deists put together, but how carefully he had followed the course of this controversy [of Woolston in 1727 and later] is obvious from innumerable passages in his subsequent writings" (*Voltaire, Montesquieu and Rousseau in England*, London,

1908, pp. 61-62). In the study before us, Professor Torrey sharply contradicts both these conclusions. He finds excellent reasons for deciding that the supposed influence of Bolingbroke is a "treacherous starting point" (p. 5), and that "whether or not Bolingbroke's philosophy, or metaphysics, was worth borrowing from, Voltaire paid almost no attention to it" (p. 148). And as for Woolston's attack on the miracles, Professor Torrey affirms with precision that Woolston's ideas appear first in Voltaire in the *Sermon des cinquante* in 1762. In fact, the general conclusion of this study is that Voltaire "was little interested in the critical deists as such during his stay in England" (p. 35), and that his intensive study of them belongs to his old age at Ferney, when in his vigorous polemics and propaganda he made liberal, and often unscrupulous, use of both their ideas and their reputations.

Professor Torrey has reached something like finality in his treatment of his subject. First he has carefully read the Deists and compared their texts with that of Voltaire. But he has had the good fortune further to test all his conclusions by the evidence found in Voltaire's library in Leningrad. A very elaborate system of paper markers, explained by Professor Torrey, served not only Voltaire in the composition of his works, but Professor Torrey in turn in tracing his sources. Evidence of such objective nature is of course seldom available to the student of sources and influences, and the general conclusions reached in this excellent study are not likely to be disturbed.

LOUIS I. BREDVOLD

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Abbé Prévost, *The Adventures of a Man of Quality*, Translated with an Introduction. By MYSIE E. ROBERTSON. New York: The Dial Press, 1930. Pp. 208. \$4.00.

Who would have expected Prévost's *Mémoires et Aventures d'un Homme de qualité* (1728-1731) to come again to light in a popular edition after a two-hundred-year interval? Rather pale they seem now and yet not devoid of a certain gentle interest, particularly as Dr. Robertson, already favorably known for her critical edition of Volume V of these *Mémoires et Aventures*, has chosen for her translation this same volume, which reproduces in fictional form some of Prévost's most vivid impressions of England and English literature. Thus it is Prévost, the apostle of cosmopolitanism, a genial and smilingly benevolent forerunner of the ironic Voltaire, who appears in these pages and no one interested in a contemporary picture of eighteenth-century England can afford to neglect the

Abbé's smooth-flowing and rather quaint narrative with its occasional concrete details appearing unexpectedly in the midst of more conventional passages.

The editor has furnished an excellent Introduction, well-written, authentic, and full of the facts of the author's life at this period. There are also such footnotes as the text occasionally needs and an extensive and very useful bibliography dealing particularly with Anglo-French relations during the early eighteenth century.

Ohio State University

GEORGE R. HAVENS

BRIEF MENTION

The Student's Milton. Edited by FRANK A. PATTERSON. New York: F. S. Crofts, 1930. Pp. x + 1090 + 41. \$5.00. This is a remarkable volume, since it contains all of Milton's poetry together with the translations of the Latin, Greek, and Italian poems by Columbia professors, and nearly all the prose works—including the *Christian Doctrine*. Yet the type is large, and as there is but one column of verse on a page, the poetry has a very attractive appearance. It is seldom that so much is offered in a form so pleasing at a price so reasonable.

R. D. H.

Der Begriff 'Romance' in der mitttelenglischen und frühneueinglischen Literatur (Anglistische Forschungen, Heft 68). By REINALD HOOPS. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1929. Pp. viii + 98. RM. 6. When one reflects on the lively interest in the medieval romances which has so long obtained, it is surprising that Dr. Hoops should be the first to undertake a thorough-going study of the semantics of the word "romance" as exhibited in ME and early NE literary documents. But the matter has now been competently dealt with and in an interesting though scientific fashion. After an account of the etymology < *rōmānice*, adv., and of the various ME forms and spellings, the meanings of 'romance' are carefully analysed (French, Romanic; a story in general; narrative poem; as the equivalent of 'source'; and as the designation of a specific poem). A study of the form and contents of the ME romances follows, also a discussion of the modes of presentation, oral delivery, and the like. A special section is devoted to the use of 'romance' from 1500-1650. An appendix offers the reader a convenient index of

illustrative passages utilized, while scarcely less useful is a list of works read in which 'romance' does not occur.

On p. 43 Dr. Hoops quotes from the *NED*. a passage from John Evelyn's Letter to Sir Richard Browne, dated London, December 6, 1647. The entire passage, not accessible to the author, runs as follows:

That evening I made a visit to my Lord of 36, and my character goes among all mine acquaintance for the civilest traveller that ever returned. *For I was expected all ribbon, feather, and romango*, which has turned much to my account, though better spoken from another (Bray's 1854 ed., III, 5).

'Romango' is rendered by the *NED*. 'romantic style'; this will do, but 'mannered,' 'affected' is, judging from the context, rather closer to the mark.

What might have been little more than a glorified *NED*. article proves to be an illuminating study of one aspect of a most important medieval literary genre.

F. P. MAGOUN, JR.

Anglo-Irish Literature, 1200-1582. By ST. JOHN D. SEYMOUR. Cambridge, England: University Press, 1929. Pp. 170. The purpose of this little volume is to give 'the ordinary reader a general account of a literature the existence of which he may never have suspected'; more precisely Mr. Seymour has brought together the gist of what is generally known (or knowable) of the non-Celtic literature produced in Ireland from the Anglo-French *Dermot and the Earl* to Richard Stanihurst. The so-called Kildare poems loom large, but literature in Latin and in Anglo-French (Jofroi de Watreford, and others) is not essentially subordinated to English writings. The author's contribution lies in assembling this material upon which he comments and which he illustrates by extensive quotation, now in the original, now translated, now modernized. The ordinary run of bibliographical aids are drawn upon. As a piece of Hiberno-Latin several pages (pp. 41 ff.) are devoted to the famous witchcraft trial of Alice Kyteler (see G. L. Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England*, p. 122 *et passim*).

The tone and style of the work is semi-popular; it is a useful survey of a small but interesting subject.

F. P. MAGOUN, JR.

Lancelot in English Literature: his Rôle and Character (Diss., Catholic Univ. of America). By AUGUST J. APP. Washington, D. C.: Catholic University, 1929. Pp. iii + 261. \$1.20. The author sets out to collect all 'literary Lancelot material in English literature' and has probably succeeded in gathering into his net

a large majority of references. Of the 232 pages of text, pp. 1-23 are devoted to Lancelot previous to his appearance in English literature, pp. 24-51 to Lancelot in English literature before Malory; the remaining 181 pages constitute by far the most useful and valuable part of the work. It is by this latter portion of the book that Dr. App's work should be judged; this is his main concern and it is here that he has been essentially successful. *Lancelot in English Literature* does on a large scale with a single Arthurian figure what G. H. Maynadier in *The Arthur of the English Poets* did a quarter of century ago for Arthurian romance in general.

The early pages of Dr. App's work are not authoritative nor do they pretend to be so; yet the analyses of ME romances in which Lancelot figures are useful even when the accompanying comment may strike one as superficial. T. P. Cross and W. A. Nitze's *Lancelot and Guinevere* (Chicago, 1930) would have been invaluable to him here. For some detailed criticisms of the discussion of the medieval Lancelot see R. S. Loomis, *Speculum*, v (1930), 104, 105.

Similar studies of other Arthurian figures will be of value in indicating the later development and popularity of Arthurian romance.

F. P. MAGOUN, JR.

Harvard University

Materials for the Life of Shakespeare. Compiled by PIERCE BUTLER. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930. Pp. x + 200. \$2.00. This book reprints in modernized form some of the documents on which rests our knowledge of Shakespeare's life. It also reprints much that has no direct bearing on the subject, at the expense of omitting important items that may be found in, for example, even so compact a handbook as Professor Brooke's *Shakespeare of Stratford*. To his "materials" the compiler furnishes chatty introductions presumably aimed at younger readers. He points out, for example, that we are fortunate in having the exact date of the poet's baptism, and inquires, "You who read this, can you prove . . . when or where you were born or baptized? Many Americans had the experience during the Great War of finding how very, very hard it was to establish their own identity." There is little discrimination in the handling of the various degrees of opinion, hearsay, tradition, and documentary evidence (the yarn concerning D'Avenant's paternity is disposed of by citing, first, the inn-keeper's desire to be buried near his wife, and, second, a "wholesome laugh" by Sir Walter Scott), while the writer's familiarity with current criticism may be measured by the footnote to Rowe's conjecture that *The Merchant of Venice* was "designed

tragically": "Rowe's criticism seems to our day the sound one." Nor can this volume be completely relied on for undisputed fact. Thus (p. 3) *Lucrece* is misdated.

H. S.

The Classics in Translation. By F. SEYMOUR SMITH. Charles Scribner's Sons: London and New York, 1930. 307 pp. \$3.00. This is an annotated guide to the best English translations of the Greek and Roman classics. It should be very useful to librarians, and to other people who are likely to be asked about such things. A few corrections and additions may be suggested. P. 212: the six elegies of 'Cornelius Gallus' are now ascribed to a much later poet Maximianus. P. 221: the Loeb Library translator of the Odes and Epodes of Horace was Charles E. Bennett, not Stephen Bennett. P. 227: the statement about Dr. Johnson's paraphrase of two of the Satires of Juvenal needs revision. P. 253: Alexander Barclay's "three eclogues of the miseries and manners of the Count and Countess" looks at first sight like a merry misprint for "the miseries of Courts and Courtiers," but an unfortunate comment suggests that the compiler has here confused two Latin treatises by the same author, *De Curialium Miseriis* and *De Duobus Amantibus*. P. 254: K. C. Bailey's translation of Pliny's chapters on chemical subjects (1929) is called the first translation of any part of the 'Natural History' since the Bohn edition of 1855, though an English version of the chapters on the history of art (1896) is mentioned on the very next page. P. 89 has Crinagorus, for Crinagoras. Pp. 170, 173, 258: the printer insists on the title *Res Gestae Dwi Augustae*. Inasmuch as the Latin section includes mediaeval and modern authors, it might have mentioned the famous Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus, with the translations by George Turbervile (1567) and Thomas Harvey (1656). Also, Alexander Barclay's *Mirror of Good Manners*, paraphrased from Mancinus (c. 1520), Barnabe Googe's *Zodiacke of Life*, from Palingenius (1565), and John Rooke's *Select Translations from the Works of Sannazarius, H. Grotius, Bapt. Amaltheus, etc.* (1726). P. 236 should have mentioned H. W. Garrod's skilful version of the Second Book of Manilius (Oxford, 1911); p. 199, F. B. Calvert's translation of the *De Oratore* of Cicero (Edinburgh, 1870). One further suggestion is *Sancti Augustini Vita scripta a Possidio Episcopo*, translated by H. T. Weiskotten (Princeton, 1919).

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SOME LINGUISTIC STUDIES OF 1930 AND 1931¹

The event of the year in English linguistics was the publication of Professor George O. Curme's long awaited volume on modern English syntax.² Up to the present time no great grammar of modern English has been produced in an Anglo-Saxon country. The outstanding English grammarians are all foreigners: Luick, Jespersen, Poutsma, Kruisinga, Krüger. The announcement, therefore, of a new grammar of broad scope, to be written by two American linguists of high standing in the field, aroused great expectations everywhere. And now the third volume of the new work is in our hands (volumes I and II are not yet out). I have read it with pleasure and profit. It is indeed a solid and useful piece of work, which, as the author tells us in his preface, "contains the fruits of many years of earnest investigation." And yet, in certain important respects, the book must be reckoned disappointing. First of all, let me mention a matter which, in a syntactical work, does not loom large but is none the less disturbing. We read (p. xi), ". . . where the pronunciation of words is indicated, use has been made of the well-known Websterian key, . . . The author of *Syntax* hesitated to assume on the part of his readers the knowledge of a scientific alphabet." Since the readers in question will be Professors of English, almost to a man, this hesitation, thoroughly unjustified though I believe it to be, does not speak well for American scholarship, and starts the reviewer off

¹ This survey includes only such studies as have been sent to this journal for review.

² G. O. Curme and H. Kurath, *A Grammar of the English Language*, vol. III, *Syntax*. New York, 1931. Pp. xvi + 616.

with a bad taste in the mouth. Luckily, in the work itself, Mr. Curme usually ignores Webster (see e. g., pp. 72, 514, 547).

More encouraging is the following passage from the preface (p. vi) :

Good English varies according to the occasion, just as our dress varies according to the occasion. Evening dress would be out of place in playing a football game. Loose colloquial English, as often described in this book, is frequently as appropriate as a loose-fitting garment in moments of relaxation. The lesser grammarians, who so generally present only one form of English, not only show their bad taste, but do a great deal of harm in that they impart erroneous ideas of language. In this book also the language of the common people is treated. It is here called 'popular speech' since the common grammatical term 'vulgar' has a disparaging meaning which arouses false conceptions.

All this is sound doctrine, and makes one hope for the best. And in fact Mr. Curme throughout his book tries to distinguish three forms or styles of English speech: literary, colloquial and popular. His efforts, however, are not wholly successful, because at heart he does not approve of the colloquial style—his prejudice against it appears at once in the opprobrious epithet "loose" which he attaches to it. To him the speech of "well-bred ease," as the late S. A. Leonard liked to call it, is not really "correct." This unscientific attitude comes out continually in Mr. Curme's volume. For example, the following sentence is quoted (p. 568) from Mrs. Humphrey Ward's novel *Robert Elsmere*: "Who does this dreadful place belong to?" After the *who* Mr. Curme inserts the notation: "instead of the correct *whom*." Again, on p. 230 we read: "In loose colloquial speech we sometimes hear *who* as accusative instead of the correct *whom*." To be compared is the notation under *whom* in the *NED*: "no longer current in natural colloquial speech." Mr. Curme and the editors of the *NED* evidently represent opposite extremes in this matter, but here I am concerned only to point out that Mr. Curme's view is an extreme one, dictated, I suspect, by emotional rather than by scientific considerations.

Occasionally Mr. Curme distinguishes two kinds of colloquial style, the formal and the informal. But he does not use the terms which I have just used in distinguishing them. On the contrary, he labels the formal style "good" (p. 142) or "correct" (p. 256), while the informal style must be content with the opprobrious epithet "loose" usually applied to colloquial speech as such. He

approves of the formal colloquial style, of course, because it differs little, if any, from the literary style. But this very peculiarity makes one doubtful of the justice of the classification. It would be sounder practice, I think, to confine the term *colloquial* to a style truly characterized by well-bred ease, and to reckon formal spoken English a variety of the literary style.

This weakness in method may further be illustrated by Mr. Curme's study of the personal pronouns. He tells us (p. 43),

The plain drift of our language is to use the accusative of personal nouns as the common case form for the nominative and accusative relations; just as in nouns there is here no formal distinction. In the best grade of colloquial speech it is still firm usage, however, to employ the nominative as subject when it stands immediately *before* the verb, as in '*I am tired.*' . . . The wide use of the accusative for the nominative . . . is unfortunate, for . . . it is sometimes ambiguous. The expressive power of our language should not become impaired. It is to be hoped that all who are interested in accurate expression will oppose this general drift by taking more pains to use a nominative where a nominative is in order.

Before examining Mr. Curme's generalization, it may be well to look at a couple of details. When we are told that in the "best grade" of colloquial speech *I am tired* is the norm, the implication is that there are inferior grades in which *me am tired* may be heard. This use of the accusative, however, does not deserve to be taken so seriously as Mr. Curme takes it. Though it may be heard in the speech of small children and in certain out-of-the-way dialects, it is not characteristic of ordinary colloquial speech, however low the grade of that speech, and I see no evidence that there is any drift toward an accusative form in such a position. Again, the ambiguity of which Mr. Curme speaks amounts to little. In the very examples which he gives to illustrate his point (p. 304), he shows, by bracketed forms, how easy it is to avoid the slightest shadow of ambiguity. Should the supposed "plain drift of our language" in these matters prevail, there would be no impairment in its "expressive power." Mr. Curme's anxiety is emotional, at bottom, and seems out of place in a scientific grammar, which ought to be a record of the facts of usage, not a medium for propaganda in behalf of certain usages dear to the heart of the author.

What then of Mr. Curme's generalization? I cannot agree that the old nominative forms are generally drifting into disuse. On the contrary, they are better fortified in certain positions than they

were in early modern times. A drift of some sort, however, is undoubtedly present. As I see it, two tendencies are to be distinguished. In the first place, colloquial usage is gradually becoming normalized and regularized on the basis of the word-order. Thus, we say *he's the one* but *that's him*. In both these statements the personal pronoun is in the nominative case, and this is only another way of saying that *him* in colloquial style may perfectly well be nominative. The choice between *he* and *him* depends, not on the case of the pronoun but on its position in the sentence. This way of speaking, which may be called the positional system, exists alongside a system inherited from medieval times, according to which the form of the pronoun is determined by its case rather than by its position in the sentence. And this brings us to the second of the two tendencies which I mentioned above. In current English there is a strong tendency to seize upon the two systems under discussion and to use them as a device for distinguishing the literary from the colloquial style. Needless to say, the traditional, case-form system goes with the literary style, while the positional system is characteristic of the colloquial style. This development has obviously brought with it a great enrichment of the language, a great increase in its expressive power (to use Mr. Curme's phrase), as will be sufficiently illustrated in the following example:

literary style: *It is I.*

colloquial style: *It's me.*

Few would deny, I think, that both these ways of expressing the thought are perfectly legitimate, each in its own sphere, and that if either of them were given up, the language would be impoverished. It is to be regretted therefore, that Mr. Curme has seen fit to denounce this stylistic distinction, subtle and highly characteristic of our speech though it is, and that he prefers a reversion to the old poverty in formal stylistic devices.

Mr. Curme is not unaware that the dogmatic prescriptions and proscriptions of the schoolmasters want qualification, and every now and then he comes out strongly in defense of usages which have long been under attack. Thus, he gives us a very fine study of the split infinitive (pp. 459 ff.), and his discussion of *like* as a conjunction (pp. 281 f.) is eminently sound and sensible. But it must be added that for the most part his point of view is as rigid as any eighteenth century purist's. Thus, he objects (p. 150) to

very (instead of *very much*) in *I was very pleased*, although he no doubt would allow *I was truly pleased* or *I was highly pleased*. Again, he condemns (p. 557) the use of *he* to refer to an earlier indefinite *one*, illustrating his point with the following sentence: "It offends *one* to be told *one* (not *he*) is not wanted." It is characteristic of Mr. Curme that here he feels no stylistic inconsistency in omitting the relative but using the second *one*; apparently he takes the very simple view that *one* is right and *he* is wrong, and does not consider the possibility that each may be right enough in its own stylistic milieu. He admits the adverb *so* (p. 39) and other adverbs (p. 48) as predicate complements, and yet he outlaws *badly* in the common locution *I feel badly* (p. 37), without giving his reasons, but, no doubt, on the usual puristic grounds. Compare the familiar *I feel this way about it*, where *this way* is used as a modal adverb and refers to the state of mind, not to the technic of tacton. In the following sentence (p. 140), *not* is rejected as pleonastic: "It will not take but a few moments to dispose of it." Later on, it is true (p. 326), we find an excellent explanation of the negative, but the judgment earlier pronounced is not withdrawn. The *whom* in sentences of the type *We feed children whom we think are hungry* is marked incorrect, in spite of the facts of usage and the convincing defense given by Jespersen (*Mod. Eng. Gram.* III 197 ff.). Other examples might readily be cited, if space permitted.

I have noted a few slips in matters of detail. The widespread southern *yall* as the plural of *you* invalidates the discussion of stress on p. 17 (top). The American *say* (answering to English *I say*) is best taken as an imperative (p. 18). I do not believe that the popular *-s* of the present tense is properly explained in the statement that "the third person singular is used for all persons and both numbers" (p. 52). The example *fer Gawd' sake* (p. 73) is worthless, for obvious phonetic reasons, in proving the existence of an uninflected genitive. The sentence "She was taken a drive" (p. 120) sounds unidiomatic to me. The word-order in "I yesterday met your father" (p. 130) is hardly possible in natural English speech. The colloquial *an't* is a contraction of *am not* and originally had no connexion with *are n't* (p. 137), with which however it became identical in pronunciation after the loss of *r* before a consonant in spoken English. The present spelling is an example of leveling, no doubt, but this leveling is merely orthographic, and tells us nothing about the etymology of *an't*. As for

ain't, it too comes from *am not*, of which it is an early contraction. Derivation of *ain't* from *are n't* is phonetically inadmissible. The prepositional genitive *of which* is not properly described as colloquial (p. 229). Colloquial speech, in fact, dislikes and avoids both *whose* and *of which*. Thus, Galsworthy's "a little white building whose small windows were overgrown with creepers" (p. 230) would not be made colloquial by the substitution of *the small windows of which* for *whose small windows*. If a colloquial touch is wanted, it can be had by omitting *were* and substituting *with* for *whose*. Galsworthy might not like two *withs* in the same sequence, but such a repetition does not upset anybody in colloquial speech. The examples of paratactic clauses given on p. 236 all strike me as restrictive. They are, in fact, relative clauses in which the relative pronoun is understood but not expressed. Mr. Curme here and elsewhere (e. g., pp. 19, 206, 567) reads a demonstrative into clauses which are definitely relative. It is one thing to say that a relative pronoun developed out of an older demonstrative; it is quite another thing to read this prehistoric demonstrative force into Old-English, Middle-English and even Modern-English historical texts. The form *got* for *have got* is not elliptical but is rather the result of phonetic processes: *have got* > *vgot* > *got* (p. 360).

The grammar of Mr. Mitchell ³ is designed as a text for college freshmen; its scope is therefore extremely limited to start with. The author limits the field still further by consigning phonology to the lexicographer (p. 1). Yet another limitation is explained in the following statement (p. 2): "the grammarian selects his phenomena not from any usage but from the best usage. The best usage to him is the usage of educated men who speak logically and accurately." One may ask how these logical and accurate speakers are to be segregated from the herd of educated men, and the answer would of course depend upon one's own notions of logic and accuracy. In other words, Mr. Mitchell's principles commit him to subjectivity and rigidity, and many a reader, before finishing page 2, will doubtless be tempted to throw the book aside in disgust. I was so tempted, but did not yield, and to my surprise found that the author, in spite of his principles, had written a school grammar

³ F. K. Mitchell, *English Grammar for College Students*. New York, 1931. Pp. xii + 191.

distinctly above the average. I do not mean to imply that the book is a really good grammar, of course. But the teacher's choice is not between good and bad but rather between very bad and not so bad, and Mr. Mitchell's grammar belongs in the latter group. The following slips in matters of detail are of some interest: "The inflection *-en* was a common method of forming plurals in Old English . . . Another common method of forming the plural in Old English was changing the vowel" (p. 29); "The relative *that* is always restrictive" (p. 54); "The sound of *h* . . . can be pronounced only in accented syllables" (p. 64); "The superlative is also used merely for emphasis without actual thought of comparison: . . . This use, except in conventional greetings, is colloquial" (p. 67).

Professor Mutschmann's volume⁴ is devoted to phonology, a branch of grammar which Mr. Mitchell, oddly enough, relegates to the dictionary. The author has little interest in the instrumental technic, and his descriptions and classifications of the vowels in particular suffer from this lack of interest, but his book remains a useful and, on the practical side, a trustworthy piece of work. I have a few comments to make on matters of detail. Under spellings for [k] the word *Celtic* should be listed (p. 27). The pronunciation of *schedule* given on p. 114 does not agree with that given on pp. 27 and 37. The pronunciations given for *début* (pp. 42, 124), *wreathe* (p. 51), *Pythagoras* (p. 77) and *steward* (p. 114) are surely wrong. Alternative pronunciations ought to have been recorded for *swarthy* (p. 50), *gooseberry* (p. 111), and *courteous* (pp. 108, 124). The word *ensign* (p. 99) is pronounced [ensn] when applied to an officer of the United States Navy. To *Rossetti* (p. 63) should be added *Missouri*. The distinction in pronunciation between *real* (p. 118) and *reel* might have been noted. The word *father* (p. 94) belongs in § 253.⁵ *Yule* (p. 113) goes back to OE *geól*. The distinction made between the two kinds of [l] in English (p. 46) is hardly right; the difference between them is merely one of quantity. In the discussion of [f, v] on pp. 53 f., nothing is said of the marked difference between the English and the (North) German [v].

⁴H. Mutschmann, *Praktische Phonetik des Englischen*. Leipzig, 1930. Pp. viii + 181.

⁵For the *a* of *rather*, *lather* see *Mod. Philol.* XVI (1918), 11 ff.

Mr. Mutschmann's is a handbook of standard English pronunciation; Mr. Bröker has given us a study of dialectal pronunciation in Lancashire⁶ based on phonograph records made during the War by five English prisoners in Germany. The author prints only four pages of phonetic texts, and depends chiefly on texts printed by Professor Brandl in his *Lautbibliothek*. All this material he works up in the usual way, and gives us a *Lautlehre* for each of the five subjects. A final chapter treats of Lancashire dialect literature available in print. The study is far from exhaustive, but it may prove useful to future students in this field.

Of studies in the field of historical (rather than current) English grammar by far the most important that has come into my hands is Professor Callaway's.⁷ We are accustomed to look to Mr. Callaway for definitive treatment of whatever problem he may attack. In the present work, he lives up to his high reputation and adds to his laurels. By examining practically the whole body of Old-English writings, and gathering up all cases of the temporal subjunctive in these writings, he assembled the material available, and on this solid basis was able to come to conclusions which are not likely to be challenged. Not the least valuable part of Mr. Callaway's work has been his habitual comparison of each OE text with its Latin source (if it had such a source). Not content with indicating in each case the Latin construction translated by an OE temporal subjunctive, he has also noted the cases (more than 1000 in number) in which a Latin temporal subjunctive is not rendered by an OE subjunctive. He concludes inevitably that the scope of the temporal subjunctive in Latin and in Old English was by no means the same. He finds the OE temporal subjunctive to have been of Latin origin in one type of clause. Otherwise, it was a native growth, and the primary factor involved "is to be found, I believe, in the ideal nature of the dependent temporal clause rather than, as generally held, in the nature of the governing clause" (p. 125). Mr. Callaway is to be congratulated on his demonstration, which is complete and convincing. We look forward with impatience to the further studies in this field which he promises to give us.

⁶ H. Bröker, *Zu den Lautverhältnissen der Lancashire-Dialekte*. Berlin, 1930. Pp. 54.

⁷ Morgan Callaway, Jr., *The Temporal Subjunctive in Old English*. Austin (Tex.), 1931. Pp. xvi + 222.

Dr. Zwerina has made a painstaking study of the history in English of the spelling *o* for "short *u*,"⁸ a troublesome orthographical complication which arose in the twelfth century and has been with us ever since. His monograph is an attempt to bring together all the cases, and to trace the history of each case, insofar as this spelling throws any light on it. The author has made a true, though slight contribution to the history of English sound-changes by working this orthographical peculiarity for all it is worth, and many will find it convenient to have all the *o*-words listed together. Another monograph on English pronunciation is that of Dr. Gabrielson,⁹ who has given us, not an edition of Bysshe's dictionary of rhymes, but a study of this work "as a source of information on early Modern English pronunciation." The Swedish Anglicist, who is well known as an expert in such matters, gleans a surprising amount of information from his difficult material. Of particular interest are the comments on *gorge* (p. 34), *yacht* (p. 38), and the words in *-ic* (p. 56).

Dr. Raith's study of the English nasal verbs¹⁰ is a careful piece of work, and a worthy addition to Professor Förster's *Beiträge* (of which it makes the seventeenth volume). I find it, however, a bit stuffed with Indo-European material which might with profit have been omitted. The same criticism cannot be made of Dr. Seelig's dissertation,¹¹ which is a convenient collection of the comparative and superlative forms that occur in OE literature. The forms are systematically arranged, and the monograph ought to prove useful for reference. A statistical study of the material was unluckily not included. Quite a different kind of thing is Mr. Trnka's monograph on the English verb.¹² This study is best described as an essay, technical though it is. It reads well, and is full of ideas and theories, which one may hope the author will develop in detail some day. The *Cercle Linguistique de Prague*,

⁸ H. Zwerina, *Neuenglisch o gesprochen wie u*. Leipzig, 1930. Pp. viii + 87.

⁹ A. Gabrielson, *Edward Bysshe's Dictionary of Rhymes (1702)*. Uppsala and Stockholm, 1930. Pp. xvi + 87.

¹⁰ J. Raith, *Die englischen Nasalverben*. Leipzig, 1931. Pp. 128. RM 8.

¹¹ F. Seelig, *Die Komparation der Adjektiva und Adverbien im Altenglischen*. Anglistische Forschungen, Heft 70. Heidelberg, 1930. Pp. xii + 79. RM 5.

¹² B. Trnka, *On the Syntax of the English Verb from Caution to Dryden*. Prague, 1930. Pp. 98.

which published Mr. Trnka's study (as No. 3 of its series of *Travaux*), is to be congratulated on its inclusion of this stimulating piece of work among its publications.

The Bell Telephone Laboratories have recently given us an interesting study¹³ of the comparative frequencies of words and sounds, based on a list of 80,000 word-occurrence taken down from telephone conversations. The study is to be compared with Mr. Godfrey Dewey's well-known study of frequency, based on written material. The results cannot be recorded here, but are distinctly worthy of note. More conventional but none the less useful is Mrs. Martin's study of Mark Twain's vocabulary¹⁴ (it is not clear whether C. D. Warner's vocabulary was included in the study). The fruits of Mrs. Martin's discriminating labors will no doubt be used to the full in the great dictionary of American English now under way at the University of Chicago. In the meantime, the author's comments and conclusions may be granted at least tentative validity. We are glad to learn that Mrs. Martin's monograph is but the first of a series of studies of Mark Twain's vocabulary, to be made at the University of Missouri under the capable direction of Professor R. L. Ramsay. A word-study of quite a different kind is that of Miss Bryant,¹⁵ whose book bears the sub-title: "the part that articles, prepositions and conjunctions play in legal decisions." The author's method has been to study a number of legal decisions which turned on the meanings given to the parts of speech named, and to try to determine the principles or processes of reasoning which led the judges to their definitions. Each word discussed is taken up for itself, and each legal case cited is rather fully summarized. The material is unusually interesting, and although we learn little that is really new the job was well worth doing.

Out of a rich experience in the underworld Mr. Irwin has put together his book,¹⁶ which falls into three parts: a very short survey of underworld speech in America, a long glossary (the bulk

¹³ N. R. French, C. W. Carter, Jr., and Walter Koenig, Jr., *The Words and Sounds of Telephone Conversations*. Bell Telephone System Technical Publications, Monograph B-491, New York, 1930. Pp. 35.

¹⁴ A. B. Martin, *A Vocabulary Study of Mark Twain's "The Gilded Age."* 1930. Pp. 55.

¹⁵ Margaret M. Bryant, *English in the Law Courts*. New York, 1930. Pp. x + 312.

¹⁶ G. Irwin, *American Tramp and Underworld Slang*. London, 1931. Pp. 264.

of the book), and a few songs of the road, with introduction and commentary (about 50 pages). Appended is an essay by Mr. Eric Partridge on "The American Underworld and English Cant." Mr. Partridge is concerned to show that many of the expressions which Mr. Irwin records in his glossary came to America from Great Britain; in other words, his essay is historical, while Mr. Irwin's glossary is primarily descriptive. Mr. Partridge is not so careful of his facts as he might be. Thus, the OE *ceat* 'thing' which he cites, though duly recorded by Bosworth, was canceled by Toller and must be classified as a ghost-word (p. 257). The quotation from Shadwell (p. 262) does not prove that *rhino* 'money' was derived from *rhinoceros*. The terms *screw* and *shag* (p. 263) are recorded by Mr. Irwin in his glossary as verbs, and yet Mr. Partridge says that in "Americanese" they are used only as nouns! The term *maulk* (p. 259) may be traced back to Chaucer at least (in the form *Malkin*). But in spite of such blemishes, the book as a whole deserves commendation, and is a welcome contribution in a field too little studied.

Mr. Tatsu Sasaki has given us a study on the grammar of English poetry, as exemplified in the verse of the late Robert Bridges.¹⁷ The monograph is preliminary to a general grammar of English poetry which the author has in view. The idea is a good one, and if the general grammar fulfils the promise of the preliminary study, it will be a valuable contribution to English linguistics. The monograph before us is divided into three parts, devoted respectively to the place of the adjective attribute, the intensive plural of the noun, and the infinitive and gerund. The author shows himself a keen and discriminating student, and his method of attack wins confidence. His book is one distinctly worth reading, and one may hope that it will be the first of a long series from his pen.

Professor Ekwall, who has already done so much in the place-name field, now publishes another volume of place-name studies.¹⁸ His new book has the qualities which we have come to associate with him: mastery of the subject, care in the weighing of evidence, fertility in theory and sanity in final judgments. The present

¹⁷ Tatsu Sasaki, *On the Language of Robert Bridges' Poetry*. Tokyo, 1930. Pp. x + 106.

¹⁸ E. Ekwall, *Studies on English Place- and Personal Names*. Lund, 1931. Pp. 110.

studies fall into four groups: OE personal names in *-en*, Kentish names in *-ham*, the element *church* in English place-names, and miscellaneous place-name etymologies. I will confine my comments to certain matters of detail. The connexion of OE *Bieda* with OHG *Baudo* (p. 5) can hardly be right, in view of the *-d-* of both forms. For the value of the OE palatal *c* (p. 16), see now G. van Langenhove, in the *Jespersen Miscellany* pp. 69 ff. I am sorry that Mr. Ekwall did not discuss the matter of the *s*-suffix (p. 25), though it is clear that Mr. Zachrisson's arguments in the *F. Jónsson Festschrift* (pp. 316 ff.) did not convince him. I am sceptical of the OE sound-change *rs* > *ss* (p. 25); where is the evidence for it? Since *Cyrce*s (p. 49) is an eleventh-century form, it is to be taken as ME rather than OE; see my paper in the *Curme Volume of Linguistic Studies* pp. 110 ff. The [y] postulated (p. 56) as the ME development (in Beds) of OE *eo* seems hardly called for by the evidence; cf. p. 65. The *m* of *Brompton* (p. 63) is not accounted for; cf. p. 87. The voicing of a medial *t* (p. 64) is not properly comparable with that of a final *c*.

The late J. C. Smock, a geologist who made it his hobby to study the Greek element in the English vocabulary, left a manuscript dictionary devoted to this hobby. The manuscript, edited by Dr. Percy W. Long, is now available in print.¹⁹ The volume bears impressive witness to the scope and importance of what Mr. Long justly calls "a major unit in the English vocabulary." Like all riders of hobbies, Smock sometimes goes too far, as when he reckons *abigail* Greek, but his dictionary ought to be useful both as a general work of reference and as a guide to scientists in systematizing their terminology.

Dr. Mueller's dissertation on Old-Germanic word-order is an unusually good job.²⁰ The author has interpreted his material with intelligence and has worked out a highly plausible system. Nevertheless, his labors cannot be called definitive, since his generalizations are built up on too slender a body of evidence. A fuller exploitation of the literary monuments will have to be made before his conclusions can be accepted without reserve. The invariable use of *ð* for *þ* in the quotations is particularly disagreeable when

¹⁹ J. C. Smock, *The Greek Element in English Words*, New York, 1931. Pp. xiv + 358.

²⁰ Hanskurt Mueller, *Studien zur altgermanischen Wortstellung*. Berlin, 1930. Pp. 75.

Old-Norse passages are cited. The proofreading was very carelessly done (or perhaps the printers were very stubborn about their mistakes).

Professor Russell has published another volume on vocalic articulation as revealed by X-ray photography and "laryngo-periskopik study."²¹ His new volume is made up very largely of material already presented in his earlier work, *The Vowel*. The present treatise is aimed at a wider public, however, and includes "practical" chapters. The great merit of the book, and the justification for publishing a work so much like its predecessor, is to be found in the illustrations and charts. The 217 figures which accompany the text are in themselves worth far more than the price of the volume. I note with regret that in spite of a profusion of photographs of all sorts of vowels we are denied any examples of [ʒ] and [ʌ].

During the period covered by this survey the Linguistic Society of America has published one "language dissertation" and five "language monographs."²² The activities of the Society have given an impetus to linguistic research in this country the importance of which it would be hard to overestimate, and it is encouraging to see that its facilities for publication are being so well utilized. It is also a pleasure to record the continued progress of the great Danish dictionary, the twelfth volume of which is now available.²³ Perhaps the most notable event of the year, however (for the Anglo-Saxon world, at least), in the field of general linguistics, was the publication of an English translation of Professor Holger Pedersen's *Sprogvidenskaben i det Nittende Aarhundrede*.²⁴ This great work, though less than ten years old, has

²¹ G. O. Russell, *Speech and Voice*. New York, 1931. Pp. xviii + 250. \$4.00.

²² F. T. Wood, *The Accentuation of Nominal Compounds in Lithuanian*, Baltimore, 1930, pp. 90; E. H. Tuttle, *Dravidian Developments*, Baltimore, 1930, pp. 40; E. Sapir, *Totality*, Baltimore, 1930, pp. 28; J. T. Hatfield, W. Leopold and A. J. F. Zieglschmid (edd.), *Ourme Volume of Linguistic Studies*, Baltimore, 1930, pp. 178; K. H. Collitz, *Verbs of Motion in their Semantic Divergence*, Baltimore, 1931, pp. 112; E. H. Sturtevant, *Hittite Glossary*, Baltimore, 1931, pp. 82.

²³ V. Dahlerup and others, *Ordbog over det Danske Sprog*, Tolvte Bind, Kod-Luevarm. Copenhagen, 1931. Pp. 626.

²⁴ H. Pedersen, *Linguistic Science in the Nineteenth Century*. Authorized translation from the Danish by J. W. Spargo. Cambridge (Mass.), 1931. Pp. xii + 360.

already become a classic, and in its new dress it bids fair to hold the field for many years as the standard history of our science. It would be superfluous for me to pay further tribute to the many excellencies of a work so well and so favorably known, and I will confine myself here to sundry details of the English version, in which the translation or the adaptation to the Anglo-Saxon reader might perhaps be improved. The name-form *Bengalese* (p. 16) is no longer usual; the form now current is *Bengali*. In connexion with the von Schlegels (p. 19), the English Sanskritist A. Hamilton might have been mentioned; see the *Klaeber Studies in Philology*, pp. 457 ff. The name *Avesta* (pp. 26, 257) is incorrectly used for the language; the Avesta is a literary monument, written in the Avestan language. Low German (p. 34) includes Franconian as well as Saxon dialects. The name-form *Mähren* (p. 48) for Moravia is out of place in an English book. The language called *Venetic* on p. 223 is less happily called *Venetian* on p. 91. The use of the terms *decay*, *decayed* (pp. 118, 123, 132, 133, 227, 241, 270) to describe later stages in the history of a language is not well advised. The term *guttural* (p. 207) is correct enough, strictly speaking, as a name for sounds made in the throat, but in view of its frequent use for velar or even palatal sounds the unambiguous *glottal* is to be preferred. The specimen of the Lydian alphabet referred to on p. 220 actually appears, not on the "previous page" but on p. 222. The discussion of the runes (pp. 233 ff.) would have been much more interesting to the Anglo-Saxon reader if some account of the English runic alphabet had been included. The style of handwriting used in the British Isles in the early Middle Ages (p. 239) is best called *Insular*. The metamorphosis of French *jus* into Danish *sky* (p. 251) will hardly be wholly transparent to the average reader, and deserves a word of explanation (if mentioned at all). I have noted the following misprints: *sun* (p. 65), *ancienst* (p. 67), *Sardes* (p. 220), *bout* (p. 236), and *a* (p. 288).

I will conclude this survey by making mention of the continued activity in the interlingual field. Here the advocates of a modified form of English as an international language seem to be unusually aggressive. Professor Zachrisson and his followers have launched a monthly magazine and a fortnightly illustrated magazine to promote the interests of "Anglic," i. e. English in simplified

spelling.²⁵ The Anglic Fund has also published an authoritative pamphlet, prepared by Professor Zachrisson, which gives in final form the "new agreed simplified English spelling" to be used by writers of Anglic.²⁶ The rules for spelling laid down in this pamphlet solve as well as one could expect the problem stated on p. 12: "to find an orthography which is phonetic in principle, but which at the same time bears sufficient resemblance to the present spelling for the two systems to be used side by side for the same purposes." The spellings used in the "Specimens of Anglic" appended to the pamphlet conform to the rules, so far as I have made comparison, but include forms like *fortuen* 'fortune' and *natueral* 'natural' which strike me as needless departures from pronunciation. If a word is to be simplified in spelling, the simplification ought to produce a spelling more nearly phonetic than the one we have in the traditional orthography, and this result has obviously not been attained in the specimens of Anglic just cited.

KEMP MALONE

BEOWULF AND APOLLONIUS OF TYRE

Parallels between *Beowulf* and the *Odyssey* have frequently been pointed out. Attention has been called to the similarity of Beowulf's welcome at Heorot and Odysseus's welcome at the court of Alcinous: in the one case Unferth taunts Beowulf, as in the other Euryalus taunts Odysseus; as Beowulf is received among the Danes with song and feasting, so is Odysseus received among the Phaeacians.¹ As Unferth, after the quarrel, gives Beowulf a 'unique hilted sword,' so also does the penitent Euryalus to Odysseus.²

While scholars have busied themselves with parallels between the English and the Greek poet, they seem to have overlooked a striking series of parallels between *Beowulf* and the Latin *Apollonius of Tyre*, a work which may well have come into the hands of the Englishman. These parallels occur in the accounts of Beowulf's arrival at Heorot and Apollonius's arrival at the court of King

²⁵ *Anglio Eduekaeshonal Revue*, Uppsala, 1930 etc.; *The Anglic Illustrated*, Stockholm, 1931.

²⁶ R. E. Zachrisson, *Anglic*. Uppsala, 1930. Pp. 40.

¹ A. S. Cook, *PQ.*, v, 226-234.

² J. K. Work, *PQ.*, ix, 401.

Archestrates, and are, if anything, closer than those hitherto observed between *Beowulf* and Homer.

In both narratives the guest is a seafarer. In both he is met by a messenger who goes ahead to announce his coming to the king, who, in turn, extends him a cordial welcome, and provides feasting and merrymaking in his honor. In both a courtier, jealous of the king's favor to a stranger, attempts to stir up a quarrel. In both the lady of the household enters the banqueting hall, salutes first the king, then goes about among the guests, and finally speaks discreetly to the stranger. Although in *Beowulf* these episodes are much extended, the events, in poem and romance, follow the same sequence, and in some details are almost identical. For instance, compare the arrival of the strangers in the two narratives:

Beowulf

And he [Wulfgar] went quickly to where Hrothgar was sitting, old and exceeding white-haired, with his company of thanes; the valiant man went until he stood before the face of the lord of the Danes—he knew the custom of the court. Wulfgar spoke to his friendly lord: 'Hither are come across the sea-waves travelers, Geatish men from a far country. Warriors call their chieftain Beowulf. They beg to have speech with thee, my lord. Refuse not to converse with them, O gracious Hrothgar.' (*Beo.* 356-367.)

Then spoke Hrothgar, defence of the Scyldings: . . . 'Make haste and bid all the band of kinsmen come in together unto us. Say to them, moreover, that they are welcome among the Danish people.'

(*Beo.* 371; 386-389.)

Then in the mead-hall a bench was made ready for the Geatmen, one and all. Thither the stout-hearted men went to sit in the pride of their strength. Athane did service, who bore a chased ale-flagon in his hand, and poured out the bright mead. (*Beo.* 491-496. Translations from *Beowulf* by C. B. Tinker.)

Apollonius

Apollonius ut audivit, adquevit et ducente famulo pervenit ad regem. Famulus prior ingressus ait regi 'naufragus adest, sed abiecto habitu introire confunditur.' Statim rex iussit eum vestibibus dignis indui et ingredi ad cenam. Ingressus Apollonius triclinium contra regem assignato loco discubuit. Infertur gustatio, deinde cena regalis.

In these passages even the bringing in of *gustatio* and the pouring of mead are much alike, since at the first course, which preceded the main dinner, the Roman banqueters drank *mulsum*, consisting of four parts of wine to one of honey. It is an interesting coincidence that mead was made of water and honey in the proportion of three to one.³

No sooner does the entertainment begin, than an envious courtier, sitting near the king and moved by jealousy of the new comer, attempts to stir up a quarrel:

Beowulf

Unferth, the son of Ecglaef, who sat at the feet of the lord of the Scyldings, spoke, and stirred up a quarrel; the coming of Beowulf, the brave seafarer, vexed him sore, for he would not that any other man under heaven should ever win more glories in this world than he himself. 'Art thou that Beowulf who didst strive with Breca on the broad sea . . .?' (*Beo.* 499-507.)

Apollonius

Apollonius cunctis epulantibus non epulabatur, sed aurum argentum vestes mensas ministeria regalia dum flens cum dolore considerat, quidam senex invidus iuxta regem discumbens vidit iuvenem curiose singula respicientem et ait regi 'bone rex, ecce homo cui tu benignitatem animae tuae ostendisti, fortunae tuae invidet' Rex ait 'male suspicaris; nam iuvenis iste *mihi* non invidet, sed plura se perdidisse testatur.'

The third parallel incident in the two narratives is the entrance into the banqueting hall of the lady of the house, in one case the queen, and in the other the king's daughter. Their behavior is strikingly similar:

Beowulf

Wealthew, Hrothgar's queen, went forth, mindful of courtesies; in her gold array she greeted the men in the hall. The noble lady first gave the cup to him who guarded the land of the East-Danes; she bade him, beloved of his people, be blithe at the beer-drinking . . . Then the lady of the Helmings moved about to old and young in every part of the hall, handing the

Apollonius

Et dum hortatur iuvenem, subito introvit filia regis, adulta virgo, et dedit osculum patri, deinde discumbentibus amicis. Quae dum singulos osculatur, pervenit ad naufragum. Rediit ad patrem et ait 'bone rex et pater optime, quis est iste iuvenis, qui contra te honorabili loco discumbit et flebili vultu nescio quid dolet?' Rex ait 'nata dulcis, invenis ille naufragus est et in

³ The word translated as *mead* is *wereð* in the Old English, and means a sweet drink.

Beowulf

costly cup, until the moment came when the diademed queen, noble of mind, bore the cup to Beowulf. She greeted the lord of the Geats, and thanked God, discreet in her words, that the desire of her heart was brought to pass, that she might put her trust in some hero for relief from all her affliction. (*Beo.* 612-618; 620-628.)

Apollonius

gymnasio mihi officium gratissimum fecit . . . ' Hortante patre puella venit ad iuvenem et verecundo sermone ait 'licet taciturnitas tua sit tristior, generositas tamen nobilitatem ostendit. Si vero tibi molestum non est, indica mihi nomen et casus tuos.' (Riese's text.)

To conclude hastily from these parallels that *Apollonius of Tyre* was a source of *Beowulf* is, of course, hazardous in the absence of manuscript evidence that the story was known in Britain at the probable date of composition of the Old English epic. But that a Latin translation of the romance had been seen by the poet is certainly not impossible, since the translation dates at the latest from the beginning of the sixth century. Apollonius is mentioned in two writings of a period before the composition of *Beowulf*, and in one work of a period a little later. It is significant that two of these references occur in France, across which stretched the long route between England and Rome.⁴ The earliest of the three is in the works of Venantius Fortunatus, bishop of Poitiers, 566-568, *Carmina* (Book VI. 8., lines 5-6), in which he compares his sad, exiled wanderings in Gaul with those of the shipwrecked Apollonius:⁵

Tristius erro nimis, patriis vagus exsul ab oris,
Quam sit Apollonius naufragus hospes aquis.

The story is also mentioned in *Tractat de dubiis nominibus*, a grammatical index found in a seventh century Vienna manuscript, and in *Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensium*, where in a list of books belonging to Waldo, abbot of Fontanelle (or Saint Vandrille), in the diocese of Rouen, from 742-747, mention is made of '*Historiam Apollonii regis Tyri* in codice uno.'⁶ These three allusions afford ample evidence that manuscripts now lost were in existence when

⁴ The frequency of travel may be illustrated by the six trips of Benedict Biscop and the three of Wilfrid from England to Rome and back.

⁵ Migne, *Patrologia*, T. 88. See A. H. Smyth, *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, 37, 221 (1898).

⁶ Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Brit. Mus.*, I, 161 (1883).

Beowulf was written. It is possible that one or more copies were carried into Britain among the many books that, from the time of Paulinus to the time of Benedict Biscop, found place in the rich monastic libraries of such centres of learning as Canterbury, Wearmouth and Yarrow.

COOLIDGE OTIS CHAPMAN

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A NOTE ON *BEOWULF* 760

Lines 758-760 of *Beowulf* (ed. Klaeber, p. 29) read as follows:

Gemunde þā se gōða, mæg Higelāces,
 æfenspræce, ūplong āstōd
 ond him fæste wiðfēng; fingras burston.

The interpretation of the clause "fingras burston" most often given is that *Beowulf's* own fingers burst under the strain of his own terrible grip. Klaeber suggests (Notes, p. 152) that "burston" be translated "broke" in the sense of cracked or snapped, an interpretation parallel to that which he gives the clause in line 818—"burston bānlocan."

Another interpretation is possible. An interesting analogue is found in an incident in Kingsley's *Hereward the Wake*, the source of which is that chronicle of the legendary deeds of the famous eleventh century hero *De Gestis Herwardi Saxonis* (*Chroniques Anglo-Normandes*, ed. Francisque Michel, Vol. II, pp. 17-18):

Minister autem illi viciniore ferculum porrexit. Herwardus quidem rem intelligens extendit manum et arripuit pateram, strictis amborum digitis quod sanguis sub unguibus effluxit.

Kingsley interprets the incident thus (Charles Kingsley, *Hereward the Wake*, Everyman ed., p. 85):

The servant brought the dish down: he gave a look at the stranger's shabby dress, . . . and . . . put the dish into the hand of the Dane. "Hold, lads," quoth the stranger [Hereward]. "If I have ears, that was meant for me."

He seized the platter with both hands; and therewith the hands both of the Cornishman and of the Dane. There was a struggle. but so bitter was the stranger's gripe, that (says the chronicler) the blood burst from the nails of both his opponents.

Like Beowulf, Hereward was a hero noted for his great strength. The above passage suggests an obvious interpretation of the *Beowulf* clause: Beowulf's grip was so powerful that Grendel's fingers burst, just as did those of the Cornishman and the Dane under Hereward's bitter grip—Grendel's fingers, not Beowulf's.

CLIFFORD P. LYONS

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ALCUIN'S USE OF ALLITERATION

It has not, so far as I know, been pointed out that the Adonics of two of Alcuin's poems (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Poetae Latini Aevi Caroli*, I, *Carmina Alcuini* 54 and 85, 2) are so alliterated as to conform, with the exception of a few verses, to the rules for Anglo-Saxon half-lines of the Δ -type. I give the first twelve verses of each poem, enclosing in parentheses the lines which do not fit the Anglo-Saxon scheme.

Carmen 54

(Nunc bipedali)	Semper ubique
Carmina laudes,	Sit tibi Christus
Credule, dulces,	Pax, via, virtus.
(Mi tibi nate)	Plenus amore
Care, canemus.	Illius esto,
Certo valet!	Ecce precamur.

Carmen 85, 2

(Te homo laudet	Sed tibi sanctae
Alme creator,)	Solus imago
Pectore, mente	Magna creator
Pacis amore:	Mentis in arce
Non modo parva	Pectore puro
Pais quia mundi est.	(Dum pie vivit.)

Since the alliteration is not carried through with complete regularity in either poem, the Adonic must be the fundamental scheme, and the Anglo-Saxon adornment of the classic measure an addition into which Alcuin was lead by his recognition, probably subconscious at first, of the similarity of the Adonics to his native metre.

The significance of this recognition is two-fold: It shows that

Alcuin was acquainted with vernacular poetry and that he may well have composed it himself. It also supports the contention that the half-line in Anglo-Saxon poetry as it is printed today was really the verse, and that the line of the modern edition was regarded as a couplet. Though the present method of printing is more economical of space, the older was probably nearer to the metrical facts in representing the Anglo-Saxons as composing *bipedali carmine*.

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EXAMPLES OF THE LEGAL USAGE OF *FINE*, SB., IN 13TH CENTURY ANGLO-NORMAN

Because of the various meanings developed from the basic significance 'end,' the legal use of AN. *fine*, sb. (<Lat. *finem*), may profitably be compared with that of ME. *fine*, an AN. loan. In a number of cases the radiating meanings are found earlier in AN. than in ME., suggesting that the semantic changes took place in AN. and that the new meanings were borrowed into English.

N. E. D. under *fine*, sb. 1, states: "In med. L. and OF. the word has the senses 'ending of a dispute, settlement, payment by way of composition'; hence the various applications in branch II." This paper offers evidence in support of this statement, in so far as it concerns legal usage in AN. I follow the notation scheme and use the definitions and certain other material of N. E. D.

I. (1-5) 'End' (not legal).

II. 6. *Law*. A 'final agreement.'

b. spec. The compromise of a fictitious or collusive suit for the possession of lands.

E., 1483. *Act I Rich. III.*, c. 7 § 1. Notes and fynes to be levied in the Kinges Court . . . shold be openly and solempnly radd.

AN., ca. 1289. *Mirror of Justices* (Selden Soc.), 189. E ceo qe est en lestatut qe si fin se leve en fraude dreit qe ele soit nule est reprenable, einz put mieux estre dit issi qe par cel fin ne soit nule terce person barre de son droit. . . . (What is in the statute about a fine in fraud of the law being void is reprehensible; it would be better to say that by such a fine no third person shall be barred of his right. . . .)

AN. 1292. *Britton* (Oxford, 1865), II. x. 1. Mes a ceo qe acun deive estre attorne maugre soen, covendra eyde de nostre court parmi fin leve. (But in order that one may be attorned against his will, it will be necessary to have the aid of our court in levying a fine.)

AN. 1292. *Year Books* 20-21 Ed. I. 341. Ceo ne put yl dire ke yl fut deins age, par la reson ke yl nus feffa de les tenemens demande; e sur ceo, fyn se leva entra nus; e nule fyn se levera entre parties si eus ne seyent de pleyn age. . . (He can not say that he was within age, for the reason that he enfeoffed us with the tenements demanded, and with regard to them a fine was levied between us, and no fine is levied between parties who are not of full age. . .)

From this Anglo-Norman meaning, a further development, not noted in *NED.*, is recorded in AN. "the record of the compromise so made, used as valid evidence of the conveyance."

AN. 1293. *Year Books*, 21-22 Ed. I. 59. la fyn vot ke nostre auncestre ly granta les tenemens a ly e a ces heys de sun cors engendrez. . . (the fine states that our ancestor granted the tenements to him and to his heirs of his body engendered. . .)

AN. 1294. *Year Books*, 21-22 Ed. I. 405. ben savez vus ky chartre e fyn ne sunt mye fet, eynz soulement temoniaunce de fet. . . (you know well that a charter and a fine are not a deed, but only testification of a deed. . .)

AN. 1294. *Year Books*, 21-22 Ed. I. 401. A coe ne pouent il avener; e par la resone ki nus avum mostre a la court par chartre e par fyn ky temoyment le doun estre simple a Jon e a ces heirs. . . (They can not come to that, for the reason that we have shown the court by charter and by fine which witness that the gift was in fee simple to John and his heirs. . .)

- c. Used *gen.* for a contract, agreement. Found in English as early as ca. 1330, but not recorded in strictly legal writing in AN. during the thirteenth century.

III. A composition paid.

- 7a. *Feudal Law*. A fee (as distinguished from the rent) paid by the tenant or vassal to the landlord on some alteration of the tenancy, as on the transfer or alienation of the tenant-right, etc.

E. c. 1435. *Torr. Portugal* 1086. Omage thou shalt none nor ffyne.

AN. ca. 1283. MS. Brit. Mus. Add. 32, 085. fol. 102a. E sy le heyr de akun de teus seyt dedens age e seyt en garde kant il ai vendra [corr. parvendra] a plenere age eyt son heritage sanz relief e sanz fin. (And if the heir of any such be under age and be in ward, when he shall be full age he shall have his heritage without relief and without fine.)

AN. 1292. *Britton* (Oxford, 1865), III. ii. 23. Et cum il avera la seisine des terres tenues de nous, tauntost eit la seisine des terres de autri feez sauntz fin fere as seignure et sauntz rien doner del soen for qe ses relefs. (When he shall have the seisin of the lands held of us,

let him immediately have seisin of his lands held of the fees of others, without making fine to the lords and without giving anything of his goods except his reliefs.)

8a. In phr. *to make* (a) *fine* 'to make one's peace, settle a matter. In English in 1297, but not found in strictly legal usage in AN. of the thirteenth century.

b. A sum of money offered or paid for exemption from punishment or by way of compensation for injury.

E. c. 1340. *Cursor M.* 8753 (Trin.) If þef haue no fyn ny gift . . . he shal be solde.

AN. ca. 1289. *Mirror of Justices* (Selden Soc.) 161. ceux qi sunt condempnez a corporele peine einz ceo qil facent lur penaunce ou qil eint rachatie par fin de peine peccuniell. (those who have been condemned to corporal punishment but who have not done their penance yet or redeemed it by fine of pecuniary penalty.)

AN. 1292 *Britton* (Oxford, 1865), III. iii. 1. Cum acun de nous en chief se lesse morir, et lesse soen heir apres ly, et le heir madle soit de plener age, si voloms nous qe tiel heir se puse marier par la ou il voderia sauntz fin fere pur soen mariage a nous ou a autre (When anyone holding of us in chief shall die leaving a male heir of full age, we will that such heir may marry where he pleases without paying fine to us or to any other.)

c. A certain sum of money imposed as the penalty for an offense.

E. 1529. *More Supplic. Soulys.* Wks. 296/2. The v. C. poundes whych he payed for a fyne by the premunire.

AN. 1275. 3Ed 1. Stat. Westm. prim c. 18. Purceo qe la commune fin e le amercement de tut le conte en Eyre de Justices, pur faus jugement ou por autre trespas. . . . (Forasmuch as the common fine and amercement of the whole county in Eyre of Justices for false judgment or for other trespass . . .)

AN. 1292. *Britton* (Oxford, 1865), I. v. 11. qe tieus procurours soint pris et puniz par prisoun et par fin. (let such suborners be apprehended and punished by imprisonment and fine.)

This last meaning of *fine* is comparatively rare, the usual word being AN. *amercement*.

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"EVERY VERTU AT HIS RESTE"

In setting forth the excellence of the formel eagle, in *The Parlement of Foules*, Chaucer says of the wonderful creature:

But to the poynt—Nature held on hir honde
A formel egle, of shap the gentileste
That ever she among hir werkis fonde,
The most benigne and the goodlieste;
In hir was every vertu at his reste,
So ferforth, that Nature himself had blisse
To loke on hir, and ofte hir bek to kisse.¹

According to the information given by Skeat, the line *In hir was every vertu at his reste* means in her was every virtue "as in its home."² Lounsbury suggests that *at his reste* means "at its highest point" and is "an allusion to that state of tranquillity and calmness which any virtue may be supposed to be in after it has attained perfection, as contrasted with the uneasiness and excitement which attend the striving for it."³ Both of these explanations are justified by mediaeval writings on the virtues themselves, which Chaucer as well as his readers knew. As a matter of fact, however, when the line is considered in the light of further mediaeval material pertaining to the virtues, it assumes added significance, and the excellence of the formel eagle, which Chaucer apparently wishes to emphasize, becomes greater. The purpose of this note, therefore, is to consider the ways in which the virtues may be at their rest in a person in view of mediaeval treatments of these good qualities.

As there were at least three different classes of writers of moral material in the Middle Ages, there were also three diverse treatments of the virtues. The scholastic philosophers, such as St. Thomas Aquinas, furnished a complete system, elaborately worked out. The troubadours had men like Matfre Ermengaud who schematized the good qualities which they extolled. The laymen had, besides plays dealing with virtues, books defining virtues and counseling to virtuous living, such as, for example, *The Book of*

¹ W. W. Skeat, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, The Minor Poems*, v, ll. 372-78.

² *Ibid.*, Glossary, 214.

³ *The Parlement of Foules*, ed. T. R. Lounsbury, 97.

the Knight of La Tour-Landry and *Le Ménagier de Paris*. The fourteenth-century writer and reader, therefore, possessed a well-defined scholastic system of virtues, a less definite court-of-love code, and a rather confused collection of practico-scholastic virtues.⁴

Although at least these three different bodies of writings on the virtues existed in Chaucer's time, the meaning of *every vertu* is almost the same according to the beliefs of every group, even though each class enumerated the good qualities with variations. The word *every*, in fact, has special significance only when it is applied to the scholastic and the courtly virtues. When it is used with reference to the scholastic virtues, it takes on particular force since the moral virtues may exist in a person without any of the intellectual virtues except *prudence* and *understanding*,⁵ and since with the theological virtue *charity* are infused all the moral virtues in a perfect state along with the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost.⁶ When *every* is used with reference to the courtly virtues, it assumes importance because it implies that the formel⁷ is a perfect lover, since through love a lover is possessed of all virtues.⁸

If Chaucer intended to attribute every scholastic virtue to the formel, he gave her three kinds of virtues, intellectual, moral, and theological.⁹ The intellectual virtues are *understanding, wisdom, knowledge, art, and prudence*.¹⁰ The moral virtues are *justice, fortitude, temperance, liberality, magnificence, magnanimity, philotimia, gentleness, friendship, truthfulness, and eutrapelia*.¹¹ The theological virtues are *faith, hope, and charity*.¹²

⁴ The term practico-scholastic seems to describe fairly well the virtues, vices, and sins found in the writings of the *haute bourgeoisie* and of the lower nobility. These writings, influenced partially by the courtly system, chiefly by the system of the Church philosophers, combine traits and precepts taken from both troubadours and scholastics in an effort to make them practically applicable to life.

⁵ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, II, I, 58: 4-5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, I, 65: 2-4; 68: 5.

⁷ Since, as scholars agree, *The Parlement of Foules* is a love poem of some sort, the formel is probably conceived in terms of the court-of-love code, although Chaucer may have had no one particular system in mind.

⁸ L. F. Mott, *The System of Courtly Love Studied as an Introduction to the Vita Nuova of Dante*, 14. Also, Matfre Ermengaud, *Le Breviari d'Amor*, *passim* and particularly rubrique: *d'Umilitat*.

⁹ Thomas Aquinas, *op. cit.*, II, I, 57-62.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II, I, 57.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, II, I, 60.

¹² *Ibid.*, II, I, 66: 6.

If he wished to accord to her every courtly virtue, however, he gave her *generosity, courtesy, humility, gallantry,¹³ gaiety or joy, reserve, nobility of speech, patience, knowledge, wisdom, good courage, kindness and pity, beauty, loyalty, and purity.*¹⁴

If, finally, he had in mind the practico-scholastic virtues when he attributed to the formel every virtue, Chaucer gave her at least the most commonly discussed virtues: *mercy, forgiveness, meekness, humility, gentleness, patience, obedience, courtesy, diligence, justice, prudence, countenance, goodness, steadfastness, generosity, truth, temperance and moderation, abstinence, purity, cleanness, chastity, faith, hope, love and charity, reverence, and love of God.* The young creature so endowed with good qualities is of *little speech*, cherishes her *good name*, *prays* much and regularly, *fasts* often, accepts the *beauty* God has given her, and *dresses* in accordance with the degree of herself and her husband, if she has a husband.¹⁵

So much for the virtues themselves. How are these at their

¹³ Gallantry is an approximate translation of *domney* (*dosnoi, dosnoiment, dosnoyer*), which was the art of paying court in accordance with rules of chivalry. It may not have been necessary in a woman, although, as she was required to know how to treat those who made advances toward her (Ermengaud, *op. cit.*, 521 ff), one might well attribute it to her. The virtues *hardiness* and *prowess*, which Ermengaud lists (*op. cit.*, 21) and discusses (rubriques: *d'Ardimen e en cal Manieira Deu Hom Uzar de son Ardimen; de Proeza et en qual Manieyra Deu Hom Proeza Mantenuir*), obviously refer only to men and are not relevant to the case of the formel.

¹⁴ Ermengaud, *op. cit.*, 21, and rubriques: *de Larqueza et en qual Manieyra Deu Hom Uzar de Larqueza; de Cortezia et en qual Manieyra Deu Hom Uzar de sa Cortezia; d'Umilitat; de Domney; d'Alegranza; de Retenement; d'Essenhamen; de Passientia; de Onoyohensa; de Sen e de Saber; de Bon Coratge.* Also, Mott, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

¹⁵ *The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry*, ed. T. Wright, EETS., 33, 1906, *passim*. *Vices and Virtues, Being a Soul's Confession of Its Sins, with Reason's Description of the Virtues*, ed. F. Holthausen, EETS., 89, 1868, *passim*. *The Goodman of Paris*, ed. G. G. Coulton and E. Power, 1928, 65-93. John Lydgate, *The Assembly of Gods: or the Accord of Reason and Sensuality in the Fear of Death*, ed. O. L. Triggs, EETS. ES. 69, 1896, *passim*. *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man Englished by John Lydgate*, A. D. 1426, from the French of Guillaume de Dequileville, A. D. 1336, ed. F. J. Furnivall, pt. I, EETS. ES. 77, 1899; pt. II, EETS. ES. 83, 1901, *passim*.

rest in a person, in the light of the writings of each of these three classes?

According to the scholastics, the moral and the intellectual virtues observe a mean. Moral virtue, indeed, is said to be a "habit of choosing the mean; and is said to observe the mean fixed, in our regard, by reason";¹⁶ and intellectual virtue is said to observe the mean which is the measure of the truth in things themselves.¹⁷ As applied to the *human virtues*, therefore, by *at his rest* is meant that the moral virtues are observing the mean determined by reason, and that the intellectual virtues are observing the measure of the truth in things.¹⁸ The *superhuman* theological virtues, on the other hand, are not at their rest in a person in the same manner as are the moral and the intellectual virtues; for they are possessed only when God Himself infuses them,¹⁹ and, except accidentally and in reference to man, the good of the theological virtues does not consist in a mean, but increases the more they approach the summit, for the measure and rule of the theological virtues is God Himself, and this measure surpasses all human power.²⁰ The theological virtues, therefore, are at their rest in a person when they have been infused into him. They may, moreover, be approaching the summit, which is the excellence of God Himself.

As for the courtly virtues, they may be at their rest in a person in four different senses. First, from the exposition of the courtly virtues and virtuous actions by court-of-love philosophers it is evident that every virtue may be at its rest in a person by belonging to that person. Second, as some of these good qualities (e.g., *larqueza*, *ardimen*, *cortezia*, *humilitat*, *retenement*, *essenhamen*, *proeza*, *passientia*, and *conoychensa*) are said to be good because

¹⁶ Thomas Aquinas, *op. cit.*, II, I, 64: 1-2.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, II, I, 64: 3.

¹⁸ The human virtues may possibly be at their rest in a person in still another sense. St. Thomas shows that vice is but the opposite essence of virtue and that the virtue may have two vices (extremes) opposed to it; e.g., the vices of *prodigality* and of *covetousness* both oppose the virtue of *liberality* (*Ibid.*, II, II, 119). Since the idea of conflict between the vices and the virtues is suggested by this opposition, the state of tranquillity which the virtues are in after they have successfully combatted the vices may well be called a state of rest.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, II, I, 62.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, II, I, 64: 4.

they conform to measure, or move their possessor to observe measure,²¹ these virtues may be at their rest by being in accord with the mean, or measure. Third, since the courtly virtues and vices are presented in conflict,²² the virtues may be at their rest in a person when they have triumphed over the vices. Fourth, as two of the virtues are said to come from the possession of other good qualities,²³ and since all of them exist either because of love, or for the sake of love,²⁴ the courtly virtues may be at their rest in a person when they are all harmoniously co-existent in him and are sustaining him as a perfect lover.

Finally, the practico-scholastic virtues may be at their rest in a person in three ways. First, from the enumeration and treatment of these good qualities in many tracts, manuals, and plays, it is obvious that they are present in the person in whom they are at their rest. Second, since they are said to consist in a mean,²⁵ they may be at their rest when they are observing a mean. Third, as they are said to oppose the vices and sins,²⁶ and are even depicted in strife with the vices and sins,²⁷ the practico-scholastic virtues may be at their rest in a person when they are in the ascendancy over the vices and sins after having successfully opposed them in that person.

Since the virtues may be at their rest in a person in these diverse

²¹ Ermengaud, *loc. cit.*

²² Mott, *op. cit.*, 67. The courtly *Torneoement de l'Antechrist* gives the story of a tournament between the virtues and the vices.

²³ Ermengaud, *op. cit.*, rubrique: *d'Alegranza*. Joy and strength are said to come from the possession of courtesy, solace, noble speech, frankness, measure, knowledge, and gentle-speaking.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, *passim*. Note particularly rubrique: *d'Umilitai*, in which it is said that with love come largesse, gay solace, frankness, humility, noble-bearing, joy, courtesy, and readiness to serve men with arms. Also, cf. Mott, *op. cit.*, 14, 35, 40-43.

²⁵ *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, II, circa 11856, has "In medio consistit virtus," and, 11857 ff., illustrates with the example of liberality, the mean between avarice and prodigality.

²⁶ *The Goodman of Paris*, 65-93.

²⁷ E. N. S. Thompson, "The English Moral Plays," in *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XIV, 320-33. John Lydgate, *The Assembly of Gods*. (The battle of the vices and virtues, followed by the accord of reason and sensuality, bears out the conclusion above.) *The Persones Tale* (Skeat, *op. cit.*, *The Canterbury Tales*, I) sets forth the vices and sins along with the virtues which oppose them and are remedies for them.

manners, any one of which indicates the excellence of the person, Chaucer effects poetic suggestion by the use of the phrase *at his reste*. Indeed, the reader, when he remembers the excellence suggested by *at his reste*, cannot wonder that, since in the formel was every virtue at its rest, Nature herself had joy in looking on her and in often caressing her.

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NOTE ON THE TOURNAMENT IN THE *KNIGHTES TALE*

In the following lines, Chaucer indicates that the tournament in the *Knights Tale* took place upon a Tuesday:

That al that Monday justen they and daunce,
And spenten it in Venus heigh servyse;
But, by the cause that they sholde ryse
Eerly, for to seen the grete fight,
Unto hir reste wenten they at nyght.
And on the morwe, whan that day gan sprynge,
Of hors and harneys noyse and claterynge
Ther was in hostelryes al aboute, . . .¹

A full description of the battle ensues. Neither Skeat in the *Oxford*, nor Pollard in the *Globe* edition, comment on the choice of day. Professor J. M. Manly, however, in his recent edition of the *Canterbury Tales*, has this note:—

The success of Arcite is well accounted for by the fact that the whole day belongs to Mars, to whom he had appealed. But it does not seem likely that success came in an hour belonging especially to Mars, as the only hour in the afternoon belonging to him would be the eighth, . . .²

An additional reason for choosing Tuesday for feats of war is given in the Middle English romance of *Partonope of Blois*, all the manuscripts of which are of the fifteenth century.³ The main love story which is the theme of the romance is broken up by a long section narrating the martial achievements of the hero. In the course of them occurs an invasion of France by the Saracens, which,

¹ Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, ll. 2486-2493, ed. A. W. Pollard.

² *Canterbury Tales*, ed. J. M. Manly, Henry Holt, 1928, p. 556.

³ *Partonope of Blois*, E. E. T. S., E. S., cxx, vi.

after repeated battles and skirmishes, is settled finally by one great battle on an appointed day, in which the Christian and heathen forces are led by the most distinguished champions of either side. This fight, though it is in deadly earnest, partakes of the nature of a tournament, and the way in which leaders come to the aid of each side from all parts of Europe, is considerably like the plan of Chaucer's tournament, and even more like the extensive picture of the contending forces in the *Teseide*. In introducing the subject, the author says:—

Be-twene these kynges wyth-owten fayle
Ys sette a day of Batayle,
Wyche ordinaunce, wyth-owten naye,
Shulde be holde apon a twysdaye,
Wyche yn olde tyme, I wolde noth lye,
The day of Batayle dothe synefyre.⁴

Although this passage is later in date than the *Knights Tale*, the Old French source of *Partonope*, which dates probably from the twelfth century,⁵ apparently contains a similar passage, which is cited by Felix Weingärtner in his comparison of the English and French versions. The French passage is as follows:—

Entre les rois est li jois pris
A un mardi a terme mis:
Mardi, cis mos, que que nus die,
Jor de bataille senefie.⁶

The two passages suggest a medieval tradition or superstition regarding Tuesday as a suitable day for tournaments and appointed battles. Chaucer may possibly have known it, and have had in mind not only the especial propitiousness of the day for Arcite's success, but also the etiquette of romantic war. This view would be supported by the fact that success came in an hour not belonging to Mars. The suggestion of such a tradition would of course apply only to literary convention, since history records many medieval battles and tournaments held on other days of the week.

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⁴ *Ibid.*, ll. 3067-3072.

⁵ *Hist. de la Litt. fr.*, J. Bédier et P. Hazard, I, 15.

⁶ *Die mittelhochdeutschen Fassungen der Partonopeussage*, Felix Weingärtner, Breslau, 1888, p. 18. The lines cited above are given as ll. 2349 ff. The reference is to this book rather than to a text of *Partonopeu*, because the available editions of the French romance in Legrand d'Aussy's *Fabliaux*, omit the section of the romance containing these lines.

A NOTE ON SIR GAWAIN AND THE GREEN
KNIGHT 700-2

Til he hade eft bonk
In þe wyldrenesse of Wyrle; wonde þer bot lyte
þat außer God oþer gome wyth goud heit louied.

These lines descriptive of Gawain's journey from 'Holy Hede' to the Wirral often puzzled me. Why should Wirral particularly be singled out for mention as an abiding place of those who loved neither God nor man? A quotation from H. J. Hewitt, *Mediæval Cheshire* (Chetham Soc.), 1929, pp. 70-71 makes the passage clear: 'Marauders who sheltered in the forest of Wirral were such a menace to the citizens of Chester that they petitioned the Black Prince to cause the region to be disafforested.' Disafforestation would abolish the protection which outlaws and marauders derived from sheltering themselves in a royal forest and would allow the officers of the Crown (particularly the sheriff) to enter the district in their endeavor to apprehend and bring to trial whatever criminals might be caught.

The Black Prince, then earl of the palatine county of Cheshire, died on June 8, 1376, but six weeks later (July 20, 1376) a charter confirming the disafforestation of Wirral was granted by Edward III.¹ Disafforestation apparently produced little immediate effect, for in 1386 a special commission was issued (C. R. R. 9 and 10 Ric. II. M. 2 (8)) empowering Vivian Foxwist and John de Tyldesleigh to arrest all malefactors and disturbers of the peace in the Hundred of Wirral, the King having heard of great terror caused there by bands of armed men. A few years later (1392) special commissioners for the Hundred, in the persons of Sir John Massy of Puddington and William de Hooton, were appointed (C. R. R. 15 and 16 Ric. II. M. 8 d. 7) to arrest all disturbers of the peace, great complaints having reached the King of their evil doings.²

¹ R. Stewart-Brown: "Disafforestation of Wirral," *Hist. Soc. of Lancashire and Cheshire*, N. S. 23, Liverpool, 1908, p. 166.

² R. Stewart-Brown, *The Wapentake of Wirral*, Liverpool, 1907, p. 40. Elsewhere ("Disafforestation of Wirral," p. 165-66) the same writer states that since the charter says nothing about the disturbance, but gives as the reason of its issue destruction and damage caused by beasts of the forest, it was not issued to put an end to brigandage. Yet it is reason-

It is not difficult to see that the information from the records cited carries no precise indications as to the date at which the poem was written. It may have been composed before the date at which the charter was granted, when the bad reputation of Wirral was a matter of common knowledge. On the other hand, the writs issued in 1386 and 1392, show that the unsavoury reputation quite justifiably clung to it, even though the charter of disafforestation had been granted. Anyone who wrote before or during 1392 would still be warranted in regarding Wirral as a lawless locality.

But though the light which contemporary records throw upon these lines of the poem does not enable us to determine a date at which it was written, it is sufficient to make us modify slightly some of our ideas about its author and place of composition.

Dialectal evidence seems to indicate that the poem was composed in S. Lancs., though N. W. Derby, S. W. Yorkshire and Cheshire are not excluded.³ There is nothing impossible in a Lancashire man knowing something about social and geographical conditions in Cheshire. But whether hailing from Lancashire or Cheshire, the knowledge of the Wirral displayed, though not detailed, goes far to assure us that the poet knew something of the locality covered in Gawain's journey. I hope soon to be able to show that there is very little chance that his 'geography was inaccurate and confused,' as Tolkien believes.⁴ If he knew something of conditions in the Wirral, it is quite likely that he would be acquainted with the region and the people within the fifty or sixty miles of westward-stretching coast between Wirral and Anglesey.

If an inhabitant of Cheshire, his uncomplimentary reference to

able to believe that the civil authority might not wish to admit that it found law enforcement difficult, and consequently gave *causa pro causa*. Contemporary evidence that Wirral was the abode of a numerous body of active freebooters and outlaws is not wanting; see *The Wapentake of Wirral* cited above, and, indeed, the very lines of *Gawain* we discuss. Stewart-Brown believes that the Black Prince granted a charter of disafforestation previous to 1376, but he cannot find it in the Cheshire Records, and does not cite from it.

³ J. P. Oakden (*Allt. Poetry in Middle English*, Manchester, 1930, pp. 85-86) assigns *Gawain* to S. Lancs., Miss Serjeantson (*RES.*, III, 327-8) to Derby.

⁴ *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, Oxford, 1925, p. 93, 691 n.

the Wirral is a little more understandable, and certainly no deductions to be drawn from these lines of *Gawain* militate against the position of those who ascribe its composition to a Cheshire man.

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A SOURCE FOR HENRYSON'S *ROBENE AND MAKYNE*?

It has long been thought that Robert Henryson was considerably indebted to the Old French *pastourelles* for the spirit and tone of his *Robene and Makyne*, but no definite possible source has, so far as I am aware, ever been pointed out. G. G. Smith, in the Introduction to his edition of the *Poems of Robert Henryson* for the Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh, 1914, I, lvi, says of it:

We think—and not merely because of the similarity in title—of Adan de la Halle's *Li Gueus de Robin et de Marion* . . . and of the simpler and earlier *pastourelles* in which Adan found his dramatic opportunity. But there is no direct clue to Henryson's indebtedness, and it may well be doubted whether he has availed himself of more than a poet's right to work on a familiar theme.

In analyzing the themes of the Old French *pastourelles* for my forthcoming book on the genre, however, I have noted one which is distinctly different from the classic type and at the same time strikingly close to the Scotch poem. Most of the *pastourelles* tell of the adventure of a knight and a shepherdess, the demands of the gallant, the excuses of the girl, and the dénouement with the success of one or the other. This specimen, however, from the pen of one Baudes de la Kakerie, contained in a thirteenth century manuscript, reverses the usual situation: the poet, riding out one morning, sees a shepherdess approach a swain and beg him vociferously to love her. Robin resists her until he is attracted by another girl to whom he flees. This girl will have nothing to do with him, so he goes back to the one who had offered him her love, but now she mocks him.

This is easily recognized as the same situation as in Henryson's poem, except that here the shepherd presumably goes away to tend his flock instead of being drawn away by another girl. There are naturally very few verbal similarities, for Henryson was perhaps the best poet in Britain at the time, but the spirit and the setting are the same and there are even a few parallel expressions. The

wooing of the maidens in the two poems is 'much of a kind in its enthusiasm:

'mignot Robin,
tes ex mar esgardai.
se cist maus ne m'assoage, je morrai.'
cele a dit 'o! que ferai?
d'amer morrai,
ja nen vivrai
se toi nen ai que j'aim si bien. . . .'¹

Mirry makyne said him till
Robene thow rew on me
I haif the lovit lowd and still
Thir ȝeiris two or thre
My dule in dern bot gif thow dill
Dowtless but dreid I de.²

The violence of the mockery in the girls' refusal is very similar, although Henryson's language is nearer some of the French folk-songs:

Robene thow hes hard soung and say
In gestis and storeis auld
The man that will nocht quhen he may
sall haif nocht quhen he wald.

'o! folz Robin,
lai ton chemin;
par cest matin
si va tes bestes guarder.
ostez, savroit donc vilains amer?' . . .
'mais or changie m'ai.
vos n'i venrez mais
a tel abandon,
coart vos trovai.'

Another interesting variation from the usual *pastourelle* is what is presumably a burlesque (Bartsch, II, 75), since the situation is directly reversed and the whole treated in a comic manner. When the girl sees that the man is going to evade her, she seizes him in no uncertain manner and constrains him in the same way that the gallant himself so often boasts of doing.

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¹ Karl Bartsch, *Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourelles*, (Leipzig, 1870), III, 46, p. 303.

² *The Bannatyne Manuscript*, ed. W. Tod Ritchie, IV (Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh, 1930), 308-12.

FRENCH *LATINE* < *ANTENNA*

Most French dictionaries consider *latin* "lateen," the same word as that designating the Latin language. They maintain that the sail was called *latine* because it was used in the Mediterranean. To understand the history of the word, it is important to notice that a *voile latine* is a triangular sail suspended to the mast at an angle of about 45° by a yard which, in French, is called *antenne*. It is from a variant form of this very *antenne*, as we shall try to show, that *latine* comes. It is only a secondary development that leads French sailors to call a boat fitted with such a rigging a *bâtiment latin*, or even to say: "Ce bâtiment a le *latin*."¹ It seems much more probable that *latin* is based upon *latine*, and not vice-versa.²

A. Jal states in his *Glossaire nautique* (Paris, 1848), p. 1554:

A quelle époque remonte la Voile latine ou triangulaire? . . . Nos études nous autorisent à dire, et un grand nombre de faits rapportés dans ce Glossaire démontrent que la tradition est fidèle, de l'antiquité jusqu'à nous. Si les marins grecs et romains jugèrent utile l'application de la Voile à trois pointes, pourquoi leurs successeurs de la Méditerranée auraient-ils méconnu cette utilité? Quoi qu'il en soit, nous savons qu'au VI^e siècle de notre ère il y avait des navires latins, c'est-à-dire, mus par des Voiles latines.

Jal then gives a cross-reference to *latena*, where he quotes a passage inserted by Stephen the Deacon in the *Vita* of St. Caesarius of Arles (470-543), of whom he was a contemporary:³

Antequam lux ipsa diei claresceret, tres naves, quas
latenas vocant, majores, plenas cum critico direxerunt.

In J. P. Migne's edition of the *Vita* in his *Patrologiae cursus completus . . . series latina*, LXVII (1865), 1027, there is a note on *latenas*: "Vox est aliunde mihi ignota, et barbara." Jal disagrees with Du Cange, who considered the word *latena* cognate with *lautomia*, "species navis." The latter word is found in a description of the last voyage of St. Wilfrid I to Rome in Frideric's *Vita* of the Archbishop:

¹ Cf. *Encyclopédie méthodique—Marine* (Paris, 1786), art. *latin*, -ne.

² The English *lateen* is treated as a phonetic transcription of the French *latine* by the N. B. D.

³ A. Malnory, *Bibl. Bo. hautes ét.*, CIII (1894), iv, 1, 282.

Carpebant placida libratis aequora velis,
Figitur et notis vehemens lautomia arenis (l. 1127).

Written about 956, this *Vita* was published by J. Raine, *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, I (London, 1879). According to Raine, *ibid.*, p. xl, this *Vita*, which the author himself calls a *Breviloquium*, is a metrical abridgment, with a few poetical expansions, of a similar *Vita* by Eddi. Raine has pointed out (p. xxxi) that Eddi accompanied Wilfrid on that voyage in 703; yet in Chapter L of Eddi's *Vita*, published in the same volume, the generic term *navis* is used and there is no mention of *lautomia*. Hence we fail to see any evidence from which Jal could have concluded that *lautomia* is a proper name, meaning literally the "Quarry" or the "Prison," and that Stephen applied *latena* to the "grandes nef latines." In our opinion, *latena* can not be looked upon as equivalent to *latine*. Jal even contradicts himself by accepting the only etymology proposed other than the popular one already discussed. His attempt to derive "*latin*, *latine* de l'ital., esp. *latina*, contraction d'a *la trina*, à trois angles (lat. *trinus*, triple)" borders upon the fantastic.⁴

The oldest example of *latin* in our sense known to me, is the Spanish *latina*, used, as Jal notes, by Christopher Columbus in 1492. The connection between *latine* and *antenne* is strengthened by the existence, recorded by Jal, of "*lantina*, illyr., dalm., contraction de *la antina*, pour *la antenna* (ital.), *antenne*." There is also a French form used in Switzerland, *lanteine*, which shows the same agglutination of the definite article with the noun.⁵ These words favor the view that the *l* of *latine* was not there originally and that it is the definite article added just as it was in *landier*, *lendemain*, *lierre*, *loriot*, *luette*. As for the reduction of the *-nn-* to *-n-*, it may be that E. H. Tuttle is right in postulating a Latin etymon **antēna*.⁶ It is probable that the French form is derived from the Provençal, but it is by no means certain that the Provençal word came from

⁴ As noted by Tommaseo-Bellini, *Dis. d. lingua ital.*, s. v. *latino* 7, this etymology was first proposed by Pantero Pantera, *L'Armata navale* (Rome, 1614), p. 43.

⁵ Von Wartburg, *Frz. etym. Wtb.* (Leipzig, 1922-), s. v. *antenna*. Cf. P. C. Bridel, *Glossaire du patois de la Suisse romande* (Lausanne, 1866), s. v. *lanteine*.

⁶ *Archiv St. n. Spr. Lit.*, CXXXIII (1915), p. 167.

Genoa or Venice.⁷ Incidentally the Venetian form *altena* interests us because it shows that the first *n* underwent dissimilation.⁸

To simplify matters, let us now study this dissimilation only in the French forms. Godefroy, *Compl.*, defines *antenne* as "une longue vergue fixée obliquement au mât d'une poulie pour porter une voile latine" and quotes a form *antine* from the *Actes des apostres*,⁹ vol. II, fol. 48b. He also records *antaines* from Villehardouin's *Conquête de Constantinople*, § 232, and *antene*, *anthene*, *entenne*. In one Jewish text there actually exists a form without the first *n*. The *Maqré Dardeqé*, a Hebrew-Italian dictionary written near the end of the 14th century and embodying some French and Catalan forms, contains the plural form *etenes*.¹⁰ Thus we see how *antenna*, by a dissimilation resulting in the fall of the first *n* and by an absorption of the definite article, could give the doublet *latine* alongside of the learned *antenne*. The change in meaning from "yard" to "sail" is paralleled by the fact that in classical Latin *antenna*, which usually designated the lateen yard, is

⁷ J. Bruch, *ibid.*, CXLIV (1922), p. 103.

⁸ Meyer-Lübke, *R. E. W.* (ed. 1930), § 498. Jal, *ibid.*, also lists Turkish *arténa* and Maltese *antinna*: "(de l'ital. *antenna*), antenne, vergue."

⁹ Composed by Simon Greban or by Jean du Prier in the second half of the 15th century and published in 1538; cf. R. Lebegue, *Le Mystère des Actes des Apôtres* (Paris, 1929), pp. 13, 40. To Godefroy's examples can be added *antayne* used by Eustache Deschamps, ed. S. A. T. F., IV, 342, v. 12; *antaine* used in *Robert le Diable*, ed. S. A. T. F., v. A1466; *antaine* in Robert de Clari's *Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. C. F. M. A., 44; besides eight examples of *antenne* in a freight contract of 1246, drawn up between agents of St. Louis and Genoese shipowners, published by Champollion-Figeac, *Doc. hist. inédits*, II (Paris, 1843), No. XXX. See W. Frahm, *Das Meer u. die Seefahrt in der altfr. Lit.* (Göttingen, 1914), p. 62.

¹⁰ M. Schwab, *Rev. ét. juives*, XVI (1888), 258, s. v. *qr*. On the *Maqré Dardeqé*, see D. S. Blondheim, *Les Parlers judéo-romans et la Vetus latina* (Paris, 1925), p. 10. The other Judaeo-French forms retain the *n*. *Anteine* was used in MS. Turin, A. IV. 13 (no longer extant), as is recorded by Schwab; in Leipzig MS. 1099, as is recorded by W. A. Wright, *Journal of Philology*, xxxi (1908), 301; in the printed edition of Rashi, Jer. iv, 19; in Paris MS. 301, f. 9r, I Sam. xxv, 22, and 103r, Job xvii, 11; in Parma MS. 2924, f. 70v, Jer. iv, 19, and 192v, Job xvii, 11; *antoine* was used in Basle MS. A. III, 39, f. 38v, Jer. iv, 19. The meaning in all these texts is the one given by Meyer-Lübke, *ibid.*: "Stützbalken." The form in the *Maqré Dardeqé* may of course represent denasalized Cat. *etenes*. These words will be studied in a forthcoming publication, *Recherches lexicographiques sur d'anciens textes français d'origine juive*.

used metaphorically by Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XIII, 783, to denote the sail itself.¹¹

It is of some interest to note other meanings of the word. In the Mediterranean *antenne* is used in another nautical sense to refer to a group of boats moored close together.¹² We have already seen that French *latine* is probably derived from Provençal, where, in addition to the usual meaning of lateen yard, *antena* also denotes the sail of a windmill.¹³ In the 15th century, Theodore Gaza, in his translation of Aristotle's *Historia animalium*, first applied the Latin word to the feeler of insects, while the French form was first used in 1712 by Maraldi.¹⁴ As for the adjective *antennal* used in the same order of ideas, it is a neologism coined most likely by H. Pelletier in 1868.¹⁵ It was Darwin who borrowed the term *antenna* from entomology in 1862 to apply it to the slender appendage in the male flower of certain orchids.¹⁶ Bernardin de Saint-Pierre used *antenne*, by allusion, in speaking of fish.¹⁷ In the nineteenth century, the spinners of Aunis carried over *anlenne* to mean a "petit morceau d'étoffe avec lequel on attache les échevaux."¹⁸ Finally, in speaking of the radio, we refer to the wires supported in the air for receiving the electric waves as *antennae*. Very few technical terms offer such a diversity of denotation.

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¹¹ A. Forcellini, *Totius latinitatis lexicon* (Prato, 1858-60), s. v. Corazzini di Bulciano, *Voc. Nautico ital.*, I (Turin, 1900), has listed the Italian terms *antenna*, "fusto di albero . . . I navigli che portano antenne si dicono latini. . . . Si dice figuratamente per nave"; *antenname*, "quantità di antenne"; *antennare*, "fornire di antenne la nave, mettere, alzare o issare l'antenna."

¹² J. B. P. Willaumez, *Dict. de marine* (Paris, 1831), s. v. Cf. note 14.

¹³ Levy, Mistral. As for *entena* in Paul Meyer, *Doc. ling. du Midi* (Paris, 1909), p. 611, see Jal, *Archéologie navale*, II (Paris, 1840), 574: *antenne*, "pièce de bois à laquelle s'attache une voile."

¹⁴ *Dict. Gén.*, s. v. *antenne*.

¹⁵ Littré, *Supplément*, s. v. Cf. A. Jourjon, *Rev. phil. fr.*, xxvi (1912), 262. This adjective is drawn from *antenne* used in the entomological sense and is not to be confused with the noun *antenal*, which Jal, *ibid.*, pp. 433, 574, defines: "longueur de la voile latine à l'antenne, envergure."

¹⁶ B. D. Jackson, *A Glossary of Botanic Terms* (London, 1900).

¹⁷ *Études de la nature, Oeuvres complètes*, III (Paris, 1818), 295.

¹⁸ G. Musset, *Glossaire des patois et des parlers de l'Aunis et de la Saintonge*, I (La Rochelle, 1929).

POLONISMS IN THE ENGLISH OF CONRAD'S *CHANCE*

In an interesting, though often one-sided, study of Joseph Conrad (Korzeniowski) entitled *The Polish Heritage of Joseph Conrad*,¹ Dr. Morf has set himself the task of evaluating the debt of the world-famous English Conrad to the shadowy figure of the little-known Polish Korzeniowski. Conrad's passionate love of romantic adventure and his intuitive penetration of exotic mentalities are, according to Dr. Morf, unquestionably legacies from the Polish, while the most persistent figure in all Conrad, the wanderer living in spiritual exiles from his home with little hope of a return, is obviously the Polish Korzeniowski himself whose "guilt complex" Conrad vainly sought to expiate.

Concerning the influence of the Polish language on Conrad's English, Dr. Morf is probably too conservative. He says (p. 215), "The few polonisms which can be traced in Conrad's work occur in the speech of his 'Polish' characters, who may be either Poles, or Russians, or South Americans, or Spaniards." In other words, Dr. Morf believes that only in the handling of characters who were essentially Polish, however disguised their nationality, was Conrad's English style and diction influenced by the Polish.

This paper seeks to prove that Conrad's English was influenced by the Polish idiom not only when he spoke through the mouths of 'Polish' characters, but also when his characters were completely and essentially English. For detailed study one book, *Chance*,² was chosen. This tale was scarcely mentioned by Dr. Morf,³ since he evidently considered it quite remote from Polish influence. *Chance* possesses, however, the general characteristics of Conrad's major works, especially his richly colorful style, his lavish use of similes, and in the person of the heroine, Flora, that Slavonic defeatism with which all his writing is permeated.

It is hardly credible that Conrad's English should not have

¹ Gustav Morf, London, Sampson Low, 1930.

² *Chance*, New York, 1919, Doubleday, Page.

³ Morf mentions *Chance* just twice:

p. 43. "In *Chance*, written much later, de Barral's almost occult power over his married daughter forms the central theme."

p. 89. "The first book of his which had a distinct success with the public (*Chance*) is the last in which Marlow appears."

smacked of the Polish idiom, even though, as Dr. Morf points out (p. 206), Conrad had never accustomed himself to Polish as a literary medium before he learned English. Polish was, in fact, his native tongue, he had spoken it from childhood, he continued to speak it fluently all his life, and never, indeed, ceased to write occasional letters in Polish. That the existence of polonisms in Conrad's English is a matter of controversy rather than an accepted fact is a tribute to the great Pole's mastery as a literary medium of an unfamiliar tongue, and that not during the plastic years of childhood but entirely during the more difficult period of early maturity.

Conrad's preference for English rather than French as his literary medium was scarcely a whim of that Chance he so extols in the book under discussion. His predilection for the less familiar English was both instinctive and deliberate and his mastery of it almost miraculous. Despite, however, his unusual linguistic achievements, Conrad never succeeded in barring from his works completely certain awkward, un-English expressions, and these, moreover, can be explained in many cases by comparison with the Polish idiom.

The influence of the Polish is most frequently and most startlingly seen in Conrad's feeling for English prepositions. On page 229 of *Chance* occur the following sentences:

Almost at once Fyne caught me up.
But he would have caught me up.

Each of these is a literal translation of the Polish manner of expressing the idea of catching up with one. In Polish the verb *dogonić* means 'to catch up with' and is followed by the accusative case. To a Pole the use of 'with me' would have been unnatural since it is a translation of a prepositional phrase which in Polish would never be used to express this idea. The direct object 'me' is a translation of the Polish manner of expressing it.

She no longer looked a child (p. 140).

Conrad may have had in mind the Polish *wyglądała na dziecko* which is the Polish equivalent for this idea, *jak*, 'like,' being omitted.

I have never seen so many fine things assembled together out of a collection (p. 79).

From the context we know Conrad means 'except in a collection,' an interpretation which the ambiguity of his English permits. The use of a genitive construction was probably a subconscious reversion to the Polish *oprócz*, 'except' with the genitive.

The tiger prepared to drag her away *for a prey to his cubs* of both sexes (p. 177).

Expressed in this manner instead of in the more English idiom 'as a prey for,' the italicized words are readily translated literally into the good Polish *na łup swoim szczeniętom*. It is reasonable, therefore, to allege strong Polish influence, since our English expression would strike discordantly upon the Polish ear.

They were always ready to make awful scenes to the luckless girl. . . . (p. 174).

Where English would demand 'before' or 'in the presence of,' it is possible in Polish to express this idea by the straight dative, a case which English translates in the majority of cases by 'to' or 'for.'

She felt the desire of tears (p. 371).

This idea is expressed in Polish by *uczuła (odczuła) pragnienie łez*, and *łez*, 'tears,' is in the genitive plural. The English 'she felt a desire to weep' or 'a desire for tears,' both of which constructions have the idea of direction inherent in the dative, would have been impossible to one whose subconscious feeling for the correct expression was tinged with Polish.

Conrad never completely mastered the English articles. Since in Polish there are no articles, this fact is not surprising. Sometimes he omits an article entirely where English demands one:

Yet somehow I got irresistible conviction that he was exasperated by something in particular (p. 50).

Extraordinary, stiff-backed thin figure all in black, the observed of all while walking hand-in-hand with the girl (p. 94).

Again he uses an article when English would scarcely find one necessary:

This universal inefficiency . . . he ascribed to *the* want of responsibility and to a sense of security (p. 4).

And on page 371 in "She felt the desire of tears," he uses the definite article when the indefinite would have been the more English expression.

Certain examples of Conrad's so-called 'elliptical' style are traceable to the Polish.

Followed complete silence (p. 443).

In Polish there exists no such word as the English expletive 'there' used in an anticipatory sense. The sentence in question is a literal translation of the Polish manner of expressing this idea: *Nastąpiła zupełna cisza*

May be that a glimpse and no more is the proper way of seeing an individuality (p. 88).

The *może być* of common Polish parlance has no expressed equivalent for the English 'it' which a native Englishman would use here.

Explain it as you may, in this world the friendless, like the poor, are always a little suspect (p. 215).

The exact shade of meaning Conrad wished to convey would normally be expressed in English by 'to be suspected.' Passing over the obvious fact that he clipped off the 'ed' of the past participle of the verb 'suspect,' we observe that it is the past participle Conrad uses instead of the infinitive as English would probably have done. This points to the Polish influence, for the same idea may correctly be expressed in Polish by the participle *podejrzani*.

Conrad was beset by the same difficulty every Slav experiences when he learns English, the correct use of the English tenses. Not only is the English scheme of tense sequence, derived of course from the Latin, strange to him, but the fact that English is concerned mainly with the time of an action and not with its quality is surprising to the Slavonic mentality.⁴

In the following:

And it shall be a funny world, the world of their arranging, where the Irrelevant would fantastically step in to take the place of the sober hum-drum Imaginative (p. 98).

Where English sequence demands the future tense in the second clause, Polish may use the conditional.

Again Conrad disregards sequence in the following:

⁴ Cf. Mazon, *Emplois des aspects du verbe russe*, Paris, 1914, p. 239, *passim*.

But to soothe your uneasiness I will point out again that an Irrelevant world would be very amusing if the women take care to make it as charming. . . . (p. 99).

The 'would be' of the protasis of this condition should be followed by 'would take care' in the apodosis. Polish, however, finds nothing wrong with Conrad's sequence since the meaning is clear.

Then,

Like a bird which secretly should have lost its faith in the high virtue of flying (p. 35).

To determine whether this sentence as it stood was as un-Polish as it is un-English, it was given without comment to an educated Pole for translation. Without protest against the conditional which is patently foreign to English usage, this person translated the sentence literally:

"Jak ptak, który w głębi serca (potojemnie, w cichości) utraciłby wiarę w wysoką cnotę latania (lotu)," *utraciłby* being in the conditional mood of the verb, precisely the form used by Conrad in English. The obvious conclusion is, therefore, that the use of the conditional in this sentence, and in similar sentences which occur in Conrad, is a polonism.

Conrad's choice of words and his turns of expression are at times tainted by Polish:

The savings had been coming in to the very last moment. And he regretted them (p. 87).

She raged at him with contradictory reproaches for regretting the girl (p. III).

The Polish verb meaning 'to regret,' *żałować*, which must have lurked in the background of Conrad's mind, contains meanings which in present-day English must be expressed by such expansions of the verb as 'to regret the loss of,' 'to regret the fact that,' etc. Whereas in Polish *żałować* may have as its object any sort of substantive, in English a substantive used as the object of 'to regret' contains or implies a verbal idea. Conrad read into the English verb the larger meaning of the Polish verb.

He had arrived to regard them as his own by a sort of mystical persuasion (p. 87).

Where in English we should use 'come' instead of 'arrived,' a Pole would scarcely find 'come' sufficient to translate the idea of

the sentence which is evidently, "He had come to the point of regarding. . . ." Such an idea would be expressed in Polish by the verb *dójsć*. Since the ordinary translation of *dójsć* is the English 'arrive,' Polish may again conceivably be responsible for this awkward manner of expressing a simple idea.

Although the whole matter of Conrad's sentence structure and his sense of word order is scarcely within the province of this paper, it is, however, not out of place to suggest two observations concerning this phase of Conrad's style that have occurred to the author during his study of *Chance*. First, Conrad's well-known looseness of sentence structure may easily have been a hold-over from the Polish, a highly inflected language in which the relationship of groups of words to each other is made clear by inflectional endings. For example,

The officers kept out of the cabin against the custom of the service, and then this sort of accent in the men's talk (p. 291).

Just then the racket was distracting, a pair-horse trolley lightly loaded with loose rods of iron passing slowly very near us (p. 222).

In the second place, Conrad's sentence structure and word order, especially in abstract passages (e. g. pages 68, 87, 99, 120, 173, 206, 428) have all the sonorousness of literary Polish. Dr. Morf restates (page 207) the well-known fact that literary Polish such as Reymont writes possesses the ring and majesty of the best classical Latin. The same may be said of Conrad's English. To trace his indebtedness to Polish style would be an interesting quest.

But however closely or remotely connected with the Polish Conrad's style may be, the fact remains that there were found in *Chance* traces of the Polish idiom, and that only by recognizing these as polonisms can their presence in so well-written a piece of English be explained. This study of *Chance* leads, therefore, to the conclusion that in spite of the miracle of his mastery of English, Conrad never completely overcame the difficulties of the English articles, tenses, and prepositions, and that his choice of words is, moreover, not always quite English. The influence of Polish on Conrad's English is, in a word, greater than Dr. Morf has suspected.

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"OH, BURY ME NOT"

Those interested in the folk-song of America are familiar with a ballad popular in the Southwest, "Oh, Bury Me Not on the Lone Prairie." This ballad was apparently an adaptation of a once popular song, "The Ocean Burial" by Capt. William H. Saunders.¹ Recently I came across a song which considerably resembles "The Lone Prairie," but which may very likely be an independent offshoot of "The Ocean Burial." In *The Southern Literary Messenger* for July, 1857, p. 46, appeared a song, "Oh, Bury Me Not," by W. F. Wightman, which follows:

Oh, bury me not in the dark old woods,
Where the sunbeams never shine;
Where mingle the mists of the mountain floods
With the dew of the dismal pine!
But bury me deep by the bright, blue sea,
I have loved in life so well;
Where the winds may come to my spirit free,
And the sound of the ocean shell!

Oh, bury ME not by the surging sea,
Where the tempest rages loud,
And the storm-god rideth madly free
On his chariot of cloud:
Where the solemn chaunt of ocean's wave,
And the wailing night-wind's cry
Come mourning o'er the stranger's grave
Where the mermaids sit and sigh!

Oh, bury ME not by the rolling sea,
Where the storm-kissed billows heave
Responsive to the tempests glee;
Where ocean-sprites in darkness weave
The sea-weed shroud for ocean's dead;
Where flaps the hungry sea-bird's wing
Above the drowning sailor's head,
And tempest fiends his requiem sing!

¹ See Louise Pound's *American Ballads and Songs* (1922), p. 253, and Fulton and Trueblood's *Choice Readings* (1884), p. 169. Mr. Phillips Barry, to whom as well as to Professor H. M. Belden I am indebted for a number of suggestions, inclines to favor Rev. E. H. Chapin, minister of the First Universalist Society in Charlestown, Massachusetts in 1840, as the author. He writes, "I have in a volume of his sermons, a 'Discourse of the Burning of the *Lexington*,' a famous marine disaster, which contains passages repeated with little change in 'The Ocean Burial.'"

But carry me far in the grand old woods,
 Where the fragrant jessamines spring,
 Where the turtle rears her gentle broods
 And the wood-nymphs love to sing;
 And bury me there in some lovely glade,
 By the sound of the streamlet's wave;
 'Neath the rustling bough in the beechnut's shade
 Let me sleep in my woodland grave!

It will be observed that there are striking similarities between this song and the others in phraseology and mental imagery. The date of publication falls between that of "The Ocean Burial," which was copyrighted and published as early as 1850, and the adaptation, "The Lone Prairie," which is credited by N. H. Thorpe, *Songs of the Cowboys* (p. 62), to H. Clemens, Deadwood, Dakota, 1872. The verse form, however, which is 4a3b4a3b differs from the others, in both of which it is 4a4a4b4b etc. This difference leads me to reject the idea that it is an intermediary between the other two. I have been unable to trace the identity of Wightman, the author.

It may be added that the song is reminiscent not only of "The Ocean Burial" but also of William Dimond's "The Sailor Boy's Dream," a stage song of the early decades of the nineteenth century, and a favorite "speaking-piece" at school declamations. It doubtless fitted nicely into the lachrymose sentiment of the eighteen-fifties!

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ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF *MOURN*

Professor Karl Luick in the latest instalment of his great grammar mentions, alongside the ordinary pronunciation of the verb *mourn*, an alternative pronunciation [mūən] which he represents as current in elevated language. His exact words are as follows:

In *bour̄n*, *mourn* gilt heute in gehobener Sprache [mū̄], in *gourd* herrscht Schwanken.¹

I take this statement to mean that in reading prose or poetry

¹ *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, I 614.

written in the grand manner (e. g. passages from Shakespeare, Milton or the Bible) one would normally pronounce *bourn* and *mourn* with [ūə]; the same pronunciation would presumably be used in oratorical flights. Now this manner of speaking is familiar to me in *bourn* but not in *mourn*. Indeed, when I first read the statement of Mr. Luick's quoted above, I felt so sure he was mistaken about *mourn* that I simply noted the pronunciation [ūə] as wrong and went on to other matters.² My attention has, however, been called to a footnote in an article of Professor H. Mutschmann's printed in 1908, the relevant part of which reads thus:

Neben [m5n] wird nach prof. Wyld in Liverpool [mūən] "im höheren stil" gebraucht.³

Evidently Mr. Luick had good authority for the pronunciation [mūən] in the higher style, and I was guilty of an oversight when I failed to take Mr. Mutschmann's footnote into account.

The reader will observe, however, that Mr. Mutschmann's statement is ambiguous. Were both the pronunciations which he records used in the higher style, or was the first confined to everyday speech, the second to elevated speech? Mr. Luick seems to have made the latter interpretation, but the former is perfectly consistent with the wording of Mr. Mutschmann's note. Moreover, much water has flowed under the bridge since 1908. I therefore wrote to Professor Wyld (now of Oxford), and asked him to give me the benefit of his observations on the present currency (if any) of the pronunciation [mūən] in England. He has very kindly given me the following statement:

The pronunciation [muen] . . . is not usual, or widely current 'in the best circles,' and I should suppose it to be either provincial or affected and finicky. I could imagine using this pronunciation myself in reading *Lycidas*, line 41 [end 5l 5ær skouz muen], but I quite admit that this would be a piece of precious pedantry.

The witness of Mr. Wyld indicates quite definitely that at the present time the pronunciation [mūən] is not one seriously to be reckoned with in standard English speech, whether the style be high or low. In the higher style, indeed (e. g. in reading *Lycidas*), this pronunciation is so rare that Mr. Wyld, who has a weakness for it,

² *MLN*, XLVI 12, where in line 11, *pronunciation* should read *second pronunciation*.

³ *Anglia Beiblatt* XIX 180, note 2.

is nevertheless willing to characterize it as "a piece of precious pedantry." Mr. Luick, when he tells us that [mūən] obtains today in elevated language, obviously bases his statement on a quite natural interpretation of Mr. Mutschmann's footnote, but the statement is nevertheless inaccurate, or, at best, misleading. If a [mūən] of today is to be mentioned at all in grammars like Mr. Luick's, it ought to be mentioned simply as a rare pronunciation.

KEMP MALONE

A NOTE ON THE SUPPOSED FOREIGN RESIDENCE OF THE ARCHPRIEST OF HITA

In his enumeration of the various powers which money has in the *Libro de buen amor*, Juan Ruiz, in the person of *Don Amor*, says:

yo vy en corte de Roma, do ef la fantidad
quetodof al dinero fasian grānd homildat,
grānd onrra le fasian con grand solepnidat,
todos ael fe omillan como ala magestat.¹

This statement has been used to credit the provincial archpriest with the advantages of foreign travel. At the time when the poet wrote the pontificate was at Avignon, and Sr. Puyol y Alonso, wishing to make as strong a case as possible for French influence assumes that by *Roma* the archpriest must have meant Avignon, wherefore he concludes that . . . *tenemos por casi seguro que estuvo en Aviñon*. . . .²

But the patriotic Cejador y Frauca, anxious to contradict Puyol whenever possible and rescue his archpriest from the suggestion of any foreign influence which might seem to belittle the originality of his genius, exclaims:

Roma en el sentido moral, pues la Sede pontifica estaba entonces en Aviñon. No por eso estuvo ni en Roma ni en Aviñon el Arcipreste pues quien habla es el Amor.³

¹ Jean Ducamin, *Juan Ruiz arcipreste de Hita Libro de buen amor texte du XIV^e siècle* . . . Toulouse, 1901, stanza 493, the Salamanca manuscript.

² Julio Puyol y Alonso, *El Arcipreste de Hita*, Madrid, 1906, p. 189.

³ Julio Cejador y Frauca, *Juan Ruiz, Arcipreste de Hita, Libro de buen*

Although Juan Ruiz undoubtedly infuses his own personality and probably his own experiences into the *Libro de buen amor* whether he speaks directly or in the persons of Don Amor, Don Melon, and other characters, it is dangerous to consider all references as autobiographical. The *Libro de buen amor* is almost wholly a gloss of the *Pamphilius*, of various fables and sundry didactic treatises. His stanzas on the power of money are likewise surely inspired by the *Versus de Nummo* of the thirteenth century, or possibly even by a French poem of the same century on *Dan Denier*. All of the attributes of money mentioned by Ruiz are not to be found in the *Versus de Nummo* but are included in the *Dan Denier*, many of them, indeed, mentioned in the same order. Of special interest are the following lines from the French version which contain a reference to Rome:

*Denier fait sa besoigne à Romme
por nient i vart;
Qui dant Denier maine à son plart,
Quantqu'il commande si est fait.*¹

Is it not likely that, if Juan Ruiz could have been embroidering upon this passage, he left the word *Roma* in his own poem merely because he found it there already in his source? In that case the reference to Rome is not to be understood *en el sentido moral* nor yet as an equivalent for Avignon. Surely, if this realistic Spaniard had ever been to Avignon, he would never have called it *Roma*.

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amor, in *Olisivos Castellanos*, Madrid, 1913, xiv, 183. On p. 182 Cejador further indulges in his anti-French prejudices in the following delightful note: *Algunos críticos suelen mostrar un criterio que yo llamaría morrocotudo, y consiste en creer que Francia es el ombligo del universo, y que, por consiguiente, todo ha sido de Francia, por ejemplo hasta la necedad de muchos españoles que suponen no se ha dado aquí nada de provecho, ni dineros ni carneros.*

¹ Thomas Wright, *The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes*, London, Camden Society, 1841, p. 358.

FÉNELON AND DENIS VAIRASSE

Some twenty years before the publication of the *Aventures de Télémaque* (1699) by Fénelon, appeared an imaginary voyage, *l'Histoire des Sévarambes* (1677-1679), by Denis Vairasse d'Alais. According to the testimony of Bayle it was "lue et relue."¹ Its popularity is also attested by a number of subsequent editions. Both works have many common ideas,—communism; the suppression of luxury, mother of all vices, and of useless arts; the abolishment of intemperance and laziness, etc.,—which are found also in the Utopias of Plato, Plutarch, More, Bacon and Campanella. But there is one plan found in both works, but not in any of the early Utopias, which is so unusual that the resemblance, hitherto apparently unnoticed, deserves mention.

Sévarias, founder of the Sevarambian kingdom, has two plans of government, one communistic, the other monarchical. The plan which Mentor outlines to Idoménée, king of Salente, resembles very closely the latter. In this monarchy the land is to be apportioned among the people, who are to be divided into seven classes. Each class is specified. The lowest comprises farmers; the next, the lower artisans such as masons, carpenters, weavers, etc; the third, the more skilled artisans, as painters, embroiderers and woodworkers; the fourth, merchants and tradesmen; the fifth, rich bourgeois and men of letters; the sixth, the "simples gentils-hommes," and the seventh and the highest, the great lords. Each class is to be distinguished by the different color of their costume. The king wears a robe of gold cloth; the Senators are clad in purple with a gold scarf hanging from the shoulder; the next order of legislators wear purple also, but their scarf is of silver. The old men are in black and other classes denoted respectively by gray, reds of two kinds, "l'un pâle & clair, l'autre obscur," blue, green, yellow, white, and last of all, the slaves are clad in motley.²

Compare this with the plan suggested in *Télémaque*. There are to be "sept conditions d'hommes libres" and slaves. They are to

¹ *Aventures de Télémaque*, Coll. des Gr. Ecriv. (ed. Albert Cahen), Paris, 1920; I, Introduction xxxii.

² *Histoire des Sévarambes*, Amsterdam, 1716; I, pp. 189, 273-275; II, pp. 13-14.

be distinguished by the color of their dress. Mentor says to Idoménée, —“Contentez-vous d'un habit de laine très fine, teinte en pourpre; que les principaux de l'Etat après vous, soient vêtus de la même laine, et que toute différence ne consiste que dans la couleur et dans une légère broderie d'or que vous aurez sur le bord de votre habit. Les différentes couleurs serviront à distinguer les différentes conditions,—” Those next in rank will wear white with a gold fringe, have a gold ring on the finger, and a gold medallion about the neck; those of second rank will wear blue with a silver fringe and wear a silver ring; the third, green; the fourth, “jaune d'aurore”; the fifth, “rouge pâle ou de rose”; the sixth, “gris-de-lin”; and the seventh and lowest class of free men, yellow and white. Slaves will wear gray-brown.³ The colors in each case are not identical but have a definite similarity, but the fact that Fénelon suggests seven classes is very striking since he does not specify those who are to compose them. Only that the highest class will be “ceux qui ont une noblesse plus ancienne et plus éclatante,” that the next class will comprise lesser nobles who hold high official positions, and that there will be artisans, farmers and slaves. Fénelon divides the nobility into two classes as Vairasse, but he does not specify the intermediary classes between the nobility and the artisans and farmers. Hence the number seven adopted arbitrarily by Fénelon may be a definite recollection of the *Histoire des Sévarambes*.

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³ *Aventures de Télémaque*, II, pp. 91-96.

REVIEWS

Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik von Hermann Paul. Zwölfte Auflage bearbeitet von ERICH GIERACH. Halle: Niemeyer, 1929.

The first edition of Paul's *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik* appeared in 1881. It was carried into the eleventh edition (1918) by the author, who from time to time improved it and added to it. The twelfth edition was entrusted to the care of Professor Gierach of Prag-Reichenberg. Paul did not possess the extraordinary ability of Braune, so eminently displayed in his *Althochdeutsche Grammatik*, which through its clarity of presentation holds a unique place. This was not due in Paul to a lack of command of his specialty, German Philology and General Linguistics—his *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* has never been adequately replaced—but rather to a disregard of the necessity of meeting the less advanced student half way. Such an attitude may have been natural in the heyday of grammatical studies but does not meet satisfactorily present day conditions. Out of respect for the great merit of the work Gierach has on the whole left its general structure including the numbering of the paragraphs untouched. In detail, however, there have been numerous, even incisive changes. The results of the most recent investigations, among which might be mentioned Schirokauer's "Studien zur mhd. Reimgrammatik," *PBB.*, 47 (1923), pp. 1-126, have been incorporated. Further information has been drawn on from sources already used by Paul, but not exhausted, such as the fundamental "Mittelhochdeutsche Studien" of Zwierzina, *ZsDA.*, 44, 45 (1900, 1901). In some cases, where the presentation of Paul was not easy to follow, or a modified point of view was desirable, Gierach has not hesitated to recast the text thoroughly, always with great advantage to the same. At times a mere subdividing of the massed text is a marked improvement.

It is of course impossible to give more than a summary account of the new edition. It has grown from 1227 pages of the eleventh edition to 288 pages: the phonology has increased by about a third, inflexion and syntax by about an eighth each.

In the phonology the chapter on orthography and pronunciation (§ 5, 6) has been greatly expanded and is searching to an extent unusual in a manual. The discussion of *f*, *v* and *b*, *d*, *g* is particularly interesting. In the nature of things pronunciation of dead languages is a subject open to great difference of personal opinion. There is a new paragraph on the length of syllables (§ 16^a). The chapter on the relation of M. H. G. sounds to N. H. G. sounds

(§ 17-37) shows numerous changes and additions; e. g. in § 18 lengthening of M. H. G. short vowels in N. H. G., in § 28 geminates, § 30 M. H. G. *s* in N. H. G. Under Ablaut we find in § 49 a convenient table of the ablaut in Indo-European, Germanic, and M. H. G. Paragraph 57, change between long and short vowels, has received greatly extended notes. In § 62 elision, syncope, apocope are given a page instead of two sentences. Under the caption 'vowel and consonant,' § 86 the contraction of vowels when medial *b, d, g* between them has disappeared (e. g. O. H. G. *līgit* > M. H. G. *līt*, O. H. G. *sagēt* > *seit*, O. H. G. *gibit* > M. H. G. *gīt*, etc.), an important dialect criterion, receives much ampler treatment. In chapter 5, dialectic peculiarities, § 91 concerning the H. G. soundshift, a summary comparison of the M. H. G. normal type with M. L. G. is expanded to three times the original size into a systematic treatment of the H. G. soundshift. § 111, Bavarian *a, â* dulled to *o* receives a much fuller treatment. Before leaving the subject of phonology it might be stated that there is practically no page left unchanged and frequently these changes amount to half a dozen.

In the section on inflection (§ 117-181) changes continue as before in great number, though not to the same degree as in the phonology. Under strong declension the masculine *wa-* stems (§ 118) now appear, with good reason, as a new fourth class, the neuter *wa-* stems as a new third class. The notes relating to pronouns (§ 145-151) have been substantially enlarged. The treatment of the three weak conjugations (§ 169) has been expanded to about twice the original size, marking a great improvement over Paul. The irregular verbs (§ 171-181) i. e. the preterite-presents (§ 172), *tuon, gân, stân, wesen* (§ 174-178), the contractions like *hâhen* > *hân*, *ligest* > *līst* &c. (§ 179-181) all receive more extensive treatment in the notes than Paul had given them.

At this point the reviewer may be permitted to voice a modest complaint. For the strong masculines of the types: *tac, stil, nagel, gast* no extra examples that would illustrate the direct continuance of the type into N. H. G. are given. There is neither a paradigm nor an example of a long stem in *-er, -el, -em, -en*. The notes, in the nature of things, only treat forms of a more or less divergent type or development, relegated for this reason into small print. Any one using the grammar for self-instruction or in classes, starting as is normally the case with the strong declension, will have a feeling of discouragement about the general practical availability of the book. In other cases, too, the material treated under declension might have been arranged in a way more convenient for the learner.

The excellent syntax calls for no more than a hasty reference, as it is essentially unchanged. It is extremely welcome that wherever possible the quotations have been localized by author and

line, the greater part of this labor having been a contribution of Professor J. H. Scholte of Amsterdam. In § 385 syntax based on the 'Schall-analyse' of Sievers and Karg is introduced.

Greatly to the advantage of a quick comprehension of the text Gierach has restored the initial capitals of the substantives. The reviewer regrets that he has replaced, though only in a halfhearted fashion, the Greco-Latin terminology of grammar by German terms thus widening further the gap between German and the other languages of cultural significance.

In conclusion it need only be said that both beginner and specialist have cause to thank Professor Gierach for this expanded and corrected new edition. We can easily believe that an entire recasting of the work would not have cost him more labor.

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The Wakefield Group in the Towneley Cycle, A Study to Determine the Conventional and Original Elements in Four Plays Commonly Ascribed to the Wakefield Author. By MILLICENT CAREY. Hesperia, Heft 11. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1930. Pp. [vi] + 251.

A thorough-going study of the methods and technique of the Wakefield dramatist has more and more clearly offered itself as a subject of first-rate importance. Here is no merely academic problem for the historian of literature; and its proper treatment requires ability in research and also sympathetic critical understanding. As Miss Carey has presented her conclusions, she seems to excel in the first of these desiderata rather than in the second because her purpose is chiefly to study "the separate plays in relation to their literary background" (Preface). But fortunately she does not confine her efforts to determining "the conventional and original elements." Each of the four plays (the *Mactacio Abel*, the *Processus Noe*, the *Prima* and the *Secunda Pastorum*) she submits to a rigorous examination with reference to parallels in the other cycles, in continental drama, in folklore and contemporary literature, and in whatever may reveal the Wakefield Author's special ability. In this way she discusses the characterization, the humor and realism of the plays, and allied questions. Her method gives every appearance of solidity and discretion, and of abundant research, and one is led to trust her conjectures in fields where immediate certainty is impossible, as, for example, when one follows her interesting excursion among theories regarding the sources of the *Secunda Pastorum*.

This is not, of course, to imply that one will agree with her ideas at every point. I do not find, for example, that she has scrutinized very closely the validity of Miss Foster's linguistic tests (pp. 233-234). Here the open and close *e*-test is hardly as important as that of *gh*; furthermore, Miss Foster apparently has not distinguished carefully between rimes of a possibly scribal *ay* or *oy* (like the Middle Scottish *ai* or *oi*) as in XIII, st. 26, and those where a real confusion between *ay* and *a* or *oy* and *o* exists.¹ The linguistic apparatus here and perhaps in the discussion of the "Canon" leaves something to be desired. Again, there is some material of doubtful value on the ark as a "ship" or a "chest" on page 60; and the cleverness of the Wakefield rendering is too much stressed on page 84. Her study suffers a little, perhaps, from the limitations of its form. In a more extensive book, including the other plays of the Wakefield master for necessary comparison, where the author may have more freedom for critical breadth, she can relegate much cumbersome detail to footnotes and treat at greater length and in a much less pedestrian manner the issues which she has here so sensibly brought into relief. In such a book dramatic values will receive greater consideration, with the same sensitive analysis, we suppose, that we find occasionally here, notably in the discussion of metrical technique (pp. 225 ff.).

Nothing that may be suggested of this kind should seem to lower our general estimate of what is substantially a dependable study of an important subject, but here and there one is led to suspect that Miss Carey's real enthusiasm is after all on the critical side. A few comments on details may be added for what they are worth. Page 2: "Professor Wann states that his recent re-examination of the MS gives evidence that it was written by one scribe about 1450." The definite statement is on p. 141, in which he excepts one play. On 146 f. he discusses the matter, pointing out some special questions with reference to the scribe. It should be observed that the references to the pageants quoted in Miss Carey's note 7 are in a later hand (Wann, pp. 145 and 152). Her note is accordingly not *apropos*; for Wann states (p. 151) that Whalley Abbey was dissolved in 1537. On the matters of pp. 2-3, cf. W. W. Greg, *Bibliographical and Textual Problems of the English Miracle Cycles*, London, 1914, pp. 81 ff., a work Miss Carey does not list. P. 7: Gayley (my copy is dated 1908, cf. here footnote 23) adds play XXII, 1-4 as "closely similar in form." Seventh line from the bottom of the page, "from" should be "form." P. 16, n. 14, Horstmann's *Sammlung*, add "series 1." P. 38, second

¹ XIII, 5, is another poor example for her to cite, unless, of course, she is dealing simply with a scribal trick, which hardly matters for her argument. In any case the *Turnament* is so short that some of the arguments of Miss Foster and some of Miss Carey's too at this point seem a little precious.

paragraph, correct to "*Ludus Coventriae*." P. 59, n. 12, why is this poem cited as by Richard Rolle? It does not appear to be accepted by Miss Allen. Horstmann's ascription is, of course, out of date; and no reference is made to Miss Allen's researches. P. 80, Steele's translation of Bartholomaeus should hardly be used here. To the material on p. 81 might be added a good deal of foreign lore on the woman question, but perhaps the note is rich enough as it stands. P. 114: some doubt is cast on Du Méril's texts, on which Miss Carey relies, by Young, *MP.*, vi, 227. This particular version is found (in a form in which Du Méril says it is "un peu abrégé") on p. 215, and also in Professor Young's *Officium Pastorum*, 387 ff. The reference to Chambers should be II, 43 f. For the dramas of Rouen, Gasté should unquestionably be cited. His work is not even listed. Pp. 116-117, for the *Stella* see Young, *MLN.*, xxvii, 68 ff. I don't see that Miss Carey's material really "contradicts the theory" of Heminway. The star "crept in," I believe, as he suggests. P. 118, in reference to Sepet I believe that the skepticism of Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*, 53 ff., regarding certain phases of his theory, should at least be mentioned. I wonder whether Miss Carey has consulted the *lectiones* of the Breviary with regard to the direct or indirect use of the Sermon, and also for possible variants. P. 150, as to the quotation from Chaucer's *A. B. C.*, a more important reference to cite is *Cant. Tales* B. 1658 with Skeat's note and Manly's in his recent edition; also cf. Lydgate's *Commendation of our Lady*, l. 129 (MacCracken, *Minor Poems*, etc., Part I, London, 1911, p. 259). The figure is common in medieval poetry: see Carleton Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century*, Oxford, 1924, p. 47, l. 19; *Analecta Hymnica*, III, 22; xv, 152; and Chevalier's *Repert. Hymnol.*, s. v. *rubum, rubus*, (and Suppl.). The burning bush is used as a symbol in the sculpture in the north porch of Chartres Cathedral. P. 222, Koelbing's edition of *Sir Tristrem* in *Die Nordische und die Englische Version der Tr.-Sage*, second part, Heilbronn, 1882, 3 ff., should be used. P. 237: it is noticeable that here Miss Carey is less strict in dealing with the Wakefield Author's stanza than in her discussion of the *Turnament*. Finally, there is small excuse for omitting an index nowadays, especially in a study of this kind.

I have noted several misprints and inaccuracies of quotation, but nothing of any moment. One can easily forgive trivial lapses of this kind in view of the richness of the material and the writer's independent judgment.

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A Series of Middle English Texts. General Editor: A. J. WYATT: Langland: *Piers Plowman: Prologue and Passus V-VII (B-Text)*. Edited by C. D. PAMELY. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1928. Pp. 95.

Selections from Le Morte D'Arthur. Edited by P. L. BABINGTON. *Ibid.*, 1929. Pp. xiv + 88.

Selections from the Prose Merlin. Edited by L. CRANNER-BYNG. *Ibid.*, 1930. Pp. xxii + 76.

These three volumes appear in a new series of M. E. selections under the general editorship of Professor Wyatt. Without raising the question of whether there is sufficient demand to justify the issuance of another series of selections, or the further question of the class to which they will appeal (for I am unacquainted with the demand for such a series in England), one may praise the volumes for their attractive format and clear type. There is, of course, not a great deal required of the subordinate editors, for the small size of the books precludes much introductory matter, many notes, or a complete glossary. But if the task of the subordinate editor has demanded but a single talent—care in the preparation of the text (and in Mr. Pameley's case it has demanded somewhat more)—that single talent has, generally speaking, been well employed, and particularly so in the case of *Piers Plowman*. Mr. Pameley has regularized his text [based upon Laud. MS., with a few readings from MS. of Trinity (Camb.)] to a degree of uniformity that would delight a drill-sergeant, but since he explains precisely just what he has done and how proceeded, the reviewer has neither right nor desire to carp. In the matter of spelling, for instance, he has been consistent throughout (except in such instances as he notes on p. 17); thus *sith*, *sithe*, *sithen*, and *sithenes* all appear as *sithen*. Yet certainly scholars engaged in reading proof must be very much on their guard against verifying citations or quoting lines from a text thus regularized. It is a pleasure to read the poem by the aid of the exact and precise footnotes and glosses at the bottom of the page that obviate a laborious search through Skeat's second volume. 'Kitton' (*Prolog.* 146 note) should be *kiton* (*Prolog.* 190) or else modern 'kitten.' Is *feres* (*Pass.* v, 170) an aphetic form of *afferes*, 'gestures?' Is it not rather to be glossed 'companions?' Wrath is speaking of the women he has known.

To Mr. Babington's *Selections from Malory's Morte D'Arthur* the same general criticisms apply: the text has been clearly and attractively printed, and there are footnotes to it. On p. 87 I note two errors. Selection 40 in this text is taken *not* from *MA.*,

xx, 20 but from *MA.*, xviii, 20, and Selection 41 *not* from *MA.*, xx, 25 (Bk. xx has no chapter 25) but from *MA.*, xviii, 25.

Clear type and neat format also characterize the *Selections from the Prose Merlin*. As an introduction to his text Mr. Cranmer-Byng has inserted his spirited and finely written essay (reprinted from the *Quarterly Review*). It is impossible to acquit him of being a little careless as an editor. He has used, he tells us, the text of the EETS. *Prose Merlin* (ed. H. B. Wheatley), and nowhere informed us that he has made any textual changes, yet I find the following discrepancies between that text and his own: p. 24, line 31, a comma after *did* where Wheatley (p. 103) places the semicolon; p. 24, line 32, *they*, W. (p. 103) *thei*; same line *about*, W. *a-boute*; p. 24, line 33, no comma where W. places one after *swerde*; p. 25, line 8, *them all*, W. (p. 103) *hem alle*; p. 25, line 12 *then*, W. (p. 103) *thanne*; p. 25, line 14, *all*, W. (p. 103) *alle*.

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Introductory Old English Grammar and Reader. By GEORGE T. FLOM. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1930. Pp. xiv + 413.

The modest *Anglo-Saxon Reader* by Turk (1927) and the more pretentious *Anglo-Saxon Reader* by Krapp and Kennedy are here followed by a new rival whose name sounds a little different.

This new textbook in reality is different from its predecessors in the field. In the words of the Preface: "The Grammar including the introduction and an account of Old English versification, is fuller, and the texts represent a much greater variety of selections than in any similar Old English Grammar and Reader." Both statements are true. Comparing the present book to that of Krapp and Kennedy we find that it has 164 pages of Grammar to KK's 114, and this in spite of the fact that Flom does not even mention OE Syntax, sketched by KK in eight pages. Of course this is hardly a compliment for Flom, but it shows where his strength lies, viz., in the historical Phonology and Morphology, both of which are treated very fully. The usefulness of this part of the book is further enhanced by the Glossary, which also serves as an index to it.

As to the texts our book has 148 pp. to KK's 161. That seems to give KK the advantage, but hardly does so, as Flom wisely does not include any selection from *Beowulf* (KK devote eighteen pages to it!), obviously believing that it should be read as a whole by every student of Old English. This leaves him space for all the time-honored selections from OE (West Saxon) literature, and in addition he gives some examples of Pre-Alfredian Old English (West Saxon, Kentish, Northumbrian), and Old Mercian from the earliest to the latest times. This is the most important inno-

vation of the book, and, it seems to me, is amply justified. There seems to be little sense in carefully hiding the Old English Dialects from the student, who immediately thereupon is to be plunged into the study of Middle English Dialects. One regrets, however, that Flom does not furnish any notes to these unusual selections, with the exception of the few, "Notes on Old Mercian" in the Grammar §§ 282-292.

But it seems to be Flom's policy to make the Notes and Glossary as concise as possible (together they occupy only 96 pp., cp. KK's 196). Besides the economy of space, that policy seems to have at least one good side viz., forcing the student to turn to the Old English Dictionaries and other reference books on the subject. For a graduate student that is as it should be; to him the book may be recommended as a useful introduction to a more serious study of the language. The undergraduate will probably prefer to turn to the easier guidance of Krapp and Kennedy.

Of errors I have noted only a few. Conspicuous is the lapsus at the beginning of the book where the first settlement of the English in England is put at "the latter half of the seventh century." On p. 38, OE *hærn* is compared to ON *hranni*, a word I neither know nor can find in the Dictionaries; *hrōnn* is the right word.—Seeking enlightenment on the none too obvious phrase of Alfred's: *bī swā hwaperre efes* etc. we find in the Glossary the entry: "*efese* f. border, eaves." It is difficult to see why the nominative should have an *-e*, since it is not even found in the dative.—But such things will happen.

STEFÁN EINARSSON

The Johns Hopkins University

Arthuriana, Proceedings of the Arthurian Society, Vol. I. Edited by E. VINAVER, and H. J. B. GRAY. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, Ltd., 1929. Pp. 70.

The first paper in this volume is by Professor Edmund Chambers and is entitled "Some Points in the Grail Legend." Sir Edmund, as he disarmingly admits, is not a life long student of the Arthurian romances. It is therefore vastly interesting to see to what conclusions his disciplined mind comes when confronted by the inscrutable problem of the origin of the Grail. Sir Edmund, like any prudent man who has read his folk-tales, rejects *in limine* the theory of a purely Christian origin (p. 7). He also rejects the ritual theory because nothing proves that cults survived in Britain after the fourth century (p. 15). His own theory, which he keeps apart from mine, is that "the Grail story was originally one of the choice of a successor [to the kingship] by the royal talismans themselves" (p. 19).

Sir Edmund's view is probably very near the truth, and I hope some day to prove that my theory is not incompatible with his. Perceval is a "destined hero," and a destined hero's career is very like that of a warrior who finds himself chosen king by the operation of talismans. It would be a step forward if scholars could begin to agree that the four jewels of the Tuatha Dé Danann are, as Alfred Nutt long ago declared, the original of the four talismans of the grail castle. Sir Edmund almost agrees to this, for surely his one objection that the fourth jewel, the stone of knowledge, "has no trace in the grail visits" (p. 14) sounds playful. The four jewels are very like the talismans that Sir Edmund supposes selected a king, although only the stone of destiny is said to do the selecting. One may compare, however, the activity of the magic cauldron in *Preiddeu Annwfn*.¹

The second paper is by Professor Faral and is entitled "Un des plus anciens textes relatifs à Arthur." It deals with Herman of Tournay's well-known references to Arthur,² and shows that we must not be too precise about dating these in the year 1113. This paper has also appeared as Chapter V of the first volume of Faral's *La Légende Arthurienne*, a book which was reviewed in *MLN.*, XLVI, 175-182.

Other papers in this volume are by: Marjorie B. Fox, E. Gardner, H. J. B. Gray, E. S. Murrel, J. S. Bostock and E. Vinaver.

Students in the United States of the Arthurian legend will hope for the continuance of the *Proceedings* of which this is the first number, and will regret that distance prevents them from attending the meetings of the newly organized Arthurian Society to which they wish all prosperity.

ARTHUR C. L. BROWN

Northwestern University

Islandica, Vol. xx. The Book of the Icelanders (*Íslendingabók*).

Edited and translated, with introductory essay and notes. By HALLDOR HERMANNSSON. Ithaca: Cornell University Library, 1930.

Ari Thorgrilsson's *Íslendingabók* has a twofold significance: it is an historical document of first importance, and also, so far as known, the first book written in the Icelandic language. Moreover, as the *Íslendingabók*, is the principal source for the founding of the Icelandic Althing it was a particularly happy choice on the part of Professor Hermannsson to edit and translate this import-

¹ The cauldron of Caer Sidi "did not boil the food of a coward," and "would not be perjured," Rhys' translation of *Preiddeu Annwfn* in his preface to Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*, Everyman edition, p. xxiii.

² Migne, *Patrologia*, vol. 156, col. 983.

ant work as his *Islandica* for the year of the Millennial of the Althing. Incidentally, this is the twentieth number of the *Islandica-series*, all of which are highly valuable, especially to students of Icelandic history, language, and literature.

Issued separately, the *Íslendingabók* appears here for the first time in an English translation. It was, however, translated by Gudbrand Vigfusson and F. York Powell some twenty years ago and published in their *Origines Islandicae*, "being thus," as the present editor justly observes, "incorporated into a huge collective work" and "somewhat inaccessible." Hence a separate, convenient edition was most desirable; and the appearance of a new translation was further justified by the fact that the Vigfusson-Powell version makes none too pleasant reading, owing to its artificial and antiquated language.

Professor Hermannsson prefixes his translation with an introductory essay of forty-six pages, containing much interesting and important material. Among other matters he discusses the Norwegian settlement of Iceland, the causes leading to the settlement, and the number of the settlers. He considers in some detail the much debated question of what percentage of the settlers came from Norway and from the British Isles respectively. He bases his conclusions on the researches of outstanding historians and anthropologists, referring specially to the significant anthropological measurements of Icelanders, made recently by Professor Gudmundur Hannesson of the University of Iceland. The editor also describes the establishment of the Icelandic commonwealth, the introduction of Christianity to Iceland, and the life and work of the first Icelandic bishops. All of which is a necessary background for a full appreciation and understanding of the *Íslendingabók*.

The story of Ari's life is told in the third chapter of the introduction. One would like to know more about this remarkable man and his work. He has been called "the father of Icelandic history," and he deserves this venerable name. His *Íslendingabók*, although not faultless, gives ample proof of his genius for historical research. His love of truth, the cardinal virtue of the scholar, appears clearly in these memorable words, which conclude the *prologus* of the *Íslendingabók*: "But whatever is misstated in this history, it is our duty to give preference to that which is proved to be most correct."

The two last chapters of Professor Hermannsson's introduction are, however, the most important. Here the editor reviews the history of the controversy which has centred around Ari and his writings. For even now the opinions of scholars regarding this historian and his work are widely divergent. The central matter of the dispute has been this: "What was Ari's aim in writing the *Íslendingabók* and why did he change the later version of it?" But Professor Hermannsson does more than survey the history of this celebrated controversy. He advances a theory of his own

concerning Ari's purpose in writing the work in question and his reasons for changing it. He holds the view that the purpose of the *Íslendingabók* was in all probability "that it should serve for the orientation and instruction of the general public and the lawmakers." Professor Hermannsson further explains how Ari changed the later version of the book, omitting certain things and adding others, to comply with the wishes of his superiors, the Icelandic bishops, at whose request the work was written. Hermannsson's theory deserves careful reading; it is both sane and well supported.

A word about the translation. It is accurate, in fluent and idiomatic English. The translator is entirely right in maintaining that the use of artificial and archaic language in English translations of the Icelandic sagas is not only inappropriate but misleading as well. (Such translations convey indeed "a totally wrong impression of the simple, clear, concise, and direct saga style." That certain able translators have erred greatly in this respect is only to be regretted. In any translation there is, of course, ample room for disagreement regarding the choice of certain words. That is largely a matter of personal taste, but I should have preferred to translate *víg* with *slaying* or *slayings*, as the case may be, rather than *slaughter*, not forgetting the legal term *man-slaughter*.) In dealing with proper names the translator has struck a happy medium.

Seventeen pages of valuable notes complete the volume. These include may references to the various writings, books and articles, concerning the *Íslendingabók*.

Like the previous numbers of the *Ísländica*, the present one is attractive in its general make-up.

RICHARD BECK

The University of North Dakota

Egil's Saga, Done into English out of the Icelandic with an Introduction, Notes, and an Essay on some Principles of Translation. By E. R. EDDISON. Cambridge, University Press, 1930. Pp. xxxvi + 360 + two fullface maps. \$6.50.

Here is a translation of the *Egil's Saga*, one of the best of Icelandic family sagas, dressed up in a handsomely bound volume printed on fine paper with an excellent type.

This is all very satisfactory, but your satisfaction grows all the greater when you observe that the translation is done by a man who obviously has steeped himself in the Old Icelandic literature and who not only professes "to love his Mistress," the *Saga*, but also proves that statement by his painstaking translation, his valuable notes, and index.

The avowed masters of Mr. Eddison in the field of translating are Dasent and Morris. Especially the latter has often been censured for his use of archaic words and artificial style designed for the purpose of carrying the flavor of the Saga. Our translator, if not following Morris in every detail, is a great believer in his principle, which he discusses and defends very vigorously in his Terminal Essay.

The reader need not be surprised then to find Mr. Eddison's translation interspersed with archaic words and constructions to a considerable degree, and I must say that to me the language of the translation looked a bit more old-fashioned as English than the language of the original is as Icelandic. Nevertheless there is no denying that the translator has succeeded in devising a fit style for his subject and there is life and freshness over his narrative in all its ruggedness.

The translator has taken the wise precaution to let an Icelandic expert (Mr. Bogi Ólafsson) look over his work in MS. That makes the work all the more dependable, and I have not found any misunderstandings in the portions of the text I have compared with the original.

Some of the more difficult verses, as well as some of the notes, will, of course, always be open to question, but I have noted only a few downright errors, as when it is stated (p. 289) that "*mestr of liggja* of a river is idiomatic in Icel. to-day." This error is caused by careless reading of F. Jónsson's note in his *Altnord. Saga-Bibliothek* edition.

Let us hope that the translator soon may find himself ready to add another item to the English Saga Library!

The Johns Hopkins University

STEFÁN EINHARSSON

BRIEF MENTION

Gleanings in Europe, Volume Two (England). By James Fenimore Cooper. Edited by ROBERT E. SPILLER. New York, Oxford University Press, 1930. Pp. xxiv + 408. Fortified by his year and one-half in France, Cooper visited England for four months early in 1828. He came in a state of suspicious neutrality, ready at the first sign of prejudice to take up the challenge and defend what he believed to be the honor of his native country. To see Cooper meet the prominent Whig leaders and such literary celebrities as Tom Moore, Rogers, Scott, Coleridge, and Sydney Smith is to get an understanding of the obscure personal feelings that make history. The Englishmen encountered an American essentially like themselves but ironically enough neither party felt the sympathy of a mutual understanding. Cooper was determined on

a punctilious defense of his American principles and to Cooper "politeness has few claims when principles are concerned." Naturally there was a stiff-necked though decorous antagonism exhibited by both parties.

The careful editing by Doctor Spiller makes clear the significance of events and names now forgotten, and his succinct introduction serves admirably to give a contemporary, historical insight and a balanced discrimination. He makes it evident that Cooper saw England on the edge of middle class domination. Because of his sensitiveness to class feelings and his marked persistence in breaking through externals to get at principles, Cooper's comments are the keenest written by any American of the time. This volume, then, is as indispensable to an understanding of Anglo-American relations during the first half of the nineteenth century as it is to an understanding of Cooper.

E. H. EBY

University of Washington

Unpublished Letters from the Collection of John Wild. Selected and edited by R. N. CAREW HUNT. First Series. New York, The Dial Press, 1930. Pp. 234. The fifty hitherto unpublished letters which make up this beautifully printed volume are chosen from a collection made during the first half of the nineteenth century by a certain Mr. John Wild. Since his death in 1855 they have lain buried in the library of a country house in Devonshire. They have recently come into the possession of a great-grandson of the collector, who now serves as their competent editor. They range in date from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth; and the list of writers includes such names as Andrew Marvell, Gay, Pope, Isaac Watts, Sterne, John Wilkes, Burke, Byron, Shelley, and, from across the channel, La Rochefoucauld, Malebranche, Voltaire, Goethe, Herder. In most cases the value of the letters resides in the autograph rather than in the intrinsic interest of their content. The most important is a highly characteristic letter of Sterne, dated York, May 23, 1759, and addressed to Mr. Robt. Dodsley, offering him the manuscript of the first volume of *Tristram Shandy*.

It is a gracious act of Mr. Carew Hunt to share his treasures with the world; and his volume gives one the pleasure of a passing glimpse into the personal affairs, however trivial, of a very distinguished group of worthies.

ROBERT K. ROOT

Princeton University

Founders of England. By FRANCIS B. GUMMERE. With supplementary notes by FRANCIS PEABODY MAGOUN, JR. New York: G. E. Stechert & Co., 1930. Pp. xii + 506. \$3.00. This is a

reissue of Gummere's *Germanic Origins*, published in 1892. In the editorial preface it is described as "in all essentials a photographic fac-simile of the original edition." Not a few changes (invariably for the better, so far as I have noted them) have been made in text and footnotes, however, and 15 pages of supplementary notes have been added by Professor Magoun, whose intimate knowledge of the field and of recent research made him an ideal editor of Gummere's fine old handbook. Naturally the method of publication precluded a genuine revision of the work, but the editor has succeeded to a surprising degree in bringing it up to date. The new edition, then, is more than a pious gesture; it gives us a book which we can use. It is to be hoped that many readers will be found for this famous old book in its new dress.

K. M.

L'Inscription runique du Coffret de Mortain. Par MAURICE CAHEN et MAGNUS OLSEN. Paris: H. Champion, 1930. Pp. 66. This monograph (No. xxxii of the *Collection Linguistique* published by the *Société de Linguistique de Paris*) was prepared by Magnus Olsen on the basis of notes made by the late Maurice Cahen. It is a careful study of the Mortain Casket and the interesting though short Northumbrian runic inscription cut on the posterior face of that casket's "roof." As regards the form *gewarahta*, I cannot agree with the theory of Sverdrup, as explained by Olsen. The first *a* can hardly be derived from an earlier *e*. It seems more likely that we here have to do with a verb which originally belonged to the third ablaut series, but went over to the first class of weak verbs, perhaps because it was associated with a denominative of *werk*. One may compare *bringan* alongside *brengan*, and *d(w)al* alongside *dwealde*. The monograph is an important contribution to our all too scanty body of English runic studies, and will be found of interest to archaeologists as well as linguists.

K. M.

Les Poèmes Héroïques de l'Edda et la Saga des Völsungs. Traduction française [par] F. WAGNER. Paris: E. Leroux, 1929. Pp. 276. 40 fr. This translation is based on the editions of Gering and Ranisch. The former at any rate was an unfortunate choice, since Gering was a ruthless emender of our inherited texts. The translation is only fair, and the discussions which precede the various texts include some exceedingly curious pieces of information; e. g., we learn (p. 76) that a certain *Headobeardan* was one of the characters who figure in *Beowulf*.

K. M.

Middle English Metrical Romances. Edited by W. H. FRENCH and C. B. HALE. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1930. Pp. x + 1041. \$4.50. This anthology includes 27 romances, of which 19 are printed in full. In the preface the editors tell us that "as a basis for the text for each poem, we have used what seemed to us the best single manuscript of it, and have reproduced this with as little alteration as possible. . . . The texts of most of the poems have been prepared from rotographs." By so doing the editors have indeed given good texts, and this part of their work can be commended. Their glossing, however, has not been so successful, and the student will have to resort to dictionaries no little, if he is to read with precise understanding. Notes and observations have been reduced to a minimum in the volume, which is primarily a collection of texts. As such it will serve a useful purpose.

K. M.

The Junius Manuscript. Edited by G. P. KRAPP. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931. Pp. lviii + 247. \$4.00. With this volume Professor Krapp begins a new edition of the body of Old-English verse, an edition which is to be complete in six volumes. All lovers of OE studies will rejoice that so veteran and competent a philologist as Professor Krapp has undertaken this task. His first instalment could hardly be bettered, and we have every reason to expect him to be equally successful in the volumes which are to follow. The admirable introduction of the present volume leads up to the text, which occupies 158 pages. Then come the notes, which come to nearly 90 pages more. These are confined to textual matters, quite properly. The editor has not attempted a variorum edition, but in spite of much searching I have failed to find a single omission of any consequence. The treatment of the text is conservative, though not so conservative as my own tastes would dictate. All in all, we have here an unusually fine piece of work.

K. M.

The Old Book, A Medieval Anthology. Edited by DOROTHY HARTLEY. London: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930. Pp. xxx + 318. This handsome and delightful volume is not a work of learning, nor yet a text-book for students. Its purpose is wholly esthetic. Or, rather, as we learn on p. xxix,

I made it not forto be prayssed
But that lewed men were aysed.

All lovers of medieval England will love *The Old Book* and sing its praises. And what more could any editor wish?

K. M.

Die Godivasage und ihre Behandlung in der Literatur. By KARL HÄFFELE. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1929. Pp. xii + 314. This study, a Heidelberg dissertation written under that veteran Anglicist, Professor Johannes Hoops, and printed as Heft 66 in the monograph series *Anglistische Forschungen*, worthily maintains the high standards which we associate with Heidelberg and Professor Hoops. The book falls into two parts: the first devoted to the origin and development of the saga; the second, to the numerous literary treatments of the Godiva theme. An appendix is given over to some consideration of Godiva in painting and sculpture. The text is supplemented by seven plates which reproduce particularly noteworthy examples of the painter's and the sculptor's art in this field. The treatment of the whole is chronological, and the author has made a good job of it. I will comment on only one detail: the name-form *Godgyve* shows a *y* which is by no means purely graphical (p. 8), but indicates a rounded pronunciation carried still further in the *Godioua* [godjuva] of Ordericus Vitalis.

K. M.

English and Norse Documents relating to the Reign of Ethelred the Unready. By MARGARET ASHDOWN. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1930. Pp. xiv + 311. 16 s. This admirable volume gives us two OE and nine ON texts, with modern English rendering and a full apparatus of notes and commentary. Four appendices add metrical, linguistic and stylistic observations, together with three annals taken from MSS A and D of the OE *Chronicle*. Part I, devoted to English texts, takes up the first 106 pages of the volume. The texts given are the *Battle of Maldon*, recorded in full, and annals 978-1017 of the *Chronicle* (MS C). Part II includes three scaldic poems, and six prose extracts from Icelandic historical and pseudo-historical works, chosen because of their bearing on English history in one way or another. The whole makes a handy book for students of the turbulent period to which it is devoted. Instead of "anglicising" (p. ix) the author should have said "modernising." Moreover, it is hardly sound to speak of "the old non-Christian poetry" of England; the proper term is rather "secular" (p. 7).

K. M.

The Vikings and the Viking Wars in Irish and Gaelic Tradition. By REIDAR TH. CHRISTIANSEN. Skrifter Utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo, II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse 1930. No. 1. Oslo: Jacob Dybwad, 1931. Pp. 429. The subject of Dr. Christiansen's book is not very well indicated by its title. The tradition to which he refers is that preserved in modern ballads, a study of

which takes up the bulk of his space. This study, however, he prefaces with a historical sketch of the Fionn Cycle, some account of the Ossianic ballads, and a survey of the earlier stories about the Vikings that were current in Gaelic-speaking territory. The author now comes to grips with his subject proper, viz., a group of modern ballads which deal with Scandinavian material. The ballads in question are: a ballad about King Erragon of Norway, two ballads about King Magnus the Great of Norway, a ballad about Eyvind of Orkney, a ballad about Fionn's journey to Norway, a ballad about the Monster Hag of Norway, and a group of minor ballads. The author discusses these ballads in detail, and concludes that "the memories of the Vikings and the Viking wars preserved in Irish and Gaelic tradition were limited to the raids and invasions. As the years . . . grew more distant the historical contours grew vague and indistinct. . . . But the theme was always popular, poets and storytellers developed the old enemies into mythical beings, half fairies, half monsters, and their home . . . into a fairyland . . ." (p. 422 f.). This conclusion seems justified by the evidence, although the material presented does not admit of conclusions as clean-cut as one might wish.

K. M.

Ausgewählte Aufsätze und Reden. By EWALD FLÜGEL. Edited by FELIX FLÜGEL. Halle (Saale): Max Niemeyer, 1930. Pp. viii + 349. RM 18. Sixteen years after the death of Ewald Flügel, there comes into our hands a handsome volume designed not merely as a tribute to his memory but also, and chiefly, to make available within the covers of a single book a representative selection of Flügel's writings. This happy scheme has been happily carried out in the present text, prepared by Flügel's son with exemplary piety. Of the papers here printed, four seem to appear in print for the first time. The rest are drawn chiefly from *Anglia* (8 papers), but *Anglia Beiblatt* supplied two, and *Modern Philology*, the *Journal of (English and) Germanic Philology*, and *Philosophische Studien* one each. In addition, two volumes of homage (Furnivall's and Matzke's) yielded each a paper, and the famous review of Skeat's *Chaucer* is reprinted from the pages of the *Dial*, where it so long had lain buried. Finally, *Grenzboten* contributes an early review, the *Library Journal* a valuable sketch of Henry Bradshaw's life, and the *Stanford Alumnus* an appreciative obituary of John Ernst Matzke; the latter two papers are here reprinted as revised by their author. The first 190 pages of the volume are taken up with a group of "Chaucer Miscellen." Then comes a group of miscellaneous learned articles (pp. 191-284). The volume is concluded with four addresses and five obituaries, all of considerable interest.

K. M.

Modern Language Notes

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SPENSER'S ACQUISITION OF KILCOLMAN *

None of Spenser's biographers and commentators seems to know when or how he obtained the Kilcolman estate. F. I. Carpenter (*Reference Guide*, p. 17) says that on June 27, 1586, Spenser was "down for 3028 acres [= Kilcolman] in the articles for the Undertakers." Miss Pauline Henley (*Spenser in Ireland*, p. 45), obviously following Carpenter, says that Spenser is mentioned in the Queen's letter of June 27, 1586, in connection with the Kilcolman estate. I checked carefully this summer all the Queen's letters, or articles, relating to this question at the Public Record Office in London, and Spenser's name is not to be found in them. Both Carpenter and Miss Henley are in error in placing Spenser's connection with Kilcolman as early as June 27, 1586.¹

As a matter of fact, Kilcolman was assigned to "Andrew Reade of faccombe within the county of Southã gente"² on March 14, 1586/7. But there is no evidence that Reade ever occupied his lands. He is mentioned as having been allotted the lands in a

* This and the following article represent part of the results of a systematic check of known records and a search for new records concerning the life of Spenser, made jointly by Doctors Heffner and Strathmann under the direction of Professor Greenlaw.—THE EDITORS.

¹ Carpenter's reference is to *CSP, Ir.*, 1586-88, pp. 35, 42, 93. No mention of Spenser is to be found in either the very brief abstracts in the *Calendar* or in the originals. The Queen's letter of June 27, 1586, conveys the escheated land in County Cork to "Sr Walter Rawleigh Sr Iohn Stawell & Sr Iohn Peyton knightes their associates and the gentlemen Vndertakers of the counties of Devon Somrset and Dorsett and such others as shall be ioyned vnto them in societie" [*SP 63 (State Papers, Ireland)*, vol. 124, item 95].

² *Carew MS 631*, No. 10 (Preserved at Lambeth Palace); *Calendar*, 1575-88, p. 449, contains abstract; not in Carpenter.

letter from Popham, December 18, 1587,³ and on April 26, 1587, he was appointed one of a "commission for hearing and ending controversies between the Vndertakers."⁴ But Reade did not act as one of the commissioners, for his name does not appear in the list of those for whom entertainment was supplied.⁵ Reade is mentioned in a list of undertakers resident in England on May 12, 1589.⁶ In another list, indorsed "The names of all the vndertakers 1589,"⁷ we find the name "Mr. Reade," but, although some in the list are designated as being in England, there is no such notation for Reade. Spenser's name does not occur. But it was Spenser and not Reade who answered the "Articles" in 1589. This document, entitled "The answer of Edmund Spenser gent^l to the arcls of Information given in charge to the Comissoners for examining and inquryng of her Ma^{ties} attainted lands Past to the Vnder-takers," is in Spenser's hand and bears his signaturo. It is exhibited in the Museum of the Public Record Office in London,⁸ and is printed in part in the *Irish Calendur* (1588-1592, p. 198). But the greater part of the second paragraph is left out of the printed version and seems not to have been read by any of the many people who have looked at the original, in the Museum of the Record Office. This part of the document clears up the mystery of Spenser's acquisition of Kilcolman. It reads:

2. To the second he sayth that he hath not yet passed his patent of the sayd lands for that he covntd wt Mr Rhead who had a former Particular graunted of ye said lands, that incase Mr Read or any for him came before Whitsontyde last to inhabit ye same, that then he should disclame & sur-

³ *SP* 63, vol. 132, item 39; *OSP, Ir.*, 1586-88, p. 450.

⁴ *SP* 63, vol. 129, item 26, a copy of the Queen's letter, naming Sir John Norreys, Sir Henry Wallop, Sir Valentine Browne, Sir Edward Phyton, Sir George Bouchier, Sir William Herbert, the Justices of the Assises, the Queenes attorney and Solicitor General, John Reeves, esq., and Andrewe Reade, gent. Any five of the above, with certain specified ones, could act.

⁵ *SP* 63, vol. 129, item 43. Dated "April 1587."

⁶ This list has been noted by Burghley on the reverse side of "Certaine Articles to be answered vnto by the Vndertakers for the peopling of Mounster" (*SP* 63, vol. 144, item 17). The list is indorsed "xij ma 1589 the vndertakers in Irlād, y^t ar in yngland."

⁷ *SP* 63, vol. 144, item 59.

⁸ Pedestal 58. Catalogued, *SP* 63, vol. 144, item 70. The date, May, 1589, is conjectured from the other answers, which are dated May 12. Cf. items 14, 15, 17, 19, 72, 73, etc.

render ye premisses & therefore till that time expired he was lothe to passe ye sayd Patent. But since the expiracon of ye sayd tyme being willing to haue passed yt, he hath not ben pmitted for that Iustice Smythes who is onely now left of ye Quorum hath bene eu^r absent in England. But so sone as he retourneth he will passe ye same⁹

In this document, then, Spenser says himself that Reade had the lands first and that for some reason he did not occupy them. Spenser got them by an agreement with Reade. But he held them for Reade before Whitsuntide (May 22), 1589.¹⁰ Although this document is placed by the editor of the *Calendar* in May, 1589, the "articles" were sent out on May 11 and 12,¹¹ and the only answers dated as early as May 12 are those of Phane Beecher, Sir Edward Phyton, and Sir William Herbert,¹² all of whom were resident in England.¹³ Spenser's answer must have been at least ten days, and in all probability several weeks, later than theirs, for travel to and from Ireland was slow. In other words, it was almost impossible for Spenser to have answered before May 20 "articles" sent out from London on May 11 or 12. Moreover, he says that "Iustice Smythes . . . hath bene eu^r absent in England," and Smythes was in Cork on September 30, 1588.¹⁴ He could not be referred to, therefore, as being "eu^r absent in England" from Whitsuntide 1588. Too, Sir John Popham in "A true declaration concerning the undertakers in Cork,"¹⁵ dated March 4, 1588/9, refers to the grant as Reade's, although he does not know what he has done with it. But in "The Proceedings of the Undertakers in Munster,"¹⁶ dated "Novembre 1589," we have, "Mr. Edmond Spenser hath by pticuler onlie . . . 4000 acres. the rente xxij.^s" Reade is not mentioned. So, it is evident that Spenser obtained possession officially of Kilcolman at Whitsuntide (May 22), 1589.

⁹ *SP* 63, vol. 144, item 70. The rest of the document is printed in the *Calendar*.

¹⁰ Bond, John J., *Handy-Book for Verifying Dates*, London, 1889, p. 138, gives April 2 as the date of Easter, 1589.

¹¹ See *SP* 63, vol. 144, item 17.

¹² *Calendar*, pp. 196-7.

¹³ *SP* 63, vol. 144, item 17. List on back.

¹⁴ *CSP, Ir.*, 1588-89, p. 45. "Mr. Justice Jessua Smythes to Burghley," dated September 30, 1588, from Cork.

¹⁵ *CSP, Ir.*, 1588-92, pp. 130-31.

¹⁶ *SP* 63, vol. 147, item 51. See *CSP, Ir.*, 1588-92, pp. 257-58.

But he must have occupied the lands before that date, for he states in his "answer" that in case Reade had come over to claim the lands he would have disclaimed and surrendered them. Further evidence is contained in the papers relating to the quarrel with Lord Roche. On September 3, 1588, Lord Roche presented his claims against the undertakers to the Queen's Commissioners.¹⁷ At that time he made no complaint against Spenser. But when the commission refused not only to grant him redress but also to hear his complaints, he wrote to the Queen and to Walsingham. In his letter to the Queen,¹⁸ dated October 12, 1589, he referred to his previous suits and made further complaints, thus:

... the Pollicie of myne aduersaries did prevent the prosecution of my said affaires by geovinge me greater causes of complit: and consequente procure my vtter impoverishinge wth their Pollicie though it tooke some effecte for a tyme in me it hath kendled the hartes of diverse others to grudge at their vnpunished misdemes the pticulers of som pts thereof I haue sent in brief notes to Sr francis Walsingham. . . .

These notes are as follows:

the Particulers of certaine inuries don to the L. Roche
first whereas he obtained the Ires of her Maties honor: counsell in Eng-
lande for restitution of divers pcels of his inheritance web weare devested
out of his possession by collar of vntrue offices and his title to the reste of
the laundes challenged by him to be decided by certaine comissioners.
he complaineth that no redres hath bene vsed in those causes

he further complains . . . [claims freedom from cess]

Año 1588

further one Edmonde Spenser clearke of the counsel in mounster by
collor of his office and by makinge of corrupt Bargaines wth certaine psons
pretendinge falshe title to pcell of the L. Roches laundes disposedd the
said L. Roch of certaine castles and xvj plough laundes

Allsoe the said Spenser by threathninge and manacinge of the said L. Roch
is tefts and by takinge their cattaille pasturinge vppon his Lps owne
inheritance and by refusinge and beatinge of his Lps serivantes, and
Balives hath made waste six other ploughe laundes of his Lps lafull
inheritance to his noe smale vndoinge.

Año 1589

further one George Browne. . . .¹⁹

¹⁷ *Irish Folios* (PRO), vol. 13. Printed in *OSP, Ir.*, 1588-92, pp. 14-26.

¹⁸ *SP* 63, vol. 147, item 14.

¹⁹ *SP* 63, vol. 147, item 15 I.

It would appear from this document and from the letter to the Queen that the injuries here complained of were committed after Lord Roche's first complaint, which was presented to the commissioners on September 3, 1588. We notice, too, that the part which applies to Spenser is dated "Año 1588." It is evident, therefore, that Spenser occupied certain of Lord Roche's lands between September 3, 1588, and March 24, 1588/9 (the end of the year).

It is further evident from this document that the land in question is the Kilcolman estate, for twenty-two ploughlands would equal four thousand acres, more or less.²⁰ Further, Lord Roche mentions Spenser's agreement with Reade as "makinge of corrupt Bargaines wth certaine psons Pretendinge falslie title to pcell of the L. Roches landes." We are able, therefore, to date Spenser's occupation of the Kilcolman property as sometime between September 3, 1588, and March 24, 1588/9.

We have in Lord Roche's complaint, also, a clue as to why Andrew Reade did not occupy his lands but turned them over to Edmund Spenser. It would seem that Lord Roche claimed that the lands were a part of his lawful inheritance and did not, therefore, belong to the traitor, the Earl of Desmond. The state of affairs is explained in Lord Roche's letter to the Earl of Ormond on February 16, 1588, in which he complains that the undertakers seek to dispossess him of his lands by means of "untrue inquisitions."²¹ Sir Edward Phytton explains the situation in the following letter to Burghley, dated 30, 1586:

My verie good L: as was yor comandent so I holde it my part to wryte what I fynde heare. A nomber of greate psons haue ben in action of rebellion and those of that house and stacke do pretende intereste so to the landes, as the hope the landes sholde remayne to them, and so stande in it, as they iustifie it publiquely. . . .²²

Sir John Popham in "A true declaration concerning the undertakers," March 4, 1588/9, gives us the following information concerning Lord Roche's relations with other undertakers:

. . . Mr Arthur Hyde is placed in some lands lying in the Lord Roche's country and in Condon's country, and hath not above 8,000 acres and his patents past, as I take it, wherein he had no settling until this last summer in respect of titles. . . . John Ryves, Esq. . . . died on the journey. One

²⁰ A ploughland varied from 120 to about 440 acres.

²¹ *SP* 63, vol. 141, item 26.

²² *SP* 63, vol. 130, item 55.

Mr. Keete took the place but could not rest quiet in it in respect of Lord Roche. And the title of Lord Roche being taken this summer to be insufficient, he had there about 12 English people . . .²¹

From this evidence, then, it would seem that Reade was faced by strong opposition from Lord Roche for possession of the lands of Kilcolman, and, probably for that reason, agreed to turn them over to Edmund Spenser, if he could get possession of them. Spenser, as clerk of the Council of Munster, the governing body of that Province, was in a good position to beat out Lord Roche in the courts and to hold the land against him. That Spenser used his office to advantage is stressed in Lord Roche's complaint, which accuses that "one Edmonde Spenser cleark of the counsell in Mounster by collo^r of his office and by making of corrupt Bargaines . . . disposed the said L. Roche . . ." It is evident from the same complaint that Spenser held part of his lands by force, for he is accused of "refusinge and beatinge of his *Lps* serivantes and Balives. . . ."

In the light of this new evidence, then, we are able to make the following conclusions:

1. Spenser obtained possession of Kilcolman officially at Whitsuntide (May 22), 1589, by virtue of an agreement with Andrew Reade.
2. Spenser first occupied the lands between September 3, 1588, and March 24, 1588/9.
3. Spenser's quarrel with Lord Roche concerned the title to the entire Kilcolman estate.

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SPENSER'S *LEGENDS* AND *COURT OF CUPID*

It is a commonplace of criticism to find the lost poems of Spenser in his known works;¹ but the suggested adaptations do not preclude the possibility of the separate existence of the originals after they had been reworked. Douce MS 280 in the Bodleian Library

²¹ *OSP, Ir.*, 1588-92, p. 131.

¹ For discussion at length, see Philo M. Buck, Jr., "Spenser's Lost

contains evidence that Spenser's *Legends* and *Court of Cupid* were regarded as obtainable, as late as 1597-1603, the date of the bulk of the MS.

The first mention of the two poems occurs in E. K.'s epistle to Harvey, prefixed to the *Shepheardes Calender*. Referring to his "Glosse," E. K. writes:

... yet thus much haue I aduentured vpon his frendship, him selfe being for long time furre estiaunged, hoping that this will the rather occasion him, to put forth diuers other excellent works of his, which slepe in silence, as his Dreames, his Legendes, his Court of Cupide, and sondry others; whose commendations to set out, were verie wayne, the thinges though worthy of many, yet being knowen to few.²

William Webbe urges their publication in his *Discourse of English Poetrie*, 1586:

As for the other Gentleman, if it would please him or hys freendes to let those excellent *Poemes*, whereof I know he hath plenty, come abroad, as his Dreames, his Legends, his Court of *Cupid*, his English Poet, with other, he shoulde not onely stay the rude pens of my selfe and others, but also satisfie the thirsty desires of many which desire nothing more then to see more of hys rare inuentions.³

Douce MS 280 might be called the commonplace book of John Ramsey.⁴ The foliation shows that parts of the original are missing, and the present MS is a disordered collection of poems, brief essays, bits of useful information, and personal notes. It is known for its transcripts of *Mother Hubberds Tale*, *Teares of the Muses*, and *Visions of Petrarch*; but the sections important for this study are Ramsey's catalogue⁵ of his "library" and the list of tradesmen with whom he dealt.

Ramsey did not own all the books he lists under proper classifica-

Poems," *PMLA.*, xxiii (1908), 80-99; and Helen E. Sandison, "Spenser's 'Lost' Works and Their Probable Relation to His *Faerie Queene*," *PMLA.*, xxv (1910), 134-51.

² One vol. Oxford *Spenser*, p. 418.

³ *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. Gregory Smith, I, 246.

⁴ No. 21854 in Falconer Maddan, *Summary Catalogue of Western MSS in the Bodleian Library*, vol. iv, Oxford, 1897. According to his brief autobiography on fol. 5 of the MS, Ramsey was born in 1578, studied at Cambridge for a short time in 1602-3, was admitted of the Middle Temple, March 23, 1605/6, and married a daughter of Sir Edmond Bell of Beaupré in 1620.

⁵ Fol. 118r-121v; book lists are given on 116v and fol. 117 also.

tions. His catalogue is entitled "My Studdye," to which is added the note, "Theise possest of noted wth this Marke . . ." Under the heading "Poetica," after other entries, are listed:

. . . / Spencers Legends his courte of Cupid . Pastoral Elegia.
Pastoral prognost:/ Lydgate. ye Fayrie Queene Spencers Amoretti./
de poetica quaere alibi:/ · Michell Draytons Paeon Triumphall/°

Ramsey owned the *Amoretti*. The *Legends*, the *Court of Cupid*, and the *Faerie Queene* were among his desiderata.

At first glance the note might be rejected as the fond hope of an ambitious young man who had read E. K.'s epistle; but Ramsey's book-seller was William Ponsonby. He is mentioned in the list of *Artifices de quibus opus habeo*:

Booke binder Will. Ponsonbye in Paules churchyarde [Inserted] Bookes
at Aldersgate, wthin, att Mr. Greenes Manns in Longe Lane. (116r)

The note is repeated at the top of the page on which his catalogue begins: *Gulhelmus Ponsonbeus stationarius meus*. Ramsey planned a systematic collection, with an approved technique of book buying; in connection with this plan occurs the third mention of Ponsonby:

To furnishe my Librarye. First at the first hande att Mr Greenes in
duck lane. Att his Mans. Att Aldersgate wthin ye streete. In longe lane.
In blackefryars by veiwe of their Catologues. All my bookes of Mr
Ponsonbye my bookebinder. & beinge furnished wth ancient & Moderne
writers. Laye waite for others yt cannott be compassed att yt instant,
& to haue a yearlye note of all ye newe bookes newlye imprinted frō my
bookebinder wch carefull collections will make a perfect librarye. (117r)

Further Spenser notes in the MS can be dismissed briefly as evidence of Ramsey's interests, which, by their nature, give modest support to his credibility as a witness. He includes Spenser in "The liuely pourtratures of y^e Most famous in Englande"; but his system of alphabetical footnotes, whereby he indicates the qualities for which the men he names are famous, stops just short of Spenser.⁷ Michael Drayton, Samuel Daniel, and a few other

⁶ Fol. 120r. The passage quoted concludes the section and the page. The mark / is Ramsey's punctuation, and does not indicate line division. The obvious informality of the crudely written list makes me hesitate, for the present, to attempt the identification of doubtful titles.

⁷ Fol. 104v. In his footnotes Ramsey runs through the alphabet twice; it is the second series which is incomplete.

literary men are included in the same group, and Drayton and Daniel are among Ramsey's "Familiers," noted as "Personages to converse wth."⁸ His list of approximately forty gentlemen, dated 1603, includes Drayton, Daniel, Spenser, and Lodowick Bryskett; but only the first two names are marked ∴, the sign used in this case to indicate acquaintance.⁹ The yet unpurchased *Faerie Queene* is mentioned again under "Cyclopedia," a section of sufficient intrinsic interest to quote in full:

These bookes in Comone wth my Servants for yer better instructiō
∴ The greate Bible in English vppon a screene in ye Hall wth ye . . . Service
bookes. For ye hindes these bookes of husbandrye. Tusser, Fitzherbert,
Googe. Mascall ye Cuntrye farme. For ye horserider, ∴ Blundeville booke
of horsemanshippe. For ye Huntsman . . . Turberviles bookes of huntinge.
For ye Sheppherde & Swinehearde ye bookes before named wth ∴ Virgills
Georgicks. These bookes to stande in ye Parlor viz. the Bible. Du Bartas.
Perkins workes. The Fayrie Queene. Sr P. S. Arcadia. Daniells workes.
Orlando furioso. (118v)

Young Ramsey valued highly Douce MS 280, which, it must be remembered, survives in an incomplete state. He catalogues his "Paper Bookes" thus:

In All 12 wherein are both my workes vnprinted & my Speciall Noates
but this booke of all ye rest for ye secrets contayned most worthy. (121r)

The principal Spenser reference, however, is the allusion to two of the lost poems at a later date than both parts of the *Faerie Queene*, into which Spenser may have worked some of his early compositions. In brief, John Ramsey, who was in regular communication with Spenser's publisher, included in his list of books wanted ca. 1600 the *Legends* and the *Court of Cupid*. Probably the two poems were among those that could not be "compassed att yt instant"; probably Ramsey "laye waite" for them without success. The point is that he, and by implication Ponsonby, thought them obtainable.¹⁰

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⁸ Fol. 91v.

⁹ Fol. 103v.

¹⁰ It is unnecessary to infer that the poems were in print; Ramsey owned twelve "paper bookes," and Douce MS 280, as noted above, contains transcripts of three of Spenser's poems.

COMMENTS ON THE MORAL ALLEGORY OF THE
FAERIE QUEENE

1. In his excellent study, *The Virtue of Temperance in the Faerie Queene* (*Studies in Philology* xviii, 334-46), Professor Padelford has made clear that in Book II, entitled the Book of Temperance, Spenser is really discussing not Temperance, but Aristotle's Continence. The poet's reasons for shifting the term will perhaps be obvious on a moment's reflection. Aristotelian Temperance is static; it is a moral state in which, by practice, adjustment, and habit, Reason has gained absolute and unexceptional control over the emotions. But Continence, for artistic purposes, is more satisfactory. Continence involves a struggle with the emotions, a psychomachia, always more interesting and instructive than Temperance, and it was Spenser's Horatian object to make his poem both. But why, then, did he not call the Book "Of Continence", not "Of Temperance"? Possibly because the term Temperance was more generally familiar to his readers; it still wore the high dignity and import of one of the four Cardinal Virtues; besides, Continence would suggest to the ordinary reader only carnal appetite, whereas Spenser, like Aristotle, would apply it to other moral matters.

The hint, if Spenser needed one, for the substitution of Continence for Temperance in his story, he may have caught from the discussion of virtuous and gentle discipline in the Fourth Book of *The Courtier*. Lord Julian interrupts Lord Octavian: "If I have well understood, you have saide that Continencie is an unperfect vertue, because it hath in it part of affection [passion]: and me seemeth that the vertue (where there is in our mind a variance between reason and greedie desire) which fighteth and giveth the victory to reason [i. e., Continence], ought to be reckoned more perfect, than that which overcommeth, having neither greedie desire nor any affection to withstand it" (page 270, Everyman edition). The Lord Octavian answered: "You have judged aright. And therefore I say unto you, that continencie may be compared to a Captaine that fighteth manly, and though his enimies bee strong and well appointed, yet giveth he them the overthrow, but for all that not without much ado and danger. But temperance free from all disquieting, is like the Captaine that without resistance overcometh and raigneth. And having in the mind where she is, not

onely aswaged, but cleane quenched the fire of greedy desire, even as a good prince in civil warre dispatcheth the seditious inward enemies, and giveth the scepter and whole rule to reason." Perhaps the nautical allegory of Canto xii may have been first prompted by Bembo's earlier remark: "Finally reason overcome by greedy desire, farre the mightier, is cleane without succour, like a ship, that for a time defendeth her selfe from the tempestuous sea-stormes, at the end beaten with the too raging violence of windes, her gables and tacklings broken, yeeldeth up to be driven at the will of fortune, without occupying helme or any manner helpe of Pilot for her safegarde" (page 269).

2. Spenser has fashioned Cymochles to illustrate the invariably incontinent man, one who

has pourd out his idle mind
In daintie delices, and lavish joyes, . . .
And flowes in pleasures, and vaine pleasing toyes.

He is ever deliquescent in his incontinence, like a wave (*κύμα*); hence the name (II. v. 28. 5-9). At 35. 2 he wades in "still waves of deepe delight", and at vi. 27. 5 his heart is molten "in slouthfull sleepe". The idea of deliquescent carnal desire, flooding or melting all moral resistance, is a fixed and favorite one with the poet: the Red Cross Knight is "pourd out in loosnesse" at Fidessa's feet (I. vii. 7. 2); cf. Perissa, "poured out in pleasure and delight" (II. ii. 36. 5). One may swim in pleasure and bathe in courtly bliss (II. iii. 39. 7; 40. 2), or "drown in dissolute delights" (II. vi. 25. 7); note the frequency of "wave" and "waves" in Cantos vi and xii, which are especially occupied with carnal temptation. The figure occurs also at III. i. 39. 8; 48. 6; x. 8. 7; xii. 45 *orig.* 7; IV. x. 38. 7; VII. vii. 33. 9; *Col. Cl.* 782.

3. Critics have been wont to infer the insincerity of Spenser's moral purpose from his spirited portrayal of sensuous delights in the Bower of Bliss (II. xii), or the dance of maidens and graces on Mount Acidale (VI. x). But these must be judged not alone in themselves, but as parts of a whole—of a poem which includes Argante, Olliphant, Paridell, Hellenore, as well as Britomart and Artegal. The very sensuous power of the scenes only proves that Spenser knew by his own susceptibilities what he was talking about, and lends moral authority to his high argument as a whole.

Books III and IV are especially devoted to the theme of erotic

love, and as treatments of this theme present themselves rather as a unit than as two separate books. But the poet's discussion of the subject is by no means especially confined to these books. In over one hundred instances through the *Faery Queen* he exhibits the widest gradations and degradations of the grand passion, from the highest conception to the lowest. In the First Book alone the theme is illustrated in fifteen different affairs; in Book II the number is nineteen; in Book III, twenty-six, not counting mural pictures and pageantry; in Book IV, twenty-three; in Book V, fourteen; in Book VI, twelve. Susceptibility to women is the most dangerous weakness of his greater figures—St. George, Guyon, Artegal, Scudamour, Calidore, Timias.

The juxtaposition of romantic love and friendship in Books III and IV cannot have been a matter of chance. Spenser was too devout a Platonist not to have asserted in high terms their element in common; and all the gradations of love and friendship exhibited in both books rise to the crowning instance of Britomart and Artegal. As Mr. Erskine has shown, the case is strongly Platonic in its idealism (*The Virtue of Friendship in the Faerie Queene, PMLA. xxx, 831-50*).

Again and again Spenser suggests the affinities which determine variations in this matter—the affinity of good for good, of evil for evil—much as they are set forth in the *Lysis* of Plato. Many a deed in his story is done for "vertues onely sake, which doth beget True love and faithfull friendship" (IV. vi. 46). Without "the band of vertuous mind" all natural bonds are weak—whether of kin, passion, or association (IV. ix. 1). Possibly no reading of Spenser is so revealing as a patient, discerning, repeated consideration of the varieties of love in Books III and IV. Some are bad—bad in different ways; some are ordinary and common; some are good, but not exceptional. They constitute together a sort of pedestal for the exalted instance of Britomart and Artegal, though this indeed is not flawless. Yet mingling actively as it does among others of all sorts, it emerges into high relief against them, and expresses with force and beauty the poet's Platonic belief that the highest form of friendship rises alone out of romantic passion, and can even then be realized only between persons of great mind and character and virtue.

3. Maleger (II. ix and xi) has been variously and casually explained as "Captain of the Lusts of the Flesh" (Ruskin, *Wks.*,

ed. Cook and Wedderburn, 10. 383, 390: *Stones of Venice*, vol. 2, ch. 8, sect. 62; cf. Miss Winstanley's ed. of *F. Q.* II, p. 286); as the Passions (Winstanley, p. 238; Whitman, *Subject Index*); as Sensuality (*SP.* 14. 203), as Passion (*ibid.* 20. 224); as Death or deadly sin (S. J. McMurphy, *Spenser's Use of Ariosto for Allegory*, p. 28). True, Maleger is captain or leader of a rout of rascal villains who clearly image base affections or desires. But why ignore the obvious label etymologically devised and affixed by Spenser after his usual custom—Maleger, "desperately sick", "sick unto death"? And why reject Child's note: "Maleger signifies badly diseased; and from this and the description given of him, he seems to represent the various diseases which an indulgence in those 'fleshy lusts which war against the soul' gives birth to" (*Poetical Wks. of Sp.* 2. 114)? Child is right, except that Spenser would represent disease not as the result of sin, but as a circumstance most favorable to it. Your moral resistance is low when your physical resistance is reduced. Health is most needful to success in the battle with the flesh. Which everybody will accept as good sense. Spenser himself, sickly as a young man, and probably never robust, had full personal authentication for this idea, as for the others in his poetry. This meaning seems to be confirmed by a passage in the *View* (*Wks.*, ed. Todd, 8. 408, 9): "If you should know a wicked person dangerously sicke, having now both soule and body greatly diseased, yet both recoverable, would you not thinke it evill advertizement to bring the preacher before the phisitian? For if his body were neglected, it is like that his languishing soule being disquieted by his diseasefull body, would utterly refuse and loath all spirituall comfort, but if his body were first recured, and broght to good frame, should there not then be found best time, to recover the soule also?" Maleger, then, is physical disease, and the poet would suggest in this allegory of the human body, that a man can best control his base affections when in best health, but that physical weakness undermines morale. So Maleger is not only captain of the rout, but provokes them "the breaches to assay". The idea is pointed throughout Canto xi, from Alma's banquet, "attempted goodly well for health", to Arthur's physical weakness and prostration at the end. Maleger is mounted upon a tiger, always cruel, aggressive, violent, bloodthirsty in Spenser. He is seconded by Impatience (low resistance) and Impotence (weakness). He is of

"subtle substance and unsound". He fights with many deadly darts, against which there is no salve nor medicine. He is unrelenting, swift, evasive, always resurgent, strangely bloodless and bodiless, with the image and hue of Death about him:

Flesh without bloud, a person without spright,
Wounds without hurt, a bodie without might,
That could doe harme, yet would not harmed bee,
That could not die, yet seem'd a mortall wight,
That was most strong in most infirmitie.

5. Some have said in their haste that Spenser cannot portray character. Among many other instances they overlook Satyrane and Braggadochio. Braggadochio is not a mere personification of cowardice, but subtly embodies certain subtle observations of both Plato and Aristotle. Plato observes (*Protag.* 360) that both the coward and the foolhardy person are ignorant; and Aristotle (*Eth.* 3. 10), that "the foolhardy person may be regarded as an impostor, and as one who affects a courage that he does not possess. . . . It follows that most foolhardy people are cowards at heart; for although they exhibit a foolhardy spirit where they safely can, they refuse to face real terrors. . . . The Coward is a despondent sort of person, as being afraid of everything." Just such is Braggadochio, a craven, but truculent impostor, who struts, bluffs, and swaggers, who is frightened at the mysteries of the "wild, unknown wood", and of Archimago's strange disappearance, at the vanishing of false Florimell, at everything he cannot explain;

with dreriment
So daunted was in his despeyring mood,
That like a lifelesse corse immoveable he stood.

So far is he from a mere formula that Spenser makes him also a thief, and a libertine, at least in intention, though restrained by fear. But he is laughed to scorn as a churl, and finally proved in all respects a counterfeit (V. iii, end). In one phase or another he exhibits very humanly all of Spenser's particular moral antipathies.

Satyrane is also a very actual person. A natural son, bred in the hardships of the backwoods, a boy of courage, independence, resourcefulness, he has good instincts, among them a yearning towards a larger, more civilized world. He is unromantic, matter of fact. His first meeting with a good and beautiful woman stirs

no romantic sentiment, no idealism, but an instinctive respect. From her he learns faith and verity, or rather she awakens in him these virtues which are doubtless indigenous; and his native kindness, hitherto obscured by his rough life, is quickened into warm and active sympathy with her in her troubles. Though he mingles henceforth with men of the higher world, he keeps all his tenderness for his rough old father and the wild home of his boyhood. His simple natural qualities he retains—he is always blunt in speech, forthright in action, a man of good staying powers, an able fighter, averse to unnecessary brawl. His virtues are solid but ordinary. Utterly without idealism, he roars with laughter like a Babbitt when the Squire of Dames tells it as his experience that the only chaste woman *he* ever saw was a poor country girl; and Satyrane grins broadly at Malbecco's hopeless effort to curb the wayward roving of his young wife Hellenore. He views women with the superficial eye of *l'homme sensuel moyen*, and like most men, is unable to distinguish false Florimell from true. He loves and serves no one woman; yet he behaves himself, still retaining a sort of reverence for higher things which he cannot understand or precisely evaluate. Thus he moves on his even, ordinary, respectable, and highly useful way through the faery world, exactly as such men do in ours.

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THREE NOTES ON RANDOLPH

1

The music for the two songs in *The Fickle Shepherdess*, the alteration of Randolph's *Amyntas*, "Play'd all by Women"¹ at the theater in Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1703, was composed by John Eccles. "Fie Amaryllis cease to grieve" in Act I was sung by Mrs. Hodgson,² and can be found with the music in *A Collection*

¹ Among other plays acted entirely by women may be mentioned *Love for Love* at the Haymarket on June 25, 27, and 29, 1705, and *The Faithful Shepherd* at Dorset Garden on October 30, 1706. See *The Daily Courant*, nos. 995, 998, 1000, and 1418.

² Mrs. Hodgson was not in the cast of *The Fickle Shepherdess*, but several

of *Songs for One Two and Three Voices . . . by Mr. John Eccles* (c. 1704), 42; in *The Monthly Mask of Vocal Music* (June, 1703); in *Wit and Mirth. Or Pills To Purge Melancholy* (1707 and 1709), iv, 182-183; (1720), vi, 26-27; and in a collection of single songs preserved in the British Museum [shelf-mark: G. 316. (60)]. The words alone, without the music, are contained in *The Hive* (1732), iv, 72; *The Choice* (1733), iii, 100; and *The Aviary* (c. 1750), 162.

"Haste give me wings and let me fly," *The Mad Song*³ in Act II, was sung by Mrs. Bracegirdle, and can be found with the music in *A Collection of Songs for One Two and Three Voices . . . by Mr. John Eccles* (c. 1704), 126-127; and in a collection of single songs in the British Museum [shelf-mark: G. 316. e. (18)].

2

Information more complete and precise than that recorded by Genest⁴ concerning the performances of *The Muses' Looking-glass* at Covent Garden in 1748 and 1749 is supplied by notices in *The General Advertiser*.⁵ On Monday, March 14, 1748, a revival of *The Rovers* was followed by a number of scenes extracted from Randolph's play. The characters Colax, Aphobus, Deilus, Aneleutherus, Asotus, Orgylus, Aorgus, Nimis, Nihil, Plus, Parum, and Urania⁶ were acted respectively by Ryan, Ridout, Collins, Morgan, Gibber, Bridges, Cushing, Dunstall, Rosco, James, Bencraft, and Mrs. Bland. Urania does not appear in the original play, and Genest hazarded the guess that the part was made from that of Roscius. *The General Advertiser*, however, informs us it was made from that of Mediocrity. A mask by Lampe concluded the entertainment.

About a year later, on Thursday, March 9, 1749, *The Provok'd*

song-books specify her as the singer. She was a frequent performer at concerts in York Buildings and at the theater between the acts of plays.

³ "Mad songs" were in high favor in the seventeenth century. Mrs. Bracegirdle herself had won applause a few years earlier by her rendition of a popular "mad song" in the third part of D'Urfey's *Don Quixote* (1696).

⁴ *Some Account Of The English Stage* (1832), iv, 250-251.

⁵ Nos. 4129 and 4483.

⁶ If the list is complete, the following scenes only were presented: ii, ii and iv; iii, iii; iv, iii; and v, i and ii.

Wife was revived for Ryan's benefit and followed by the same scenes from *The Muses' Looking-glass* as before, but with the omission of the parts of Nymis, Nihil, Plus, and Parum. Three changes were made in the cast, Arthur taking the part of Anæleutherus instead of Morgan, Sparks that of Orgylus instead of Bridges, and Mrs. Ward that of Urania instead of Mrs. Bland. Ryan again acted Colax, and the performance on this occasion ended with a mask by Arne.

3

Randolph's songs and poems were occasionally reprinted in miscellanies and song-books during the course of the seventeenth century. The following list, supplementary to the notes in the editions of Parry⁷ and Thorn-Drury,⁸ may be found useful.

"Come spur away"

This was reprinted in *Deliciae Poeticae; Or, Parnassus Display'd* (1706), 86-89

"Go sordid earth and hope not to bewitch"

This was reprinted in *A Miscellaneous Collection Of Poems, Songs and Epigrams By several Hands. Publish'd by T. M. Gent.* (Dublin, 1721), II, 84-89

"Lament lament you scholars all"

This was first published in *Wit And Drollery, Jovial Poems* (1656), 68-70. In addition to the texts noted by Thorn-Drury, it appeared in *Wit and Mirth: An Antidote against Melancholy* (1682 and 1684), 58-59; and in *Wit and Mirth: Or Pills To Purge Melancholy* (1699, 1707, and 1714), I, 154-155.

"Music thou queen of souls"

This song is to be found set to music, as Thorn-Drury notes, in *Select Musickall Ayres And Dialogues* (1653), III, 30-31; and *Select Ayres And Dialogues* (1659), 108-109. But in both cases the air is ascribed to William Smegergill and not, as Thorn-Drury asserts, to Henry Lawes. A musical setting by Lawes, different from Smegergill's, is in *Ayres And Dialogues, For One, Two and Three Voyces* (1653), sigs. Dd^v-Dd². The text with Smegergill's music can also be found in *Catch that Catch can: Or The Pleasant Musickall Companion* (1667), 154-156; and *The Treasury of Musick* (1669), I, 108-109.

"My Lalage when I behold"

This is in *The Hive*, 4th ed. (1733), II, 58-59.

⁷ *The Poems And Amyntas Of Thomas Randolph*, ed. J. J. Parry, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1917.

⁸ *The Poems of Thomas Randolph*, ed. G. Thorn-Drury, London, Etchells and Macdonald, 1929.

"She which would not I would choose"

This is printed with an anonymous musical setting in *Select Ayres And Dialogues* (1669), II, 68.

"Slaves are they that heap up mountains"

This song from *Aristippus* appeared in *The Academy of Compliments* (1650 and 1663), 218, *Windsor Drollery* (1672), 125, and set to music by William Gregorie in *Catch that Catch can: Or The Pleasant Muscull Companion* (1667), 112-113; and in a collection of single songs in the British Museum [shelf-mark: H. 1994. a. (5)].

"Why sigh you swain this passion is not common"

This appeared with music by John Jenkins in *Select Ayres And Dialogues* (1669), II, 106-107.

A passage from *Aristippus* (1630), 13-14, is borrowed in *Poor Robin* (1690), sigs. C6-C6v.

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FURTHER COMMENT ON RANDOLPH'S TEXT

In *Modern Language Notes* for May, 1931, Dr. Samuel A. Tannenbaum laments the sad fate of Thomas Randolph, no one of whose editors has proved equal to the task of preparing an accurate reprint of the text. With Dr. Tannenbaum's *obiter dicta* I am not concerned, but when he makes specific criticisms these ought to be helpful. His corrections of my own text I have no means of verifying, since I do not have photostatic copies of the manuscripts; but he is probably right in a number of cases. In order to get some idea of his percentage of accuracy I have checked by the first (1638) edition a number of his corrections of Mr. Thorn-Drury's text. Dr. Tannenbaum prepares his line of retreat by remarking that Dr. Rosenbach's copy, which he used, may vary from the others; but since he lists as *errata* all of Mr. Thorn-Drury's departures from this copy (although the latter probably never saw it) it seems just as fair for me to list in the same way Dr. Tannenbaum's deviations from my copy of the same edition. Judged by this standard Dr. Tannenbaum proves to be no more infallible than the rest of us.

In the heading to the poem on p. 67 (my references are to Dr. Tannenbaum's numbering in his article) the correct reading is not *ἀπιωρος* as he says but *ἀπιωρος*. Evidently he is not acquainted with the Greek character for *στ*, but the printer used it, and if he

is going to do serious work in the field he should familiarize himself with such things. In 102.8 *pastures* is correct; the final *s* is broken in my copy but it is clearly an *s*, and Dr. Tannenbaum should be expert enough to distinguish between a broken *s* and a semicolon. In 107.22 the correct reading is *Fames*; there is no trace of an *l* or any space where one might have been. In 39.35 he is again wrong and Mr. Thorn-Drury right, for the correct reading is *deity* not *Diety*. The same is true of *Venomous* (not *Venemous*) of 110.14, *hue* (not *hewe*) of 101.16, *when as* (not *whenas*) of 19.33, and *The Ivy* (not *The, Ivy*), of 55.24. In 10.11 the correct reading is not *Joan* as he says but *Ioan*, and in 104.23 he gives *sefe* as correct, but the original has *selfe*. What the note on 79.14 may mean I do not know, but there is no need for it since *primitive*, which Mr. Thorn-Drury prints, is the reading of the quarto. While Dr. Tannenbaum is thus busy introducing errors into the text in places where it is correct, he passes over some other things that really are errors; it would, however, be unkind to list these and deprive him of the pleasure of finding them for himself.

JOHN J. PARRY

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Though advice is always welcome, I am not as grateful to Mr. Parry as I perhaps should be. I do not need his advice and—if I may judge from his letter—he is not competent to give me any.

I did not "lament" the sad fate of Thomas Randolph; I only pointed out a "curious fatality" attending the texts prepared by his modern editors.

It is kind of Mr. Parry to say that I am "probably right in a number of cases" in which he was incapable of reading the script of some of Randolph's poems. I have photostats which will convince anyone having a knowledge of the secretary script that I was right in every instance.

Mr. Parry should have had the wisdom to know that I was not preparing "a line of retreat" for myself, but was stating an important fact. That the Randolph quartos of 1638 *do* differ is proved by his collation (if his collation is correct). My fallibility is *not* proved by the fact that the Rosenbach quarto differs from Mr. Parry's quarto; if I had erred in my citations from the

Rosenbach quarto, my standard, then Mr. Parry could logically have said that I too am fallible—which I'll grant—but not as fallible as he, Hazlitt, Smith, and Thorn-Drury. As a matter of fact, having checked Mr. Parry's readings with the Rosenbach quarto (with the assistance of Mr. Nesbit and Mr. Hymes, both of the Rosenbach Company), I want to say that all my readings but one (104.23) are correct. It does not follow therefore that I am "evidently . . . not acquainted with the Greek character for $\sigma\tau$," or that I cannot distinguish a semicolon from a broken *s*. In 104.23 the reading in the Rosenbach quarto is *sefe*, not Thorn-Drury's *selve* (in my original communication *sefe* was misprinted *sefe*).

Mr. Parry's final hint that his edition (or Thorn-Drury's?) is worse than I think it, is interesting, but has no bearing on the points I wished to make: that Randolph's text has not been edited accurately and that the reviewers of books dealing with Randolph are not trustworthy guides.

SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

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If Dr. Tannenbaum's original object was to point out that copies of the 1638 edition differ from each other, he expressed himself somewhat awkwardly and I misunderstood him. The object of my reply was to raise the question whether reviewers should accuse an editor of inaccuracy if he follows faithfully the copy he has before him. Dr. Tannenbaum apparently thinks they should, but he has not given us the criteria whereby he is able to pronounce Dr. Rosenbach's quarto the authoritative one out of what must originally have been a fairly large edition.

JOHN J. PARRY

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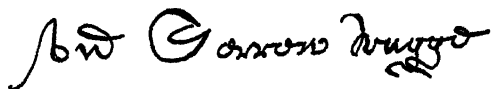
A CRUX IN *MUCH ADO* AND ITS SOLUTION

The "great crux" of *Much Ado About Nothing* is Leonato's line (v. i, 19—ed. Furness): "And sorrow, wagge, crie hem, when he should grone" (as the line stands in the Folio). No modern editor retains the original text; most editors adopt Dyce's modification of Capell's alteration ("re-composition") of the line and

read "Bid sorrow wag, cry 'hem!' when he should groan," interpreting "wag" as "be gone". Some try to retain the "And" of the Folio and to interpret "wag" as a substantive (= a merry fellow) in apposition with "sorrow"; others, also retaining "And", plead for the retention of "wag" (as a substantive) and the conversion of "sorrow" into an adjective ("sorry," "sorrowing"); and so forth. Not one of the emendations which has been proposed since the publication of the Furness *Variorum* commends itself to the present writer.

"And sorrow, wag," is clearly meaningless. The rhythm of the sentence requires the word "wag" to be construed as a verb or to be replaced by a verb which the compositor could have mistaken for "wagge". But if "wag" (or its substitute) is a verb, "And" must be replaced by a verb. Capell suggested replacing "And" by "Bid" and has been followed by many editors; but Capell offered no explanation of how the printers of the Quarto and of the Folio came to substitute "And" for Shakspeare's "Bid".

That the compositors might have misread Shakspeare's "Bid" (really "bid"—almost all Elizabethans began lines of verse with a minuscule) for "And" will be conceded when the accompanying facsimile is studied.



Shakspeare, we know, sometimes began his letters with a decorative long upstroke (see the *m* and the *W* in "me William" in his autograph on the third page of his will). A *b* with an initial vertical upstroke is identical with a capital *A* as made by some Elizabethan penmen. And if we remember that Shakspeare habitually omitted his *i*-dots (not one of the *i*'s in his extant signatures is dotted), we see how the compositor could have misread Shakspeare's "bid" as "And".

"Wag" has been objected to on various grounds: it has a smack of comicality, it is used intransitively, and so forth. To my ear "wag" is objectionable mainly because of the occurrence of the word "beard" in line 18 ("If such a one will smile and stroke his beard"); it suggests that the compositor misread the poet's word because of the suggestion inherent in the word "beard". That this word was "trudge," spelled "trugge" and written with a *u*

which was mistaken for an open *a*, I am fairly confident. Nothing is easier than to mistake a variety of Elizabethan ("secretary") *tr* for a *w* (or the reverse). In Elizabethan manuscripts (*e. g.*, in *The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom*) we often find *dg* for *gg* and *gg* for *dg*; the *New English Dictionary* records an example of "trugg'd" for "trudged" as late as 1622. Shakspeare has the word several times. I should therefore read, "Bid sorrow trudge; cry 'hem' when he should groan;". An Elizabethan audience would have felt in the expression a play on the by-word, "set thee down, sorrow!"

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A SOURCE FOR THE FIRST QUARTO OF *HENRY V*

The presence of 'Gerard and Verlon' in the First Quarto list of the French nobles slain at Agincourt, *Henry V*, iv, viii, 105,¹ where the corresponding Folio line reads 'Beaumont and Marle,' is, if there exists no source for the names, a glaring example of the Quarto's corruption. Not finding such a source, Hereward T. Price writes, in connection with his stenography theory for the Quarto: "If we could find any chronicle in which these names appear, that would indicate a possible source for the Quarto. Personally I believe that they are due to some error."²

The Brut account of Agincourt, however, includes, I find, the name *Gerard* in the very list of French dead in which *Beaumont* and *Marle* appear. For *Marle* is the sixth name on the list; *Beaumont* eighty-fourth; *Gerard* twenty-seventh here:

The Lord of Quemes,
The Lord Daunchy,
The Lord Gerard of Herbanes,
The Lord Iohn of Gres . . .³

¹ *King Henry V. Parallel Texts of the First and Third Quartos and the First Folio*, edited by Ernest Roman, in the *Shakespeare Reprints*, III (General Editor—Wilhelm Viëtor), Marburg in Hessen, 1908.

² Price, Hereward T., *The Text of Henry V*, Newcastle-under-Lyme, 1920, p. 22.

³ *The Brut* or *The Chronicles of England*, edited by Friedrich W. D. Brie, in two parts, *Early English Text Society*, 131, 136 (1906, 1908), II, 556.

And *Herbanes* may even have been misread to become *Verton*, since *H* and *V*, *b* and *t* are possible confusions in Elizabethan handwriting.

If *Gerard*, then, is correct according to *The Brut*, there arises the inevitable question as to the reason for the insertion of Gerard's name in the First Quarto edition of the play, when *Beaumont* and *Marle* are found in the Folio. *The Brut* was probably used by Caxton, Hall, Stow, and Holinshed. It is only known that the dramatist used Holinshed and *The Famous Victories of Henry V*. Did Shakespeare also know *The Brut*, and borrow a line or two from it, as he may have borrowed from Fabyan and Stow, and Hall for the same play? Which phrase did Shakespeare intend? Were the names of *Beaumont* and *Marle*, perhaps, crossed out in the manuscript, and that of *Gerard* written above? Or was the hypothetical stage-adaptor responsible for the change, or the pirate? The problem here is a perplexing one, and merits a close examination of *The Brut*, both for the light it may throw on Shakespeare's use of historical sources and his technique, and for the light it may throw on an otherwise questionable Quarto line.

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POPE'S INDEX TO BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER

As a part of the editorial apparatus of his Homer and his Shakespeare, Pope compiled elaborate indices of Characters, 'Thoughts or Sentiments', Speeches, Descriptions, Similes, and the like. Pope's folio copy of Ben Jonson possesses incomplete holograph indices as well as some 'source' attributions.¹

Among its Pope manuscripts, the British Museum contains three sheets of an incomplete index to the 1679 folio Beaumont and Fletcher.² *Fifty Comedies and Tragedies* is paged as two volumes. Pope has listed passages from thirty plays. Thirty-one entries drawn from sixteen plays appear in his index to Vol. I, and forty-seven entries from fourteen plays in the index to Vol. II.

¹ "Pope and Ben Jonson," *MLN.*, XLV (1930), 86-8.

² Eg. 1950, ff. 1-3. The pages have been improperly ordered in the binding. Leaf 1 = index to Vol. II; leaf 2, index to Vol. I (pages 3 and 4 should be reversed); leaf 3, conclusion of index to Vol. II.

Several entries call for special comment. 'Schoolmaster, his ridiculous Speech,' 'Scholarship ridiculously describ'd,' 'Scholar, contemn'd' recall Pope's lifelong aversion to the Augustan equivalents of *MLN*, *PMLA*, and notes like this. The remembrance of *Three Hours after Marriage* and the tremors of co-author on opening night must have prompted the starrng of the similitude 'There is no Poet acquainted with more shakings and quakings, towards the latter end of his new play, when he's in that case, that he stands peeping betwixt Curtains, so fearfully that a Bottle of Ale cannot be opened, but he thinks some body hisses, than I am at this instant.'³

Pope did not include the *Two Noble Kinsmen* in his edition of Shakespeare,⁴ but he comments upon it in his Preface. He has been speaking of Shakespeare's reading in the classics and the Italian *novelle*, and concludes by remarking: 'The use he has made of Chaucer in *Troilus* and *Cressida*, and in the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, if that Play be his, as there goes a Tradition it was (and indeed it has little resemblance of Fletcher,⁵ and more of our Author than some of those which have been received as genuine).'⁶ On the other hand, an entry in the MS. index, 'Madness, described in a Lovesick Maid' (A Copy, I presume, of Shakespear's Ophelia in Hamlet),' by implication assigns the play to Fletcher.⁸

For Pope, as for most English men of letters from the Restoration on, the Elizabethan theatre meant, to all intents and purposes, Shakespeare, Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher. The discovery of

³ *The Woman Hater*, Act II, Sc. 1.

⁴ Pope was the first editor to call into question the Shakespearean canon as set by the Third Folio, in which had appeared such plays as *Sir John Oldcastle* and the *Yorkshire Tragedy*. In his Preface, he adds to the defence of his omissions: 'I should conjecture of some of the others (particularly *Love's Labor Lost*, *The Winter's Tale*, and *Titus Andronicus*), that only some characters, single scenes, or perhaps a few particular passages, were of his hand' (I, xx).

⁵ Of the collaborators, Pope told Spence 'Beaumont was not concerned in above four or five plays with Fletcher.' (*Observations*, ed. Malone, 93).

⁶ *The Works of Shakespear . . . Collated and Corrected by the former Editions, By Mr. Pope* (London, 1725), I, xi.

⁷ The Jailer's daughter.

⁸ Oliphant (*The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher . . .* [1927], 327-8) quotes Pope's witness, and concludes: 'On the whole, it must be said that the evidence for Fletcher is fairly good, and that that for Shakespeare is not to be brushed aside as worthless.'

Pope's (MSS) indices prompts the conjecture that at one time Pope entertained the notion of editing Shakespeare's contemporaries as well, and that towards the accomplishment of this project he began reading and annotating, doubtless at the period during which he was engaged upon Shakespeare. The project suffered abandonment, for reasons easy to guess. Shakespeare proved onerous beyond expectation: the very meagre payment promised Pope when he accepted the commission from Lintot implies that the pains involved in any sort of adequate editing were greatly underestimated by the publisher, and, particularly by the editor. And then came Theobald with his *Shakespeare Restored*. Wincing painfully, Pope relinquished any further notion of dallying with texts; and in the *Dunciad* he paid his final respects to the 'verbal critics' who sought to elbow men of letters from concern with their predecessors.

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CAMPION, VARIANT-READINGS

Thomas Campion's well-known poem "There is a garden in her face," is, in Frederick Locker-Lampson's *Lyra Elegantiarum* (no. xxxv), ascribed to Richard Allison. The poem occurs in Allison's *An Howre's Recreation in Musicke* (1606) where no reference to an author is made. This fact may have led to the confusion. Campion, in his note to the reader prefixed to the *Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres* (1617), in which the poem later occurs, remarks that "some words are in these Bookes, which have been cloathed in Musicke by others." The version in the *Fourth Booke of Ayres* is the same as that in Allison, except for four words.¹ W. C. Bronson's *English Poems* (ii) dates the poem "about 1617"; yet, it appeared in Allison in 1606, and in Robert Jones' *Ultimum Vale* in 1608.

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¹ Which for that (i, 5), nor peer for no peer (ii, 5), attempt for approach (iii, 4)—as the poem now stands the sense requires attempt; approach may be a survival from an earlier version in which the last two lines were different—and Those for These (iii, 5). Locker-Lampson follows Alison in all these, but changes grow to blow (i, 2) and flow to grow (i, 4).

THE TEXT OF *LOVE'S LAST SHIFT*

Twenty-five years after the appearance of his first comedy, Colley Cibber published the first collected edition of his plays. During the quarter century between 1696 and 1721, he had been himself the chief support of the reformed stage, Addison and Steele had presented morality and refinement in their periodical essays, and Rowe had founded sentimental tragedy. The text of the 1721 collected *Plays* shows in the case of *Love's Last Shift* several significant changes, which represent what their author presumably regarded as improvements.

The following sentences and phrases have been omitted altogether:¹

1. . . . , if it once comes to that, I don't question but you have been familiar with me in your imagination. Marry you! What, lye in a naked bed with you! Trembling by your side like a tame lamb for sacrifice! (p. 17).²

2. . . . , for her stinking breath. (68)

3. . . . , my breath stinks, does it? (69)

4. . . . , considering how little rest you'll have to-morrow night. (72)
[They are to be married the next morning.]

5. *Young Worthy*. Nay, as for that matter, the night before a wedding is as unfit to sleep in as the night following. Imagination's a very troublesome bedfellow.—Your pardon, ladies, I only speak for myself. (72)

6. *He belches*. [Stage direction] (80)

The following changes are notable:

1. *Maidenhead* (69) becomes *maid*.

2. *Raging passion* (78) becomes *burning passion*.

3. *New-ravished in receiving what he ne'er enjoyed* (79) becomes *new-blest in receiving, etc.*

Also omitted in the 1721 edition is the scene at the beginning of Act IV (pp. 65-67). This is a "low" comedy scene having nothing to do with the main issues of the piece. In it Sir William Wisewou'd, on an evening walk, encounters two bullies, with whom he has an altercation. He is saved from a ducking in the canal

¹ I have not here noted changes which consist merely of corrections in grammar or phraseology for the sake of clearness.

² I give the pagination of the first edition, which is erroneous. Following page 50 is page 65; there are no pages 51-64.

by the timely arrival of the Worthy brothers and the two young ladies. The speeches of the bullies are rather heavily sprinkled with *dammes* and are vulgar, if not actually offensive to decency.

These excisions and emendations, made by Cibber to conform to the new taste of audiences for refinement of language, show the force which the new movement had attained since the first representation of this comedy; besides the influence of the new morality, they show also in the omission of the scene of the bullies the growing tendency towards gentility in comedy, which Goldsmith later lamented.

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LA ROCHEFOUCAULD AND CERVANTES

In his book entitled *Le Livre des Plagiats* (Paris, Arthème Fayard et Cie.) M. Georges Maurevert in discussing the plagiarisms made by La Rochefoucauld says:

Dans l'une des dernières éditions des *Maximes*, M. G. Grappe rappelle que nous sommes l'auteur de la découverte d'un des plus éhontés plagiats de La Rochefoucauld. "*Le soleil ni la mort ne se peuvent regarder fixement*," qui est tout bêtement l'exacte traduction d'une pensée de Cervantès sortie dans une de ses nouvelles: le *Petit-Fils de Sancho Pança* ou le Licencié de Verre. . . .

"On dit même—écrit Cervantès—que maint étourdi d'étudiant et souvent maint grave professeur, tira son écritoire de la poche pour coucher, par écrit, les réponses de ce fou sensé. C'est ainsi qu'elles sont arrivées jusqu'à nous."

Et Cervantès poursuit, plus loin:

". . . Voici quelques-unes de celles qu'on a recueillies de la bouche de ce fou raisonnable:

"*Il y a deux choses qu'on ne peut regarder fixement: le soleil et la mort. . .*"¹

I do not know how seriously the French take this book of M. Maurevert which, though hardly a scholarly work, has gone through many editions without anyone, to my knowledge, challenging the

¹ P. 54 of ninth edition, no date. M. Maurevert cites as his text used: Cervantes. *Nouvelles (Bibliothèque des meilleurs Romans Etrangers, librairie Hachette et Cie.)*, *Le Petit-Fils de Sancho Pança*, p. 248.

error made by the author in attributing the *maxime* of La Rochefoucauld to Cervantes. As long ago as 1892 Foulché-Delbosc discussed in detail the French translations of Cervantes' *Novelas Ejemplares*,² and placed special emphasis on the way in which the *Licenciado Vidriera* had been translated and adapted. He quotes from the preface to the translation of the *Novelas*, made by Louis Viardot in 1838, wherein the translator explains that he has omitted the *Licenciado Vidriera* because of the almost insurmountable difficulties involved in the task of making a French translation. However Viardot in his second edition, 1858, included the story with the following prefatory remarks: "Aujourd'hui, je vais prendre exemple sur Le Sage, et, m'emparant du cadre adopté par Cervantes, dont je donnerai une traduction libre et abrégée, je remplirai ce cadre par une matière nouvelle, non de mon invention toutefois, mais empruntée au même pays, à toutes ses provinces et en quelque sorte à tous ses habitants. En un mot, au lieu des intraduisibles *lazzi* que prête Cervantes au fou raisonnable de sa nouvelle, j'emprunterai les proverbes de l'Espagne, et le *Licencié Vidriera* s'appellera le *Petit-Fils de Sancho Pança*. Dans cette espèce d'habit d'Arlequin, il n'y aura de moi que la couture."³ Foulché-Delbosc follows this quotation with the words: "Il est regrettable que Viardot se soit borné à ce qu'il nomme une traduction libre et abrégée; il est encore plus fâcheux qu'il ait cru devoir remplir ce cadre par une série de proverbes qui n'ont rien à voir avec le *Licencié*."

Obviously the famous saying of La Rochefoucauld: "*Le soleil ni la mort ne se peuvent regarder fixement*" is not to be found in the *Licenciado Vidriera* nor in any other work of Cervantes.⁴

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² Cervantes. *Le Licencié Vidriera*, Nouvelle traduite en français avec une préface et des notes par R. Foulché-Delbosc. Paris, H. Welter, 1892

³ Cited by Foulché-Delbosc, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

⁴ M. Maurevert refers to other proverbs by Cervantes in his study of La Rochefoucauld; but they have all been inserted by Viardot in his adaptation of the Spanish story, and consequently render null any discussion of them as sayings plagiarized from Cervantes.

TWO MISDATED LETTERS OF GUEZ DE BALZAC

Letter I, Book XXI, pp. 808-10 of the first volume, *Oeuvres complètes* of Balzac, éd. Billaine, Paris, 1665, is addressed to Chapelain and dated Jan. 8, 1640, but in it Balzac makes the following statement (pp. 808-9):

J'ay receû, de plus, le Livre de Holstennus, & l'Amour Tyrannique¹ de Monsieur Scudery, de la lecture duquel, je vous confesse que je suis encore tout-esmeû, & tout-agité Il y a bien quelques petites choses dans cette piece que je voudrois qu'il reformast, & il pourra s'en adviser de luy-mesme; mais le reste à mon gré est incomparable; qui remue les passions d'une estrange sorte; qui m'a fait pleurer en despit de moy; qui a fait que le *Cid* & le *Scipion* ne sont plus mes delices.

Chapelain had told Balzac about the *Amour tyrannique* and asked his opinion of it in a letter² dated July 11, 1639. He again wrote to him about the play in the following terms on August 28, of the same year: "Dans cet *Amour tyrannique* il s'est surpassé soy-mesme. Mais, pour cela, il n'a pas surpassé le *Cid*, quelque défectueux que nous l'ayons trouvé."³ This last letter is obviously an answer to Balzac's. The two men wrote to each other about once a week and seldom waited more than ten days at the most to answer. Therefore, Balzac's letter, probably written about ten days before Chapelain's letter of August 28, should be dated approximately August 15, 1639, instead of Jan. 8, 1640.

Another letter of Balzac's which bears a wrong date is found on p. 109, Vol. I, *Oeuvres complètes*, addressed to the Abbé de Saint-Cyran. It is dated Jan. 12, 1626, although Balzac says in it: "Mais pour le moins, Monsieur, assurez-vous que ce n'est pas le monde que j'admire. Au contraire, je ne le regarde plus que comme celui qui m'a trompé depuis vingt-huit ans que j'y suis." Joly⁴ thinks that Balzac is intentionally making himself younger by this statement in order that his letters may seem to be a still greater literary feat, produced by a very young man. This seems rather doubtful, since by the time of the date of the letter, 1626, his letters would have gone into several editions.

¹ Published 1638. Balzac often did not hear of or comment on works until some time after they had been published.

² Chapelain, *Lettres*, I, 454, Paris, 1880, published by P. Tamizey de Larroque.

³ Chapelain, *op. cit.*, I, 493.

⁴ *Remarques sur Bayle*, p. 166, Paris, 1752.

Now M. Gustave Cohen ⁵ has proved that Balzac was born in 1595. Since it seems that there would be no reason for Balzac to falsify his age in this letter, it must have been written in 1623, twenty-eight years after his date of birth, probably in the period of disillusionment which followed his return from Italy.

These two letters are only typical of the scores of misdated ones in the folio edition of Balzac's works already cited, many of which have been corrected by Tamizey de Larroque.⁶

W. R. QUINN

THE ORIGINAL OF RAVENSCROFT'S *ANATOMIST*, AND AN ANECDOTE OF JEMMY SPILLER

With the possible exception of *The London Cuckolds*, Edward Ravenscroft's most popular play was *The Anatomist, or The Sham Doctor*.¹ First written in three acts, it received frequent performances. Later, in a condensed and altered form, it became one of the standard English farces, and as such was acted in both England and America until early in the nineteenth century. Although most of Ravenscroft's plagiarisms have been identified, the original of *The Anatomist*, so far as I know, has not been mentioned except in a casual allusion by Mr. W. J. Lawrence,² who is primarily interested in the actor Jemmy Spiller. My chief purpose is to establish Ravenscroft's source; but I shall, besides, question Mr. Lawrence on two points: (1) his identification of Jemmy Spiller as the actor praised by Riccoboni,³ and (2) his statement that the performance of *The Anatomist* seen by the Italian was of the condensed and altered version.

Robert Jennens in a letter ⁴ dated Thursday, November 19, 1696,

⁵ *Écrivains français en Hollande dans la 1^{ère} moitié du XVII^e siècle*, p. 141, Paris, Champion, 1920.

⁶ Chapelain, *op. cit.*, I. Lettres de Balzac, publiées par P. Tamizey de Larroque, Paris, 1873.

¹ Produced at Lincoln's Inn Fields c. Nov., 1696. Printed 1697.

² "A Player-Friend of Hogarth", *The Elizabethan Playhouse and Other Studies, Second Series*, p. 221.

³ *Reflexions Historiques et Critiques sur les Differens Theatres de L'Europe*, Paris, 1738. Mr. Lawrence's quotations are from an English translation, London, 1741.

⁴ Quoted by the Reverend Montague Summers in his edition of Downes's *Roscius Anglicanus*, p. 254.

writes of *The Anatomist* as "translated out of the French", but he does not give the author or title of the original. In 1738, Luigi Riccoboni⁵ has the following account:

Au théâtre de Linksinfeld je me trouvai à la représentation d'une Comédie, dont l'action principale ne m'étoit point connue, mais il me fut aisé de reconnoître un épisode que l'Auteur avoit sans doute placé dans son intrigue. C'étoit cette scène que nous avons tant vûe dans *Crispin Médecin*; le seul changement qu'on y avoit fait c'étoit d'introduire un Vieillard à la place du Valet, qui fait rire le Spectateur par ses allarmes, lorsqu' il se met à la place du cadavre que le Médecin doit disséquer. La scène étoit ainsi disposée: le Vieillard amoureux s'entretient avec un Valet de la maison de sa maîtresse, le Valet entend du bruit, ou fait semblant d'entendre, il dit au Vieillard de se cacher, & comme toutes les issues sont fermées, il lui conseille de se mettre sur la table où l'on devoit apporter le cadavre; après quelques difficultés le Vieillard y consent, & fait précisément les mêmes choses que Crispin dans la Comédie Française; mais pour donner une plus grande apparence de vérité à la supposition, le Valet fait deshabiller le Vieillard amoureux, & le met en chemise. On vient pour faire l'opération, on porte quantité d'instrumens de Chirurgie, on se met en état de disséquer le cadavre, le Vieillard crie, & la fourberie est découverte.

Je trouvai dans l'Acteur qui faisoit le Vieillard la plus parfaite exécution que l'on puisse souhaiter, & que l'on apperçoit guères dans un Comédien, s'il n'a quarante ans d'expérience d'exercice. . . Comme c'étoit un rôle de vieillard qu'il représentoit, je ne doutois nullement que ce ne fût un vieux Comédien, qui instruit par une longue expérience, & en même tems aidé par la pesanteur de l'âge, jouoit si naturellement; mais quelle fut ma surprise, lorsque j'appris que cet Acteur étoit un jeune homme de vingt-six ans tout au plus.

The following points in Riccoboni's account are notable. First, it was only an episode in the comedy seen at Lincoln's Inn Fields, which reminds him of *Crispin Médecin*.⁶ He says the main action was not at all known to him. Second, the episode differed from the original in that an old man, instead of Crispin, pretended to be a corpse. Third, it was the actor who played the old man who most impressed him, and drew a eulogy from him. Last, he was particularly surprised to find that this actor was only twenty-six years old. It may also be noticed that Riccoboni does not give the name of either the comedy or the actor.

The *Reflexions Historiques et Critiques* did not appear until almost ten years after the death of Jemmy Spiller in 1729. In

⁵ *Op cit.*, 173-7.

⁶ By Noel L. Breton, Sieur de Hauteroche. Produced at Paris, about 1674, and printed, 1680.

1761 Victor ⁷ repeats the Italian's eulogy as an anecdote connected with him. Samuel Ireland, ⁸ writing at the end of the century, evidently does the same. Genest's ⁹ account of Spiller contains this and other anecdotes given by Victor, but Genest is cautious, and in connection with one of them, he has the following rather sceptical note: "This is so good a story that one hopes it is true."

Mr. Lawrence, ¹⁰ reviewing Jemmy's career, follows Victor, Ireland, and Genest in identifying Spiller as the actor referred to by Riccoboni. He appears to be the first who adds that the performance which the Italian saw was one in which Jemmy played the part of "Crispin the Sham Doctor in the farce of *The Anatomist*—a condensed and considerably altered version of Ravenscroft's old comedy so called." Although Mr. Lawrence has noticed the connection between *The Anatomist* and *Crispin Médecin*, and is undoubtedly correct in stating that the former was the play seen by Riccoboni, he has not gone into the question. His readers are left with the impression that, as the Italian says, the two works have only an episode in common, and that the principal action of one differs from that of the other.

Such is not the case. A comparison of the two reveals that *Crispin Médecin* is the play from which *The Anatomist*, as Robert Jennens wrote in 1696, has been "translated out of the French." To be sure, Ravenscroft has taken liberties with the original. When *The Anatomist* was first performed, it was given in conjunction with P. A. Motteux's masque *The Loves of Mars and Venus*, each of the three acts of the former being followed by an act of the latter. In order to connect the two, Ravenscroft has made additions, ¹¹ so that the masque appears to be given for the entertainment of the characters of his play. He often translates so freely that he may rather be said to paraphrase. In spite of this, he follows very closely *Crispin Médecin*. With one minor exception, ¹² the characters of *The Anatomist* correspond to those in

⁷ *The History of the Theatres of London and Dublin*, II, 69-73.

⁸ *Graphic Illustrations of Hogarth*, 1794-9. This work is mentioned by Mr. Lawrence, but I have been unable to see it.

⁹ *Some Account of the English Stage*, III, 271-2.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, 221-3.

¹¹ With the exception of a scene at the beginning of the play, these occur at the end of the acts.

¹² Ravenscroft omits the Chirurgien, an unimportant character of *Crispin Médecin*.

the original, and in some cases have the same names, as, for instance, Crispin and Gerald. In Ravenscroft's first two acts the same incidents succeed each other in the same order as in the French play. The third act contains some changes, the most important of which is, curiously enough, the addition of the very episode which Riccoboni describes as recalling to him a similar one in *Crispin Médecin*.

It is not strange that the Italian should have been reminded of the French play by this scene where Old Gerald (called le Vieillard in Riccoboni's account), in order to escape discovery, pretends to be a corpse on the dissecting table. The episode bears a close resemblance to the scene in *Crispin Médecin* where Crispin pretends to be the corpse. It is strange, however, that Riccoboni should have been impressed by this scene, which has been added by Ravenscroft, and should not have noticed the one in the preceding act where the Englishman duplicates the original exactly by having Crispin on the dissecting table. Perhaps Riccoboni arrived at the theatre too late to witness the earlier episode. Perhaps, writing many years later, he remembered only what had most interested him, namely, the performance of the actor who had played the old man.

If Mr. Lawrence is correct¹³ in his statement that the rôle assumed by Jemmy Spiller was that of Crispin the Sham Doctor, it is evident that Jemmy cannot be the actor eulogized by Riccoboni. Crispin is the valet, and it is perfectly clear that the Italian was referring to the interpreter of the part of Old Gerald.¹⁴ Everything that Riccoboni recounts "le Vieillard" as doing, even to removing his clothes, is done by Old Gerald, and there can be no question that it is "le Vieillard", and not Crispin the valet, who is the subject of Riccoboni's praise. Jemmy Spiller may have been a remarkable actor, but it appears that in this case he has long been the recipient of credit due some one else. That he was the subject of other anecdotes, the reliability of which cannot be depended upon, may be seen by Genest's¹⁵ account of him. It will be recalled that Riccoboni was particularly amazed to find that the player of le Vieillard was only twenty-six. Mr. Lawrence, supposing that Jemmy's age is referred to, says that the Italian "is absurdly wide

¹³ It is reasonably certain that he is. For confirmation of this, see Genest, *op. cit.*, III, 64 and 273.

¹⁴ I have not been able to identify this actor.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, III, 271-2.

of the mark." Since it was not Jemmy, Riccoboni may very well be correct.

Because we know that the Italian's visit to London must have occurred before 1738, and since Mr. Lawrence dates it as 1727,¹⁶ it is unlikely that the performance under discussion was of "a condensed and considerably altered version of Ravenscroft's old comedy." What evidence there is seems to point to the original.

Genest¹⁷ thinks *The Anatomist* was altered about 1743, when it was given at Drury Lane on November 18, with *Venice Preserved*. Assuming that Mr. Lawrence's date of 1727¹⁸ for Riccoboni's visit is correct, we find two performances¹⁹ recorded at Lincoln's Inn Fields for that year, one on March 25 and the other on December 22, and on each occasion it is the only play mentioned. If it was the condensed version, some other play would have been on the bill. As late as 1735, *The Anatomist* was still being printed in its original form, which is not proof, but is an indication that it was being so acted. Mr. Lawrence may have been led to suppose that Riccoboni saw the condensed version, because the latter recognized only an episode and not the whole plot. But it seems likely a foreigner would be more confused by the original interspersed with acts of *The Loves of Mars and Venus*, than he would by the alteration, which is without the masque, and, though somewhat shortened, still bears a close resemblance to *Crispin Médecin*. Both versions contain the two episodes of first Crispin and then Old Gerald impersonating the corpse.

To sum up: (1) the original of Ravenscroft's *The Anatomist* is Hauteroche's *Crispin Médecin*; (2) Jemmy Spiller is not the actor, as has commonly been supposed, who is eulogized by Riccoboni; and (3) the version of *The Anatomist* which the Italian saw was probably the original and not the altered one.

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¹⁶ He disagrees with Victor and Ireland, who give 1715.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, IV, 59.

¹⁸ This is a late date. The earlier the date the more likely that my contention is correct.

¹⁹ Genest, *op. cit.*, III, 193 and 219.

REVIEWS

Milton. By E. M. W. TILLYARD. New York: Lincoln MacVeagh, 1930. Pp. viii + 396. \$5.00.

The importance of this new survey of Milton's writings is two-fold: it is fully aware of the results of recent investigation, including the work of American scholars; and it is the product of an acute critic who does not surrender his own judgment but writes with freshness and vitality on themes of importance to every student of Milton. The book is better balanced than that of M. Saurat, since it is not written to a thesis. It breaks completely with the older school of criticism beginning with Taine and extending through Pattison and Raleigh to Stoll. It is a valuable supplement to such a handbook as Hanford's since its purpose is not to give an introduction to the study of Milton but to appeal chiefly to those who are already familiar with Milton's work and are thus competent to follow the critical analysis that Mr. Tillyard supplies.

The book contains more than thirty chapters, mostly short, arranged in three parts. There are also a general Introduction, an interchapter, separating parts II and III, on Milton's beliefs, and an Epilogue on Milton today. Thus it is easy to read, cumulative in effect. Primarily it is literary criticism, not history or philosophy. Tables at the head of each chapter give the necessary dates and historical setting; so the reader is constantly aware of the chronological arrangement. There is abundant material on Milton's philosophy, but it is incidental to the main purpose. No systematic treatment of sources or of Milton's relation to his times is given, but Mr. Tillyard writes with full knowledge of these matters; his exposition is colored by his knowledge, and he gives us confidence in his judgment.

The theme of the book is Milton's mental and literary development, studied through a critical and chronological analysis of all Milton's writings. While *Paradise Lost* is the center toward which the main lines of investigation are constantly directed, there are valuable comments on individual works such as *Comus*, *Lycidas*, and the prose, and stimulating comment on *Paradise Regained*. In the appendices are brief discussions of some matters of date, interpretation, and influence in the manner of the independent investigator of specific problems. But the chief characteristic of the book is the informed literary criticism which it brings us. Mr. Tillyard has read widely in the literature of Milton scholarship, and his knowledge saves him from the imputation of mere appreciative or subjective criticism. All this, however, is subordinated to the main task—to read the works of Milton and to set down his impressions of their meaning.

With such a statement of the plan and general character of the book and the impression which it conveys of maturity of judgment and never-failing interest, both of subject-matter and style, this review might well stop. It is obviously impossible to discuss in detail, or even to give adequate summary, of the many matters that invite discussion. One might speak, for example, of Mr. Tillyard's discussion of the lost *Arthuriad* and its relations to Milton's earlier hopes for the Commonwealth. To the discussion of the prose works Mr. Tillyard brings many new points of view, and on the whole the relationship between these works and the major poetry is more clearly brought out than in any previous treatments. As to the central meanings of *Paradise Lost*, the distinction between conscious and unconscious meanings, the contention that Milton himself changed during the writing of the poem, the distinction between the reforming energy of the pamphlets which was carried over into the first books of the epic only to be succeeded by the pessimism checked by the courage of resistance that gathers force during the second half of the period of writing—these are matters of interest and importance. Different readers will of course have different impressions of the value of separate chapters. It is proof of the vitality of the book that this should be so. Every student of Milton will find in the book material of special appeal, whether of agreement or dissent, and on topics apart from his specialty he will be informed. The book suggests to a quite unusual degree things which one would like to ponder, or topics for further research.

In his Epilogue, Mr. Tillyard suggests some reasons why Milton may not retain his preëminence among the English poets. His stress on reason made his place secure in the eighteenth century; his belief in qualified perfectibility and in regeneration through action made him acceptable to the Romantics. But the feeling that his ideas are outworn, coupled with the growing popularity of the Metaphysicals, may render him less acceptable to our present thought. But Mr. Tillyard gives good reasons why we need Milton today and a good account of the relation between his innermost thought and the requirements of our times, while in his Introduction he tells us his conviction that there is room for "several more attempts to find out with what *Paradise Lost* as a whole is most truly concerned." There is such room, and the books will be written. Moreover, these books, like Mr. Tillyard's, will dissociate the tendency of a certain school of critics, professional in approach, to try Milton by contemporary standards, from that truer relation of his thought to life which is independent of literary fashion. Meanwhile, his book constitutes for students of Milton today a signal example of the present state of Milton scholarship united, as I have said, with a literary criticism that is both penetrating and a stimulus to thought.

EDWIN GREENIAW

The Province of Literary History. By EDWIN GREENLAW. (The Johns Hopkins Monographs in Literary History I.) Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1931. Pp. xi + 183. \$1.75.

The Nature of Poetic Literature. By LOUIS PETER DE VRIES. University of Washington Publications in Language and Literature. Vol. 7. November, 1930. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1930. Pp. ix + 248. \$1.50.

Poetry and the Criticism of Life. By H. W. GARROD. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931. Pp. x + 168. \$2.00.

Literary Studies. By AMARANATHA JHA. Allahabad: Indian Press, 1930. Pp. 238.

Enfin Malherbe! Amidst the confused controversy over the supposedly shallow quality of American literary scholarship, Mr. Greenlaw has said the right thing. Denying that it is the primary business of the scholar to be a moralist, a reformer, or a neo-classical critic, he has, in the first chapter of his monograph, vigorously insisted that scholarship is a learning—a department of cultural history with a prescriptive right to draw upon any pertinent field of knowledge. While sensitive souls may not always approve the vigor of Mr. Greenlaw's language in condemning his contemners, I do not see how any real scholar can fail to applaud this skillful disentangling of the true claims of scholarship from the multitude of false charges brought against it.

The second chapter he devotes to a study of the historic relations between literature and life contemporary with it as these relations have been determined by theories of art. In itself a valuable contribution to renaissance and eighteenth-century literary history, this section discusses the vexed question how far the literature of a given epoch is a transcript of the life of that epoch. Mr. Greenlaw shows that the true founder of literary history was Bacon, but that, because of the concept of poetry (literature) as philosophy teaching by example, Bacon's demand for cultural history was not immediately fulfilled. Mr. Greenlaw's conclusions are that a transcript of life in literature is not "realism," that it is not something confined to the poet's actual experience but must also include his literary sources, and that genius remains among the imponderables. In a sense these conclusions are both negative and commonplace, but in view of the attempts to read pathology into *Paradise Lost* and political cunning into Shakespeare, it is well to be reminded of fundamentals.

While I am for the most part in hearty agreement with Mr. Greenlaw in this chapter, I feel that in drawing so many illustra-

tions from Renaissance and post-Renaissance literature, he has over-simplified a complex problem. One need not fall into the errors of Taine or of writers contributing to *The Modern Quarterly* to observe that if literature expresses the aspirations as well as the actualities of an age (and I used this term to indicate my agreement that a transcript of life in literature is not realism), both the aspiration and the imitative actuality in turn affect the epoch. In American history, for example, the repetition by early voyagers of descriptions of the New World in terms of its exhaustless resources has undoubtedly affected American culture and literature. There are, in other words, types of problems in literary history which Mr. Greenlaw does not have opportunity to discuss, for his concern is with literary men and works rather than with literature as a cultural force. But literature as a cultural, and even as a social, force is an essential part of literary history and offers opportunity for profitable synthesis.

The third chapter ("Fundamental Problems") seems to me less satisfactory for two reasons. It lacks the clear and admirable organization of the preceding discussions. And in the next place, Mr. Greenlaw concedes too much to the opposition. For example, he writes:

. . . there are two avenues of approach to major poetry. One is to see in the masterpieces of the past, especially in the classics, evidence of what are called the immutable laws of literature and of the timeless and changeless character of the human spirit.

Mr. Greenlaw calls this "the method of literary criticism" and seems to posit it as the opposite, or complement, of "the peculiar province of literary history." But to indulge in phrases like "the immutable laws of literature" and "the timeless and changeless character of the human spirit" is to begin the whole weary debate all over. What is meant by "the immutable laws of literature?" What is meant by "the timeless and changeless character of the human spirit?" And why should Mr. Greenlaw write that "by the first method of approach, the *Divine Comedy* is a great work of art to be studied without regard to the time in which it was produced" (my italics) when, even to the neo-classicist (for example, Voltaire) the most striking fact about the *Divine Comedy* is the time in which it was produced, and the most striking error in neo-classic comment on Dante, the misunderstanding of that time? Mr. Greenlaw tells us that "there is no possible connection between material progress and the progress of spiritual insight" in adducing argument for this interpretation of criticism. This is hardly true. Let the reader reflect on the "spiritual insight" of an Australian bushman, and then on the relative material comfort of John Milton. But when Mr. Greenlaw further tells us that we must, of course, understand the "language" of such a classic ("language" including "beliefs, institutions, conditions of life, intel-

lectual inheritance, and all that is most truly the outgrowth of the period to which the work belongs"), he in effect contradicts what he has seemed to say about fixed and immutable laws and timeless and changeless character; the wheel has revolved once more, and we see that in his anxiety to be fair to the neo-classicists, Mr. Greenlaw has indulged in a confusion of language so unusual with him as to lead me to wonder whether I have understood him aright. There is, quite clearly, no such dramatic distinction between these two methods of studying literature as Mr. Greenlaw's language seems to imply; and what Mr. Greenlaw really means, I take it, is that literary criticism is, in this sense, a function of a relation between two temporal factors—the critic and his time, and the literary work and its time; the epoch of the critic and the epoch of the work each having its particular compound of inherited convention, taste, prejudice, and radicalism, so that between the two there is seldom more than a rough sort of approximation. And so it is that a Voltaire, who has read and revered Virgil, condemns a Dante, who has also read and revered Virgil; and the fixed and immutable laws of literature in such a case are found to involve us quite as much in a problem of literary scholarship as they do in a problem of literary criticism. It would be presumptuous in me to seem to instruct Mr. Greenlaw, and it is quite possible I have misunderstood him; and yet I feel that the one weakness of his admirable book is that it is too intimately bound up with problems of Renaissance scholarship, despite the author's happy excursions into other fields.

The problem of scholarship and criticism is further illustrated by the three remaining books listed above. The volume by Mr. Jha we may dismiss as a farrago of that superficial literary chatter which too often takes the place of both. But Mr. Garrod's lectures must give us longer consideration. They represent the urbane manner characteristic of cultivated British literary men; nor should their apparent simplicity deceive the reader into thinking that they do not spring from genuine scholarship. But with all his delightful, and occasionally shrewd, comment on Arnold, on Clough, on Emerson, on Robert Bridges, Mr. Garrod leaves us doubtful as to precisely what relation does exist between poetry and the criticism of life. Discussing critical methods, he says: "I like all these methods; and there are others, and I like to mix them." This eclecticism is honorable testimony to lack of prejudice, but I confess it leaves me very much in the air, and I put down the volume with a sense that it lacks the weight and authority which better scholarship would have given it.

Mr. de Vries's study is heavier matter. In fact, its 246 pages are written with that dull, conscientious redundancy which is among the peccant humors of scholarship. The author's intention is to relate the process of poetic creation to modern theories of

psychology and aesthetics; and the book comes to us with the approbation of Dr. Herbert E. Cory and Professor Padelford, to whom Mr. de Vries expresses deep indebtedness. Once again, I am compelled to wonder whether I have not misunderstood an author; for, stripped of much verbiage and technological language, we learn that the poet is so endowed as to have deep sympathy with what he describes (the doctrine of empathy); that the method of poetry is to make emotional associations, often among unlike things, that a great poet differs from a minor poet by the greater vitality of his responses to the external world, that his emotional response "is more subtle, more refined, more delicate than that of the common man," that he uses words which arouse both imagery and emotional experience in his reader, that his vocabulary tends to the concrete, and is rhythmic and musical, that poetry is opposed to science rather than to prose, with more of the same order. This rapid summary of Mr. de Vries' various chapters is, in a sense, unfair, and yet, so far as the essential is concerned, a rough approximation of his doctrine. If contemporary psychology and contemporary aesthetics thus confirm what are relative commonplaces among literary scholars who, on their own lines, long ago reached very similar conclusions, we may at least comfort ourselves with the reflection that we have been talking very good aesthetics and psychology all our lives. The most philosophical part of Mr. de Vries' book seems to be the last two chapters, discussing "Poetry and Life" and "The Value of Poetry," but it is just here, unfortunately, that conditions of space have prevented full treatment. I most desperately want to be just to Mr. de Vries, and I have read his book twice in that endeavor, but beyond confirming many truths to be found in other books on the nature of poetry, I am still not clear that he has added much to our knowledge of the mechanism of poetic creation as this is understood by scholars in literature.

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Toward Standards: A Study of the Present Critical Movement in American Letters. By NORMAN FOERSTER. New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1930. Pp. xiv + 224. \$2.50.

Professor Foerster's book is the latest tract in the Humanistic Movement. Messrs. Babbitt, More, and Eliot are frequently mentioned in his pages; in a note he calls the roll of the right-thinkers, as Mr. More did in his essay on contemporary American literature (the list is now a good deal larger); and he does not hesitate to use the first person plural in speaking of the sect. In a note at the end, it is true, Mr. Foerster attempts to deal, in the spirit of a

"mere or pure" humanist, with the Anglo-Catholicism of Mr. Eliot, which certainly threatens to introduce a rift into the brittle substance of humanistic theory. But this only serves to make more apparent his sound orthodoxy in the doctrines of Mr. Babbitt; and the individual quality of his work is determined, first, by his admiration of the method and style of Matthew Arnold, and, secondly, by his constant use of the term '*critical* humanist' to define his own position. For this term not only describes a general characteristic of the humanists' attitude toward their world; it may also be taken as an allusion to the fact that Mr. Foerster is a student of literary criticism, and goes a-hunting, not for poets or artists or scientists, but for the literary critics by whom the errors of the modern western world are more clearly expressed and professed.

It is true he has his flings at Wordsworth, dismisses with more than critical disdain

What Shelley shrilled, what Blake once wildly muttered;

and quotes Whitman frequently as the arch-heretic of Americanism. Still the main objects of his attack are critics: Taine, Renan, France, Pater, and, in America, Randolph Bourne, Van Wyck Brooks, and Lewis Mumford; and it will interest readers of *Modern Language Notes* to know that he discusses the famous revolt against Germanized graduate study in America, and points his doctrines by references to presidential addresses of the M. L. A. and similar bodies.

It is now abundantly clear that what the humanists profess is a determined dualism. The whole "program of the Occident since the seventeenth century" (to use Mr. Foerster's phrase) has been the study and enjoyment of nature—'naturism,' in a word—; so that the modern man scarcely conceives of any truth that is not according to her gospel. Hence, of course, our devotion to science; but hence, also, romanticism and impressionism in the arts; and hence, in criticism, the acceptance of *all* experience as material of art. But the humanist, whether courageously or blindly, challenges all these prejudices and prepossessions. Mankind, he insists, will never find a saving truth in nature; let him strive never so hard, he will never emerge by his present route at any goal; at each laborious step he sinks deeper into the quicksand of barbarism. His salvation consists in his recognition of the duality of the world: "one law for nature, another for man." At each new manifesto of the school we look for some softening, some resolution of this dichotomy. But each one makes it harder and sharper; and Mr. Foerster makes it sharpest of all, especially in a paragraph in which he dares to speak of nature as "external," and contemptuously of her ways to man. Having reached this point we think that we must be committed to the acceptance of revealed religion or some

mysticism as the solution; but Mr. Foerster stands at the opening of that road with raised hand against us, saying "Not that way." There is no way, it seems, except to go Greek.

It would be impossible in a short notice to argue the matter. But the reader of these pages cannot but say to himself that if 'naturism' were to be canceled out of our thought now by some grand decree, we should have to begin again exactly where the seventeenth century began, and proceed in the next three centuries exactly as the last three centuries did. Meanwhile we are too deeply committed; we shall have to push on to the place we are going to—whatever it is—by the same hard road that we have traveled hitherto.

MORRIS W. CROLL

Princeton University

The Latin Poems of John Milton, edited with an Introduction, an English Translation and Notes. By WALTER MACKELLAR. Published for Cornell University. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930. Pp. 382. \$2.00.

The problem of making a full scale reference edition of Milton's works will probably be met, if it is to be met at all, only by a vigorous continuation of the policy represented by this volume and its several predecessors in the Yale and Cornell Studies in English. We have now Hale's *Of Reformation* (Yale), Clark's *Ready and Easy Way* (Yale), Ainsworth's *Of Education* (Cornell), and the present edition of the *Latin Poems*. All of these works were or grew out of doctoral dissertations. The publication, in each case, must have been heavily subsidized. It is not a serious objection that they contain much material that can be found in Masson and other easily accessible sources, or that they represent no such acute and mature scholarship as that which has gone into the making of the Columbia text, now in process of publication. Their purpose is to supply all the relevant introductory and explanatory matter in convenient association with the individual work, and this purpose is a highly useful one which could not easily be carried out except by using the energies of successive generations of graduate students and the funds available for the publication of their dissertations. The work proceeds slowly and should be aided by the activity of other graduate schools where competent direction and adequate library facilities exist. The volumes listed above are satisfactory models, except perhaps Ainsworth's, which includes too much. The reviewer would suggest as a next step the editing of the Familiar Letters.

MacKellar's work stands up fairly well with the others. The in-

troductory material consists of a useful brief account of the important but neglected subject of neo-Latin poetry, giving Milton's work its proper perspective, and of specific discussions of the individual poems, in which the latest scholarly information regarding date, sources, biographical and literary significance is justly and skilfully presented. The notes are very full.

It is not to be expected that so difficult and extended a task should have been executed without fault. In the account of the Renaissance tradition of Latin verse we miss a treatment of Milton's immediate English predecessors and contemporaries, Crashaw, the Fletchers, etc., and we might, perhaps, have expected more light on some of the problems connected with Milton's poems themselves. The philosophical piece, *De Idea Platonica*, for example, offered a particularly good opportunity for investigation. It should, in the first place, be associated with the other early evidences of Milton's Platonism, and the conception of the architypal man should be referred, not to Plato directly, for he does not have it, but to the Kabalah (see A. E. Waite, *The Doctrine and Literature of the Kabalah*, p. 51), and to Hermes Trismegistus (see *Poemandres* I, 12 ff.), whom Milton mentions in the poem itself. It is not, perhaps, Mr. MacKellar's fault that the puzzle of Milton's misdating of several of the poems remains unsolved, but he is certainly too credulous in assuming, with Masson, that the poet could actually have interpreted the Latin phrase *anno aetatis* as meaning "at the age of." We cannot follow him, moreover, in attaching the apologetic epigram *Haec ego mente olim laeva* to the seventh elegy alone. It applies equally well to the first and fifth and is, like Elegy VI, a declaration that the Ovidian mood is with Milton a thing of the past.

MacKellar's translations, though they are independent, unpretentious and in general faithful, need to be carefully checked. The reviewer notes for example in Elegy I, line 27, the rendering of *sinuosi theatri* as "winding theater," which is meaningless. It refers either to the sweeping tragic robe, as Moody supposed, or to the concave rotundity of the auditorium. In line 49 of the same poem, *Nos quoque lucus habet vicina consitus ulmo*, MacKellar is certainly wrong in saying, "I visit, too, the neighboring grove." *Vicina* is an ablative and goes with *ulmo*. Finally, the rendering "I am forced to live half my life without him," for *Dimidio vitae vivere cogor ego* (Elegy IV, verse 20), is crudely misleading, though this may be due rather to carelessness of English expression than to false understanding of the Latin. All these passages are correctly translated by Nelson G. McCrea in *The Student's Milton* (Ed. Frank A. Patterson, New York, Crofts, 1930). Though the reviewer has made no extensive comparison of these two recent prose versions, he is confident that the latter, done by a classical expert, will prove more trustworthy throughout. There remains, however,

enough first rate work in Mr. MacKellar's volume to make us duly grateful for the conscientious labor which has gone into its preparation.

JAMES HOLLY HANFORD

Western Reserve University

Milton's Rabbinical Readings. By HARRIS F. FLETCHER. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1930. Pp. 344. \$7.50.

The old school of Milton critics in the attempt to account for the embellishments with which Milton adorned and expanded the brief story of the fall of man as found in Genesis usually contented themselves with attributing all that they found no precedent for in the Bible, or the Apocrypha, or in the Greek and Latin classics, to the work of Milton's creative imagination. In more recent years, however, certain Milton scholars, equipped for such an investigation with a knowledge of Hebrew and related dialects, have discovered that Milton's expansions of biblical material may have had their source in the great body of medieval Jewish writings. They have found parallels to all the important Miltonic expansions of biblical material in the Pseudepigrapha, works falsely attributed to biblical characters; in the Midrashim, exegetical treatises on the Old Testament, particularly the haggadic Midrashim of the period between the third and the fifth centuries A. D., in the great collection of Jewish legends and commentary such as the *Pseudo-Josephus*; the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*; the *Guide to the Perplexed* of Moses ben Maimon; in the cabbalistic *Zohar* or *Book of Splendors*; and in the *Talmud*.

Three of these authorities—Maimonides' *Guide to the Perplexed*, the *Pseudo-Josephus*, and the Babylonian *Talmud*—Milton's own statements in his prose works prove he had read either wholly or in part; and the others are known to have been accessible to him. Nor is his ability to read any or all of them questionable. Milton's Semitic equipment, while not scholarly, was entirely adequate. We know that he taught in his private school Hebrew and the dialects Syriac and Aramaic, and that his lips were not, in his own phrase, "uncircumcised."

The recent work of Milton scholars, while throwing a flood of light on Milton's relations to non-biblical Semitic literature, has nevertheless left the main problem unsolved—the designation of the exact source of Milton's borrowings. To this problem Professor Fletcher provides in this volume a reasonable solution. This he finds in the famous Buxtorf Rabbinical Bible, published at Basel in 1618-19, containing the Aramaic Targums, marginal variants, and various rabbinic commentaries. The latter could have been,

and very probably were, the sources of many of Milton's expansions of the biblical material. The number of these parallels instanced by Professor Fletcher is distinctly impressive.

Even more important, however, than these probable identifications of Milton's sources in particular instances is the effect the book will undoubtedly have in directing the attention of other scholars to a phase of Milton study hitherto either ignored or mistakenly approached. The problem of the extra-Semitic influences upon Milton needed to be approached as Professor Fletcher has attacked it, by connecting Milton with definite rabbinical works. Quite long enough have Milton scholars amused themselves by collecting parallels between Milton's Epic and this or that piece of non-canonical Jewish writing. Fascinating as such research was, it remained as inconclusive, and almost as profitless, as the theological discussions of Milton's own fallen angels. Fallacious indeed was the hope of establishing by means of the mere accumulation of parallels Milton's connection with any particular work, because of the persistent rabbinic habit of repetition. The same legend appears again and again in different authors. A case in point is Milton's use of the tradition, common in rabbinical writings, that Satan's seduction of Eve was due to lust (*PL.*, iv, 497-508, ix, 263-264). Precedents for this motivation Milton might have found in Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews*, in the pseudographic *Apocalypse of Moses*, in Maimonides' *Guide to the Perplexed*, in the Babylonian *Talmud*, or in the midrash *Bereshith Rabba*. No one can be sure in such a case which was the source of Milton's acquaintance with this particular gloss. One guess is about as good as another till Professor Fletcher points out that Milton could have found this tradition, together with many others that he used, ready to his hand in Rashi's commentary on the Genesis story which was part of the Buxtorf Bible. The volume is unquestionably a notable contribution to modern Milton scholarship.

EDWARD CHAUNCEY BALDWIN

University of Illinois

The Use of the Bible in Milton's Prose. By HARRIS FRANCIS FLETCHER. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1929. Pp. 176. \$1.50. (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, xiv, 3.)

With this systematic and exhaustive analysis of the use of the Bible in Milton's prose, Professor Fletcher renders a valuable service to Milton scholarship. A definitive study of the character and extent of the poet's use of Scripture has long been needed, but its

appearance has had to wait upon an investigator who is directly and intimately acquainted with the Hebrew materials—the Hebrew Bible, its Aramaic paraphrases, its textual apparatus, and a host of lexicological and exegetical matters—which are inextricably interwoven with every phase of such an investigation. The author has in several previous studies demonstrated his mastery of Milton's Hebrew sources. In the present investigation he gives further proof of his unique position among contemporary expositors of the poet.

The purpose of the examination of Milton's prose is to determine scientifically the basic general truths, too long guessed at or misapprehended, about his knowledge and use of the Bible. These truths apply to his poetry as well as to his prose, but the latter becomes the subject of investigation because it contains an immense number of exact chapter and verse citations and carefully indicated quotations, both lacking in the poetry. From an analysis of these references—some 7500 of them—based upon seventy pages of tabulation and concordance, Mr. Fletcher definitely establishes many significant facts about Milton's use of Scripture. An enumeration of a few of these must suffice: (1) Milton was qualified to use virtually all the scholarly apparatus of his day, such as the Aramaic *Targumim* and the Septuagint for the Old Testament, and the Greek and the Syriac for the New; (2) he was sufficiently familiar with the problems of textual criticism to compare variant readings from various manuscripts and versions; (3) he regarded the Hebrew as the only authentic text for the Old Testament and the Greek for the New, and the Authorized Version as the best English and the Tremellius-Junius as the best Latin translation; (4) he based upon the Authorized Version the vast majority of his English quotations agreeing with a recognizable English text, and all but a few of his Latin quotations agreeing with a determinable version upon an annotated folio edition of the Tremellius-Junius text (which included Beza's Latin translation of the New Testament); (5) he translated directly from the Hebrew when dissatisfied with either of his favorite versions, and from Beza's Greek text of the New Testament when dissatisfied with the Authorized Version or with Beza's Latin translation; (6) he was considerably more exact in quoting after his blindness than before. There is much more of interest here, such as the causes and forms of his variants—the clipped quotations, the marginal readings, and the shortening of quotations by changes in phrasing. Finally, the detailed evidence of Milton's intimate acquaintance with *Tenach*, the Aramaic *Targumim*, and many forms of commentary and critical apparatus, lays the foundation for the author's proof in his more recent *Milton's Rabbinical Readings* that the poet used the rabbinical glosses of Rashi, David Kimchi, Ben Gerson and other exegetes in the composition of *Paradise Lost*.

Except for minor details, Mr. Fletcher's case seems flawless. An inadequate exposition of the tables on Milton's use of the Bible before and after his blindness, or else some inconsequential inconsistencies between the exposition and the tabulation; the failure, in comparing passages, to italicize differences and similarities; occasional repetitiousness and verbosity—these are the most serious faults. As a demonstration of the poet's accuracy in composition, his scrupulous adherence to authentic sources, and his amazing erudition, this study must win a secure place among the important contemporary contributions to Milton scholarship.

ISRAEL BAROWAY

New York University

Reference Guide to Milton from 1800 to the Present Day. By DAVID HARRISON STEVENS. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930. Pp. x + 302. \$5.00.

This work is the most exhaustive attempt ever made to compile a Milton bibliography. It contains about twenty-six or twenty-seven hundred different items: editions of Milton's works, books about him or his works, articles, and references of more than passing interest concerning either or both. These items are arranged in nineteen specified classifications, the largest of which is the fourteenth, labelled "General Criticism." This group alone contains about eight hundred items, and, like all the others, is arranged chronologically throughout, although there is no outward sign of such arrangement. Anyone, regardless of his degree of acquaintance with Miltonic scholarship, will as he turns these pages find most of his old friends and many new ones. One very striking result of the perusal of this particular classification is the impression that much if not all of the more recent work on Milton is but repetition of that done sometimes as long as a century ago. Certainly one very salutary effect of this book should be to make it much more nearly impossible in the future for a writer to exploit ideas or material that have already been adequately dealt with in the past. Other classifications list the various editions of the works, both prose and poetry. Mr. Stevens has been untiring in seeking out the many editions of the nineteenth century and of the early twentieth. His list of them is in itself a measure of Milton's popularity within that period. Hundreds of editions—in England, in America, and on the continent of Europe—testify to the persistent desire to read the poetry, especially *Paradise Lost*. For the prose, while the number of complete editions is not large, the number listed, nine, is surprising. Still other classifications are concerned with tributes and ascribed works, editors, metrics, epic treatments, and Milton's influence.

As one begins to use this book, it seems as though it must contain at least a mention of everything that could possibly be included—and so it does within certain limits. It contains every title listed under "Milton" in the catalogue of the British Museum. Equally exhaustive is the listing of articles from periodicals, these being for the most part the standard literary and "learned" journals. To these may be added a number of other periodicals in which Miltonic material appeared much less frequently. For the periodicals scanned, little that would appear under "Milton" in their indexes has been omitted. One can rely on this book for British Museum titles, for standard literary and "learned" periodicals, and for certain others, so long as the items have an obvious connection with Milton.

In short, the great bulk of the work Mr. Stevens has done is so eminently good, that it seems a pity that the remainder could not have been of the same high standard of excellence. So far as the matter of inclusiveness is concerned, a simple statement to the effect that "the list is as exhaustive as I could make it within the time and means at my disposal" would have made the book completely immune from criticism on that score. Indeed, I am sure that is what Mr. Stevens meant to say. No one who has worked with the large number of items that he has would tacitly or openly admit that there was as yet any limit to the task of gathering them all. Certainly it is possible to add items to every one of his classifications; but there is, it seems to me, little point in more than admitting this. Why not, as omissions are discovered, add them to this list, at the same time giving thanks to Mr. Stevens for having done as much as he has? His list of "Tributes" especially suffers in this respect; but it is the most difficult of all to complete.

Other faults are due to the classification. This is a difficult problem always in bibliography, and must have been to the compiler of this list. It would have been better perhaps to have made the arrangement of all the items rest wholly on chronology. In that way, even a vague idea of the date of an item would have located it with a little searching. As it is, one must often seek through every classification before being able to determine whether a particular item is included or not. Then too the classifications get in each other's way. To discover that the great standard biography is located not under "Biography" but under "General Criticism" causes some misgivings. These increase with use of the book. All of the classifications after the listing of the texts cause trouble. It is difficult to find a critical article concerning a particular poem, for such an item may be listed immediately after the editions of that poem, or it may be listed under "General Criticism." Like most classifications, when confronted with large numbers, this one breaks down. Nor is the index sufficiently reliable to remedy this difficulty, as it might well have been.

Typographical errors, though relatively frequent, are almost entirely inconsequential, consisting usually of misspellings, frequently pied type, of no real importance. In no case have these particularly inconvenienced me.

I am reasonably certain that no one has used the book to the extent I have in the short time since it appeared, and I have here tried to point out in what ways the work will bear up under the most rigorous usage, and in what ways it will not. No tool has ever come to hand that has furnished me with so much genuine assistance and suggestion as has this book in connection with all phases of the study of Milton. There can be no doubt whatever of the debt all present and future students of Milton owe Mr. Stevens for this invaluable pioneering in the production of an adequate Milton bibliography.

HARRIS FLETCHER

University of Illinois

Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess of Conway, Henry More, and their Friends, 1642-1684; Collected from Manuscript Sources and Edited with a Biographical Account. By MARJORIE HOPE NICOLSON. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930. Pp. xxvii + 517. \$6.00.

This volume presents two hundred and eighty-seven letters from manuscript collections in libraries at Cambridge, Oxford, and London. Aside from one or two fragments, none has ever before been published. Miss Nicolson has edited them with a rare combination of two valuable qualities, meticulous scholarship and eager enthusiasm for her subject. Not only are the letters themselves full of fascinating side-lights on manners, religion, science, and philosophy in seventeenth-century England, but also Miss Nicolson's introductions to the successive batches relate them to the currents of thought that were surging through England in that troubled and creative period.

Miss Nicolson centers her study upon Lady Anne Conway, a woman of brilliant mind, who won the admiration and affection of Henry More and captivated many another man of intellectual powers. But her book is more than a biography of the central figure. She was fortunate to find gathered around Lady Conway a group of considerable interest,—the shrewd and kindly second Viscount Conway, who wrote his daughter-in-law charming letters for her intellectual and moral guidance; the stolid and worldly third Viscount, whose affairs frequently took him far from his ailing wife; Sir John Finch, who lived abroad in study and diplomatic service and wrote home to his sister a series of letters

that indicate how long the spirit of the Renaissance lingered among certain English gentlemen, Henry More himself, versatile, profound, at times amazingly superstitious, stimulating pupils and friends with interest in Descartes and in theological speculations; Valentine Greatrakes, half physician and half charlatan, part mental-healer and part imposter, who is reported to have cured many patients by the laying on of hands and gained an extensive reputation as miracle-worker; Francis Mercury van Helmont, itinerant adventurer, cabalist, experimenter in physics and practitioner of sympathetic magic, who probably did more to soothe the mind than to cure the disease of his patient, Lady Conway; William Penn, George Keith, Robert Barclay, and other leaders of the Quaker movement, who won Lady Conway to their faith, and through her persuaded Henry More to take a more tolerant view of their cause, and through him began to obtain a fairer hearing among the educated classes of England.

The *Conway Letters* give many important clues to the student of seventeenth-century thought. They do much to show how the philosophy of Descartes came over into England and became a force in the new intellectual developments that centered at Cambridge, how Copernicus was regarded by an educated Englishman, how medicine was practiced in close connection with both magic and experimental work. They disclose how Henry More turned to Biblical criticism as a means of so correcting orthodoxy as to save Christianity from the attacks of the "atheists." They reveal the ascetic and stoic and unworldly elements in the temper of More, the fear that More shared with the Cambridge Platonists of the "mechanical" elements in Cartesianism, the transformation of Descartes's doctrine of the soul into a belief in spirits and ghosts and spectres of the unavenged dead. But Miss Nicolson has eliminated from the *Conway Letters* the bulk of the more technical discussion of philosophical problems that were of such vital concern to the thinkers of the decades just before Locke. She has presented enough, however, to arouse our expectations for that further treatment of Henry More which she promises later to offer us. And she has handled her material so ably as to lead us to expect further important light on the period which she has already done much to illuminate.

STERLING P. LAMPRECHT

Amherst College

The English Bible as Literature. By CHARLES ALLEN DINSMORE. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1931. Pp. xii + 332. \$2.00.

In several respects Dr. Dinsmore's work is superior to other discussions of the Bible for the general reader. In the first place,

considering the question how so small a country and so unfortunate a nation could have produced the greatest book in the world, his method of answering differs from the usual one. Instead of attempting a summary of Palestinian geography and Hebrew history, he shows by a series of contrasts with other ancient peoples how the Hebrews came to be what they were. His study of the literary qualities of the Hebrew mind, its intuitive and imaginative tendencies, its unique capacity for "visualized emotions," is a distinct contribution to the subject.

Again, the author is not so much concerned as earlier writers in this field with the mere technical questions of classifying biblical literature into types and sub-types. He gives sufficient definitions of myth, legend, prophecy, apocalypse, and so on, but he does not emphasize distinctions of form as such. His concern is that the reader should be led to appreciate, beneath the diversity of types, the pervading presence of the religious genius. There is enough information in the volume about the documentary sources of the Pentateuch, the dates of the prophets, the interpolations in Job, to serve for any general study of the Bible as literature, but the information is not obtruded or formally phrased. In order to make the book available for textbook use, the author has provided in an appendix select bibliographies and suggestive questions on each chapter; but the body of the work has no textbook flavor, and will be widely popular among general readers.

Comparison of biblical literature with the sacred books of other nations and with the greatest modern literature is one of the valuable features of the discussion. The fifth century final redactor of the Pentateuch is compared with his contemporary Herodotus. The sixth century Second Isaiah is contrasted with his contemporaries Buddha and Confucius. Psalm 104 is set over against Ikhnaton's hymn to the sun, the noblest expression of Egyptian monotheism. On the other hand, we have parallels between Shakespeare and the psalmist, between Job and Aeschylus, between the proverbs of Ptah-hotep and those of the sages of Israel. By no means in all cases is the comparison to the disadvantage of the secular author. Dr. Dinsmore rightly regards the Bible as of uneven literary quality, and distinguishes between its great and its mediocre authors. For the study of comparative literature his profuse citation of parallel passages will be useful.

A novel feature is that after the chapter on the Gospels there is a separate chapter on "The Sayings of Jesus as Literature." Assuming that most of the sayings attributed to Jesus in the first three Gospels go back to an early apostolic tradition, he examines these aphorisms and parables as the work of the greatest poet of the world, who wrote but once, and then on the sand.

An admirable style, abounding in vigorous epigrams and striking

antitheses, adds charm to this latest work of an honored Dante scholar who rounds out a distinguished career by guiding the indifferent and the condescending back to the book of books.

The University of Rochester

JOHN R. SLATER

Die englische Biographik der Tudor-Zeit. Von MARIE SCHÜTT. Hamburg: Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co., 1930. Pp. 162. R.M. 10.

English Biography before 1700. By DONALD A. STAUFFER. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930. Pp. xvii + 392. \$4.00.

In ways which are unexpected and vital these two monographs are mutually complementary. Dr. Schütt's essay, although it is limited to the sixteenth century, falls short of Dr. Stauffer's book bibliographically. It is obvious that a complete survey of the original literature is one of the larger services which studies like these have to render, and it is equally obvious that the limits of such a survey are very hard to fix. For Dr. Schütt biography in the sixteenth century embraces rather more territory than it does for Dr. Stauffer; she uses such rubrics as "Ausländische Biographik in England," including thereunder Beccatelli's life of Cardinal Pole, as well as English translations of foreign work like Thomas Stocker's adaptation of the French of Claude de Seissal for his *History of the Successors of Alexander surnamed the Great taken out of Diodorus Siculus and some of their lives written by the wise Plutarch*. Yet in spite of her wider compass I have noted at least thirty titles in Dr. Stauffer's much more far-flung bibliography which ought by all odds to be found in her lists, while she has only some eight or ten titles—all, except the Molyneux life of Henry Sidney in Holinshed, unimportant—which Dr. Stauffer has failed to record. Her treatment of "Dichterische Biographik" is weakened by the oversight of some interesting pieces for one of which she need have gone no further than the *English Garner*, and her neglect of the anonymous life of Sir John Perrot contrasts sharply with Dr. Stauffer's plea for the reprinting of that heroic story.

Dr. Schütt's faults are those of the thesis-writer and are partly inevitable in her situation. Her very short stay in the British libraries is her excuse for her imperfect bibliography and for her inaccurate transcription of sixteenth-century English. For the same reason we ought perhaps to regard as venial several typographical errors like that which makes "Whestone" of Whetstone.

The proofreading of the German text is tolerable, but the mistakes in Latin¹ give rise to the suspicion that knowledge of that language is becoming as uncommon a luxury in Germany as it is in America.

Dr. Schütt's virtues are also those of the thesis-writer, but she has them in exceptional degree and it is here that she vitally supplements Dr. Stauffer. His emphasis falls upon the seventeenth century and the resultant illusions of perspective are perhaps most misleading for the preceding hundred years. His discussion of medieval saints' lives is delightful but so short that, instead of lightening our darkness, it throws highly colored spot-lights upon a few idols of the theatre. Only when we have followed Dr. Schütt's careful and penetrating investigation of the tidal influence of hagiography in Tudor times—rising, falling, and rising again as the religious excitement of the century counteracted the effect of advancing civilization—are we fully prepared for Dr. Stauffer's observation that Walton brought the saint's life to perfection. The interaction of hagiography with the principles of Plutarchan and Suetonian biography and of Aristotelian ethics is admirably indicated by Dr. Schütt, with a detail which makes the inner process of growth actually visible. The most perfect specimen of the resulting hybrid had a foreign habitat, but we willingly follow her abroad to observe it in Ludovico Beccatelli's *Vita*: "Wie Pole im Leben humanistische Bildung mit der Gesinnung eines christlichen Bischofs vereinigt hatte, so ist seine Biographie ein schönes Beispiel der Synthese der grossen antiken und mittelalterlichen Formtradition."

Both writers give us excellent discussion of the relationship of *The Mirror for Magistrates* and its congeners to biography, and the treatment of Cavendish's *Wolsey* in this connection is their most revealing point of tangency. Dr. Schütt blames Cavendish rather ineptly for indifference to his historical context and thinks that thereby he set an evil precedent. Dr. Stauffer's praise of his sublime detachment is vigorous but not adequate to the problem. Both writers indicate his paradoxical but artistic development of his work as a tragedy in the medieval sense. Usually it is Dr. Schütt who has more to tell us of the significant relations of her subject to the stage—in themes, situations and plots—but here it is Dr. Stauffer who makes the illuminating remark that, "As in Shakespearian tragedy, this play does not terminate abruptly, but draws to a close in obvious and unruffled anecdote." And he goes on to quote Cavendish's final words about the cart and six horses and the five marks given to him by the King to defray his charges homewards.

Dr. Stauffer's flair for the right passage to quote is unerring. His treatment of the seventeenth century is a masque of quintessences—the very souls of all the biographical books that matter,

¹ *externao* for *externae*, p. 19. *anti* for *ante*, p. 71. *moderator* for *moderatio*, p. 89.

either for their absolute worth or for their historical importance, and those reembodying spirits respeaking their weightiest words. He can sum up a literary subspecies in an epigram: as when he says of the funeral eulogists that they damned with great praise. He recognizes the lines of kinship which are the nerves of literary history and writes some trail-blazing pages on Sir Kenelm Digby's intermediate position between Sidney's *Arcadia* and Richardson's *Pamela*. Bacon's *Elizabeth* seems to Dr. Stauffer to stand significantly at the threshold of a century of "characters" and he draws the distinctions between them and biography with the nicest accuracy. In Lady Anne Halkett he sees a potential novelist constrained by destiny to be an autobiographer, and in Thomas Raymond he finds a man who "may stand comparison with such nineteenth-century mental analysts as Stendhal and Samuel Butler." He does justice to Baxter, comparing him illuminatingly to St. Augustine in the *Confessions*—a point which partly atones for his provokingly undocumented assertions of the influence of the Fathers of the Church. Want of documentation is not characteristic of the book as a whole. When it serves his purpose, as it does in his study of the growth of Walton's *Donne*, he uses it effectively.

There is something preposterous in applying modern critical ideas to the biographical writing of the Renaissance. Elaborate classification encrusts it with obscurity, and terms like *Gestalt* are so much salt to put on the bird's tail. Dr. Stauffer eschews labels and relies on his great critical acumen. The resulting clarification of his subject could hardly be excelled; its contours and interrelations within itself and its foreshadowings of the future are all brilliantly discovered. Its relations with the past are less satisfactorily indicated. The classical influence in the sixteenth century is hardly less incompletely appraised than that of hagiography. Dr. Stauffer sees the development of biography as a kind of evolution toward the ever more complex or more diversified, and he would probably accept Professor R. M. Lovett's belief that, "Only under the influence of modern realism has the biographer been permitted to approach his public on the side of its strongest interest—that in human experience—and to make use of the most exciting part of his hero's experience—that in which he departed from the accepted *mores*."² To the present reviewer his long, closing "Critical Survey" would be more valuable if it had been written with some strong, counter-balancing principle of unity such as Sir Sidney Lee's dictum that biography should "transmit a personality" for "monumental and exemplary purposes." That way may lie Sprat's *Cowley* and even the medieval saints' lives, but that way also lies Boswell.

MERRITT Y. HUGHES

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² *Saturday Review of Literature*, Vol. IV, page 298.

Essays and Studies. By Members of the English Association. Vol. XVI. Collected by H. J. C. GRIERSON. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1931. Pp. 190.

This volume has been collected under the scholarly eye of Professor Grierson and is worthy of the standard which we have learned to expect of the English Association—not less because an occasional volume has fallen short. The value and interest of the separate articles may be suggested by a brief commentary.

The first paper, "Classical and English Verse-Structure" by Mr. R. C. Trevelyan, is a modern variant of the old Campion-Daniel controversy on the possibilities of *quantity* in English verse. While Mr. Trevelyan believes that English verse-structure must continue to be marked by accent, he advocates a judicious use of quantity as a principle of freedom and enrichment. He comments on the late Robert Bridges's experiments at some length, and glances at *vers libre*, but misses an opportunity to discuss the experiments of Mr. T. S. Eliot, who has concerned himself with most of the problems considered in this essay.

The genetic approach to literature is exemplified by Mr. B. Ifor Evans in "Keats's Approach to the Chapman Sonnet." Not the least of Mr. Evans's achievements is his demonstration of the relative poverty of this method as a means to the appreciation or evaluation of literature. At best it can help us to perceive the quality of the poet's imagination as a transforming power, but the chances of success with this method decrease as the imaginative power of the poet studied increases.

Mr. George Rylands's "English Poets and the Abstract Word" is an interesting extension of one phase of his study in *Words and Poetry*. The power of combining the concrete and the abstract, in which Mr. Rylands finds the peculiar excellence of Elizabethan literature, is a restatement, on the level of diction, of Mr. Eliot's far-reaching generalization on the sensibility of seventeenth-century poets (*Homage to John Dryden*, p. 30). "This faculty," says Mr. Rylands in turn (p. 76), "was gradually lost during the seventeenth century, and despite the efforts of certain poets of the Romantic Revival, who harked back to the Elizabethans for inspiration, it has never fully been recovered."

In "Conjectural History or Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*," Mr. Peter Alexander introduces some salutary scepticism into the conjectures which have been made at the expense of Shakespeare and history. Where the Eighteenth Century felt that Shakespeare needed correction, and the Nineteenth that he could do no wrong, the Twentieth seems to feel that he could do no wrong like that which has been done to him.

Mr. J. M. Wattle contributes a paper on the tense system of Old

English, in which he shows the fruitful beginnings of modern features of English tense. A paper by Mr. John Sparrow on "John Donne and Contemporary Preachers" gives not only a valuable sketch of seventeenth-century methods of preparing sermons for delivery and for publication, but also an essential preview of the material for a study of the text of Donne's sermons, together with suggestive hints of procedure.

In "A Seventeenth-Century Manuscript of Poems by Donne and Others" Mr. H. Harvey Wood reports on a newly discovered MS. of particular interest to editors of Corbett and Raleigh. Two items which should not be missed are the variant version of Shakespeare's second sonnet and the poem entitled "Mr. Tilman of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge his motives not to take orders," which appears in this MS. side by side with the epistle from Donne which it occasioned. For some reason Raleigh's last editor, Miss Latham, is persistently called Miss Lathom in these pages. All in all, this is a volume which most scholars will want to read.

GEORGE WILLIAMSON

University of Oregon

The Drinking Academy. A Play by Thomas Randolph. Edited by SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM and HYDER E. ROLLINS. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930. Pp. xxv + 64. \$2.50.

In printing a second time the text of this MS play (now in the Henry Huntington Library) the editors have corrected the few misreadings or misprints in the original printing by Professor Rollins (*PMLA.*, xxxix (1924), 837-871). The greater part of the introduction and a large number of the notes are devoted to an effort to prove Mr. C. L. Day's theory (*PMLA.*, xl (1928), 800-809) that the play was the work of Thomas Randolph. The editors date the play between 1623 and 1626, and argue that the many parallels between it and the known works of Randolph suggest that he borrowed extensively from it in later compositions. More convincing is the editors' argument that the manuscript, with its many corrections and revisions, is in the hand of the playwright. Presumably they admit, however, that the writing of the play bears little likeness to the Randolph signatures reproduced by Hazlitt, which, they say, "may or may not be genuine autographs," and which, because all signatures tend to become mechanical and conventional, might be of no assistance in the question of identification.

In his review of the volume, however, Prof. Moore Smith (*RES.*, vi (1930), 476-488) has pointed out not only the authenticity of the signatures but the existence in the Trinity College records of

several lines certainly in Randolph's handwriting. Until examination of these lines shows them to be written in the same hand as the manuscript play, it seems much safer to follow Professor Moore Smith in ascribing *The Drinking Academy* to some imitator and plagiarist writing after 1640, when an edition of Randolph wrongly included a poem by Cleveland from which the play presumably borrowed. Almost convincing is Professor Moore Smith's suggestion of Robert Baron, well known for his plagiarism of Milton, who showed elsewhere familiarity with Randolph's work, and who as a friend of James Howell might well have borrowed the Latin epigram on the Synod of Dort. It is to be hoped that some specimen of Baron's handwriting can be found and compared with the Huntington MS. The ascription of *The Drinking Academy* to Randolph apparently furnishes a splendid illustration of the danger of seeking to determine authorship by citing parallel passages.

BALDWIN MAXWELL

University of Iowa

The Life of Marlowe and The Tragedy of Dido Queen of Carthage.

Edited by C. F. TUCKER BROOKE. New York: The Dial Press, 1930. Pp. x+238. \$4.00.

Tamburlaine the Great. Edited by U. M. ELLIS-FERMOR. New York: The Dial Press, 1930. Pp. xii+321. \$4.00.

"So far we have but one of Marlowe's circles, and that the one in which he conjured devils. There are signs unmistakable that he had also other circles more nearly celestial."¹ So wrote the present reviewer a few months ago concerning *Christopher Marlowe and his Circle* by Professor Boas. Now comes Professor Brooke with his life of Marlowe, in which he attempts to indicate some of these circles more nearly celestial, and to put the various circles into approximate perspective.

Professor Brooke begins with the Canterbury circle, and adds here and throughout, sometimes profitably, to our store of facts. The story then leads to the Cambridge circle, where Professor Brooke collects, explains, and not infrequently illuminates the known facts concerning Marlowe's university career. The most debatable matter perhaps is the suggested explanation for Marlowe's now famous expedition abroad in government service. It may be doubted if Professor Brooke's plaster version of Marlowe's activities will prove more acceptable than the all-tar versions it is aimed to replace; but it ought to show that a plaster version is still possible.

After Cambridge, Professor Brooke points out that Marlowe had

¹ *MLN.*, XLV, 331.

less than six years to live, most of them in and around London. "Of this period, during which nearly all of his important poetical work was done, few biographical facts are known, until the very end." That puts our knowledge neatly into its proper perspective. In London, Marlowe managed to associate on terms of friendship with such men as Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Thomas Walsingham, and their circle. "This was excellent company. Better could hardly have been found in England. . . . We may easily imagine that Marlowe was not at his best in the society of Kyd or Baines." That is a sane adjustment of perspective between Marlowe's known circles of good and evil angels. The last two chapters, on Seadbury, and Deptford, deal with Marlowe's very last days. Professor Brooke's conclusions are pretty certainly too favorable to Marlowe here and throughout; but that is an error on the right side just now.

In all his work, Professor Brooke never forgets his literary objective. Indeed, he is perhaps a bit too impatient with those surviving fragments concerning Marlowe which do not seem to throw light upon the literary problem. Professor Brooke's life of Marlowe is as a whole the sanest and most just presentation we yet have, even though the state of our knowledge permits it to be only a first adumbration.

Professor Brooke also edits the play of *Dido*. The outstanding feature of his work he himself recognizes:

Parallels of thought and wording between *Dido* and other Marlovian works are almost innumerable, as the notes will show. . . . In the notes upon these I have attempted to show how often the priority of the *Dido* passage is attested by its closer relation to the context and less elaborated form.

It is a fascinating game, and profitable withal when played so cautiously by one with so fine a literary discrimination as Professor Brooke; but one fears it may stimulate the mere parallel-chasers to redoubled efforts. Many of these ideas are the more fascinating when one finds the seed in the *Aeneid*, the bud in *Dido*, and the full blown flower elsewhere. One can actually see the poetic mind of Marlowe at work.

Without in any way failing to appreciate the excellent work of Professor Brooke's fellow editors, many will regret that Professor Brooke has not himself done the whole of Marlowe, as in more youthful days, perhaps rashly, he promised to do. There is yet time; there is yet hope.

Miss Ellis-Fermor edits the two parts of *Tamburlaine*. The chief criticism, perhaps, is that she regularly halts between two opinions. On punctuation, she has well-curbed longings for Mr. Simpson's rhythmical pointing. The stage directions are a more troublesome matter, the Elizabethan stage system having been contaminated with the modern. An ironic commentary on the results of such contamination is furnished in a recent discovery by Sir

Edmund Chambers. In II *Tamburlaine*, v, 1, the Governor of Babylon is brought before Tamburlaine, who orders.

Go draw him up,
Hang him in chains upon the city walls,
And let my soldiers shoot the slave to death.

Now Sir Edmund has discovered an account which shows that the Governor was taken off the stage that his dummy might be substituted as the target for loaded guns. What is more important, the oft-referred-to city walls turn out to be one of the posts on the stage. There was present no wall whatever, nor anything to look like a wall, in spite of all the repeated references to it. Need one recall in this connection Shakspeare's jesting about the wall in *Midsummer Night's Dream*?

Incidentally, this fundamental fallacy underlies all of Sir Edmund's explanations of the different locales of the Elizabethan stage. That a scene is supposed to take place in a certain setting is no indication that the setting was in any way represented on the stage. Even if a certain set is repeatedly referred to, that is no indication that it is actually represented. Wall or battlement may equate with post, or doubtless with various other possible places of projection, elevation, or suspension, depending on the fundamental need. No wonder that walls, battlements, and such supposedly fixed objects have a marked tendency in Sir Edmund's summaries to roam about the stage. Professor Thorndike, with his no-man's-land stage, or every-man's-land stage, is rather the better guide here.

Miss Ellis-Fermor's introduction has the conventional sections on early editions, date, authorship, sources, stage history. The evidence on these points is carefully, clearly, judiciously summed up. Grounding upon the work of Miss Seaton, Miss Ellis-Fermor gives a good general sketch of the development of the *Tamburlaine* story, and of Marlowe's use of contemporary geography. But if she and Miss Seaton will turn to "Asphaltites or Asphaltum" in Cooper's *Thesaurus*, they will learn that Marlowe's oft repeated Asphaltis Lake is really a lake, not a city.

Yet quite correctly, Miss Ellis-Fermor considers these sources to be relatively unimportant after all.

If this, then, be the distinctive quality of the first part of *Tamburlaine*, that almost unbearable emotional illumination, that rare glow derived from the momentary overlapping of the freshness of youth and the richness of maturity, it is easy to see how little Marlowe owes to the theme of his play, how much the theme owes to the moment.

The difficulty here, however, is that Marlowe's "moment" is purely and solely the hypothesis of Miss Ellis-Fermor, itself first deduced from the play, and then proved by the play.

Especially on *Tamburlaine*, a considerable body of fact might be added and several intuitions disproved. But when all is said and done, these two volumes were worth doing. If the remaining

volumes reach the high standard set by Professors Brooke and Ellis-Fermor, we shall have a satisfactory edition, well abreast of modern scholarship, frequently illuminating for us and seldom obscuring Marlowe the poet.

T. W. BALDWIN

University of Illinois

The Jew of Malta and the Massacre at Paris. Edited by H. S. BENNETT. London: Methuen & Co.; New York: Lincoln MacVeagh, The Dial Press, 1931. Pp. ix + 267. \$4.00.

This is the third of the six-volume edition of the works of Marlowe being published under the general editorship of Professor R. H. Case. It maintains the high excellence of the preceding volumes of the series. With very few exceptions the spelling has been modernized, although, for some uncertain reason, an exception is made in the retention of *bin*. Variant readings and suggested emendations are cited, and an abundance of helpful material is given in the illustrative notes.

Although in the notes to *The Jew of Malta* the similarities to *The Merchant of Venice* are fully noted, neither in the notes nor in the discussion of sources is any mention made of the lost play *The Jew*, to which Gosson referred and from which Shakespeare certainly borrowed much. No doubt Shakespeare was influenced by Marlowe's conception of Barabas, and it is conceivable that into the revision of Marlowe's play additional similarities to *The Merchant* were incorporated, but it can hardly be doubted that some of the many similarities of the two plays are due to the indebtedness of both to *The Jew*, "representing the greediness of worldly chusers, and bloody mindes of usurers." It seems reasonably certain that the title-part of *The Jew* must have been a Jewish merchant, drawn like Barabas, Shylock, and Sir Jonathas of the Croxton *Play of the Sacrament*, in most vivid colors and impelled by an intense hatred of all things Christian. That does not, of course, mean that Marlowe may not also have taken suggestions from the careers of Joseph Nassi or David Passi.

For *The Jew of Malta* Mr. Bennett prefers the generally accepted date of 1589-90, and he gives the verdict *Not proven* to the ascriptions of the Bellamira scenes to Heywood.

A study of the suspect scenes with [Heywood's well-known, unusual diction] in mind has led to very meagre results. . . . These scenes contain a mere handful of words that are not used elsewhere in Marlowe; and, on the other hand, do not contain many of the specifically Heywoodian words and phrases.

The composition of *The Massacre* Mr. Bennett would assign to late 1592, and for the undated octavo, which he accepts as piratic-

ally published, he thinks "an earlier date nearer the plague of 1592-3 seems preferable" to Mr. Tucker Brooke's suggestion that the octavo appeared after a revision preceding the revival of 1601. He recognizes, however, that such an early date for the octavo would indicate either Marlowe's hand in an earlier *Julius Caesar* or there having been some play from which both Shakespeare and Marlowe borrowed. On January 18, 1601-2, Henslowe paid Alleyn £6 for the books of "the massaker of france" and two other plays. Although perhaps no importance is to be attached to it, the observation may here be made that presumably neither of the other two plays had been published by that date, nor indeed, unless *Longshanks* is to be identified as Peele's *Edward I*, had any of the nine plays for which Alleyn was paid in 1601-2. The book of an unprinted play might well have been considered worth more than that of one printed, but Alleyn received the same amount in each case.

Like Mr. Greg, Mr. Bennett is not ready to label the "Collier Leaf" a forgery. It is to be hoped, now the Folger collection has so generously been given to the public, that a careful study of the so-called fragment will soon be made.

Misprints in *The Jew of Malta* are: *Shirley's* for *Shirley's* (note to line 12 of Prologue to the Stage); *slaves. for slaves*, (I, ii, 215); *till for still* (note to I, ii, 310); *mad. for mad*, (II, iii, 196); *sheet for sheet*; (note to III, ii, 11); *Ladies for Lady* (note to V, v, 6); and in *The Massacre*: *Gyves for Gvyes* (p. 169 n.); *Greg for Greg* (p. 170, l. 18); *upon for upon*, (note to xx, 4).

BALDWIN MAXWELL

University of Iowa

Letters of John III, King of Portugal, 1521-1557: The Portuguese Text edited with an Introduction by J. D. M. FORD.
Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1931.
Pp. xxx + 408.

Professor Ford worthily continues the tradition of American interest in Portugal—a tradition in which he already holds an honorable place—by his edition of 372 letters of King John III. These letters are contained in two portfolios recently acquired by the Library of Harvard University.

Although the letters have already been studied for historical purposes and a few (rather badly) published, it will certainly be of service to historians to have them available in such an accurate and convenient edition as Professor Ford has given us. A chronological table of letters and a brief but helpful glossary have been added by the editor, in addition to a clear and competent introduction.

It may be worth while to note that in the rather favorable esti-

mate of the achievements of the dull bigot John III, which Professor Ford quotes from Edgar Prestage (Introduction, p. xvii), the statement that the Inquisition which John established in 1531 "practically destroyed Judaism" is false. Secret Jews continued to remain in Portugal in considerable numbers until the present day, when the establishment of the republic permitted them openly to profess the faith of their forefathers. On page 20 the place name *Mocata* is of interest as the source of the name of a well-known Jewish family of Portuguese origin, established in England since the seventeenth century (see *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s. v. *Mocatta*).

. D. S. BLONDHEIM

The English Women Novelists and Their Connection with the Feminist Movement (1688-1797). By JOYCE M. HORNER. Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, xi, Nos. 1, 2, 3. Northampton, Mass., 1929-30. Pp. xiii + 152. \$1.75.

Lady Julia Mandeville. By FRANCES BROOKE. Edited by E. PHILLIPS POOLE with Introduction and Bibliographical List. London: The Scholartis Press, 1930. Pp. 219. 8 s. 6 d.

Miss Horner's study is divided into two parallel parts: the first surveys the social status of the woman novelist from Aphra Behn to Jane Austen; the second seeks to analyse the specifically feminine qualities in the fiction of the same period. This ambitious project is carried out with considerable success. Miss Horner might have got nearer to the heart of her subject by substituting for the rather superficial biographical matter in her first part a closer study of contemporary views of feminine education and conduct. She could have made good use of the kind of evidence gathered in Rae Blanchard's article, "Richard Steele and the Status of Women," *SP.*, xxvi (1929), 325-55, and in Joachim Heinrich, *Die Frauenfrage bei Steele und Addison* (1930). Economic forces and literary fashions should also have been given more consideration. The temper of the age is inaccurately described in a conclusion like this: "After *Pamela* no woman need be ashamed to have her name connected with the novel," etc. (p. 32). And further reading in the field would have kept her from devoting four pages to the familiar but erroneous thesis that Mrs. Radcliffe "was the first to introduce natural scenery, to any great extent, into the setting of her novels" (pp. 72-76). On the other hand, she writes interestingly at all times, and judges very justly when she has the evidence before her. This applies particularly to her second part; the discussion of Richardson's attitude toward feminism and the survey of the heroines in various eighteenth century novels are both

fresh and suggestive, and the whole gives us an excellent commentary on Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own*.

As Miss Horner's bibliography shows, much important material in eighteenth century fiction is inaccessible. Mr. Eric Partridge is doing students a real service by supplying them with excellently printed and moderately priced editions in this field, and it is to be hoped that other important secondary works of the period will soon be added to the Scholartis Eighteenth Century Novels. The discussion of Mrs. Brooke's life and works which Mr. E. Phillips Poole has provided is competent, and corrects the *DNB* on several points, though it is marred by a few misprints of names and dates ("Hannah Moore," "Nichol" for Nichols of the *Literary Anecdotes*, "1775" for 1755 as the date of Moncrief's *Appius*, and even "1760" for 1763 as the date of *Julia Mandeville*). For Mrs. Brooke's literary and theatrical career more material could be gathered. Thus Mr. Poole says that about 1774 she offered her *Siege of Sinope* to Garrick, and that her chagrin at his refusal to produce it led to her attack on him in *The Excursion* (1777); but it may be added that in 1776 she offered Garrick an opera which he also refused (*Private Correspondence of David Garrick* [1832], II, 167-68). This may give us the date of her best-known piece, *Rosina*, and the immediate reason for her attack on Garrick. Contemporary references showing the esteem in which Mrs. Brooke's novels were held might be gathered,—e. g., *The Exemplary Mother: Or, Letters between Mrs. Villars and Her Family* (1769), I, 58-62, 70-71; *The Correspondents* (1775), pp. 110-13; *Journal of a Young Lady of Virginia, 1782* (1871), p. 12; various passages in Wolff and Deken's *Sara Burgerhart* (1782) and *Willem Leevend* (1784-85). Mr. Poole is no doubt correct in claiming for Mrs. Brooke an important part in the fiction of the 1760's; sentimental epistolary novels do not become common immediately after *Clarissa* and *Grandison*, but about the time of the English translation of the *Nouvelle Héloïse*, Mrs. Brooke's translation of Mme. Riccoboni's *Lettres de Milady Julietta Catesby* (1760), and *Julia Mandeville*. While it is going too far to say that she is "an essential link between Richardson on the one hand and Fanny Burney and Jane Austen on the other," it is true that she is "an interpreter to English fiction of the French novel of sentiment practised by Madame Riccoboni and Rousseau" (p. 37).

ALAN DUGALD MCKILLOP

The Rice Institute

The Forerunners of Feminism in French Literature of the Renaissance. Part I. From Christine de Pisan to Marie de Gournay. By LULA McDOWELL RICHARDSON. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1929. Pp. 178. \$1.25. (The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages.)

Miss Richardson delves into a controversy which relates at once to sociology and to literature, and which has had a long history. This particular study is limited to feminism as portrayed in French literature of the Renaissance, and is to be continued, in a second volume, through the time of Molière.

The author presents her documents in chronological order, with abundant quotation and summaries of the more important arguments, thus achieving an appreciable clarity and directness. A chapter on the origins of the debate introduces Christine de Pisan's defense of her sex against Jean de Meung. It would have been well to take into account here, if only as a basis for discussion, the earlier theses by A. Piaget¹ and R. Rigaud,² in which the didactic elements in Christine's work are thoroughly analyzed.

Even though the feminist question in the fifteenth century is not studied as a whole, the *Quinze joyes de mariage* might have been brought in, as an excellent and entertaining example of the *gaulois* vein. One can quite comprehend the author's omitting certain manifestations of the *esprit gaulois*, which she says cannot be taken seriously. However, as she finds, Rabelais and others are proof that it must be included; and it may be that some of the weightier treatises on the matter should not be taken too seriously either.

In the first part of the sixteenth century Miss R. discovers contributions to the literature dealing with women made chiefly by humanists and minor poets. One is surprised to find Martin le Franc discussed as of this period. It is true that his *Champion des dames* was republished in 1530, but it dates from about 1440, and belongs in the chapter on origins. If the 1530 edition played "an important part in the new *Querelle des femmes*" (p. 38), we should like an explanation of what it was.

We follow the theological arguments used by Martin le Franc and Agrippa of Nettesheim to uphold the superiority of woman, appreciate Gratian du Pont's diatribes against the sex, and see that Erasmus takes at once a more realistic and high-minded view of the problem, and savours its discussion with his wit. There are minor chronological errors³ or omissions in this chapter. Space

¹ *Martin Le Franc*, Lausanne, 1888.

² *Les idées féministes de Christine de Pisan*, Neuchâtel, 1911.

³ Dates not given: Erasmus, *Praise of Folly*, *Institution of Christian Matrimony*; French translation of Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*. Pierre de Lesnauderie, *La louange du mariage*, 1523 (undated edition possibly earlier),

might have been found for the curious prose *Dialogue apologetique*, 1516,⁴ in which an anonymous *Femme deffendant* alleges a succession of biblical arguments for her case, insists on the equal responsibility of husband and wife toward the marriage vows, and turns back the accusations of her opponent with feminine subtlety and no little picturesqueness of phrase.

It is evident that Miss Richardson has studied the feminist literature of the period chiefly for content, and from this point of view her analysis is thorough-going and excellent. It is at times unnecessarily long,⁵ or lacking in perspective. Although apparent resemblances in the lines of reasoning are noted, no real attempt is made to show the affiliation between them. For instance Miss R. very properly gives a place of some importance (pp. 65-71) to Gratian du Pont, famed adversary of women, but does not mention that his violent *Controverses* were simply a rhymed version of the *Sylva nuptialis* by Nevizzani, and consequently that their significance lies rather in expressiveness than in originality.⁶ M. Ascoli has suggested that writers of both sides of the controversy found material in current Latin compilations in which feminine faults and virtues were catalogued.⁷ Without over-emphasizing the vexed question of sources, it would be interesting to see whether many of the feminist writers had not this characteristic Renaissance habit of borrowing. Miss Richardson concedes the possibility of this (p. 152), but does not investigate it.

In her study of the latter half of the century, the author sketches the social and literary background for the principal feminist productions, and thereby adds to the concreteness and interest of her account. She tells of the accomplishments of Louise Labé, "les

is incorrectly given as 1534. Claude de Taillemont, *Discours des champs faez*, 1553, given as 1571. It may be noted that H. C. Agrippa, *De nobilitate foemine seorsus declamatio*, published in 1529, was written in 1509, and that he qualified it later as a recreation of his youth. (A. Prost, *O. Agrippa*, Paris, 1881, II, 222.)

⁴ *Dialogue apologetique excusant ou defendant le deuot seue femenin: introduit par deuila personnaiges: lun a nom Bouche maldisat: lautre Femme deffendat*. . . . Paris (sans nom d'imprimeur), 1516, pet. in-4, goth. Bibl. nat. Rés. p. R. 268.

⁵ As when both English and French translations of Erasmus are given, and also summarized (pp. 47-51).

⁶ Ch. Oulmont, "Gratian du Pont, sieur de Drusac et les femmes," *Revue des études rabelaisiennes*, IV (1906), 19-28, 135-148. Again, Ch. Estienne, *Que l'excellence de la femme est plus grande que celle de l'homme*. (Paris, Ch. Estienne, 1553, in-8, pp. 148-156. Bibl. nat. R. 45690) was taken from Ortensio Landi (*Paradoxi*, Lyon, 1543, in-8, ff. K3b-M2b. Bibl. nat. Rés. Z. 3575), and moreover presented as one of several *Paradoxes*. . . *debatu*. . . *pour exorciter les ieunes aduocats, en causes difficiles*, a title which makes it difficult to determine which side Estienne himself took in the quarrel.

⁷ G. Ascoli, "Essai sur l'histoire des idées féministes en France du XVI^e siècle à la Révolution," *Revue de synthèse historique*, XIII (1906), 31-32.

dames" Des Roches, and finally Marie de Gournay, and indicates also how they claimed the right of their sex to a fuller development, if not to complete emancipation.⁸

The story of feminism sometimes runs parallel to the history of literature. Discussions of Platonism brought no lesser personages than Marguerite de Navarre and Rabelais into the quarrel. Montaigne, d'Aubigné and Henri (II) Estienne also contributed, and the controversy was reinforced by their opinions on woman's status in education and public office.

Miss R.'s treatment of this interesting side of the subject is unsatisfactory however. If she had distinguished more clearly between the purely controversial writers and the *conteurs* or essayists, the reader would follow with greater certainty the fluctuation of feminist ideas, and their influence on French letters. The author, primarily interested in the first question, handles the second superficially, giving scattered examples with little comment or reference to any pertinent study of the matter which may have been made elsewhere. (See pp. 109-113 on B. des Périers and M. de Navarre; pp. 125-128, Montaigne.)⁹

Miss R.'s investigation of the feminist movement in the sixteenth century leads her to a two-fold conclusion: (1) the numerous treatises written at that time did not settle the question; (2) the growth in feminine influence was due to the prestige of certain leading women rather than to polemics in favor of the sex. One might add that this interest in a more or less intellectual problem was characteristic of an epoch which enjoyed discussion for its own sake, and put forth opposing theories on poetics, government and doctrine, as well as on the nature of woman.

The nascent feminist movement, possibly of minor importance in itself, was contemporaneous with great developments in French society and literature. Miss R. might have brought it into closer relation with these developments: (1) by paying more attention to its historical aspect; (2) by condensing her comment on its least important and repetitious writings, and expanding the analysis in the many cases where thought and style merited further study. The echos of feminist ideas in literature properly so-called, and their relation to the evolution of the social ideal, are questions which no doubt would have taken the author too far afield, but which

⁸ François de Billon, composing in 1550 an impregnable "fortress" in honor of all women, finds no dearth of contemporary illustrations for his panegyric (Cf. Miss Richardson, pp. 90-100). M. T. Brunetti announces a new study of *François de Billon and sixteenth century Feminism* (Institute of French Studies, New York).

⁹ It is doubtful whether Marguerite de Navarre wrote the letters to defend her sex attributed to her in 1612 by Pierre de l'Escale (Cf. Miss Richardson, p. 112). M. Jourda in his authoritative thesis (*Marguerite d'Angoulême*, Paris, 1930, 2 vols.) does not consider them, and says explicitly (*op. cit.*, II, 893-894) that Marguerite did not enter the feminist dispute otherwise than through her *Heptaméron* and poems.

emerge from the suggestive study she has made of the forerunners of feminism in the Renaissance.¹⁰

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MARGARET DE SCHWEINITZ

BRIEF MENTION

Samuel Daniel: Poems and A Defence of Ryme. Edited by ARTHUR COLBY SPRAGUE. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930. Pp. xxxvii + 216. \$3.00. Since Daniel is all but inaccessible save for scattered poems reprinted in anthologies, and the prose tract on rhyme, we are indebted to Mr. Sprague for this attractive work. Besides *Delia*, Mr. Sprague includes *The Complaint of Rosamond*, *Musophilus*, *Epistles*, *Ulysses and the Syren*, and the prose tract. He gives an accurate text, with full critical apparatus, and prefixes an interesting essay on Daniel's life and work.

Lacking the fire and imaginative exaltation of his greater contemporaries, Daniel's verse nevertheless contains much that we should not allow to fall into neglect. He was a conscientious reviser of his work; Mr. Sprague gives in his introduction a summary view of the significance of these revisions and supplies in the critical apparatus materials for further study. Like Chapman, Daniel was enamored of learning. Like Drayton he was a student of English antiquities and chronicles. *Musophilus* is an inspiring defense of learning against the growing materialism; it reminds one of Chapman's splendid verse on the same subject. The essay on rhyme is a notable contribution to the literature of criticism, and it also anticipates the famous quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns in its defense of the old British learning. Daniel possessed greater historical sense than most of his contemporary critics; there are hints in his work of an interest in that history of learning which Bacon listed among his *desiderata*. Mr. Sprague's book ought to stimulate interest in the work of an Elizabethan poet and critic

¹⁰ The following typographical errors in the text have been noted: P. 27, come to the defense; p. 75, se *submettre*; p. 78, *Amie de Court*; p. 91, in names of bastions: *et* instead of *and*; p. 120, have an *example*; n. 121, vol. I, *Hippolyte*, p. 263; in the *Hippolyte* of Garnier; p. 123, *celle de l'homme, 1581*; p. 128, *estrangeres, c'est*.

The following corrections should be made in the Notes and Bibliography: P. 36, note 1, and p. 169, Doumic, vol. *CLXIX* (15 octobre, 1898); p. 95, note 4, Montaigne reference lacking; p. 103, note 1, volume 40 or 44? See Bibliography, p. 169. Estienne, Ch., More precise reference necessary for *Femmes*; p. 169, Fontaine, Ch., *La contreamie de court*; p. 170, Guichard, J. M., *Revue du XIX^e siècle*; La Borderie, *L'Amie de court*; p. 171, Lefranc, A., "Le tiers livre du Pantagruel et la querelle des femmes," *Revue des études Rabelaisiennes*, vol. II (1904), pp. 1-10; 78-109. Montaigne, *Essais*, ed. Strowski, incorrect date. Oulmont, Ch., vol. IV (1906).

who had ideas, and craftsmanship, even if he did not attain the highest place in that remarkable group.

EDWIN GREENLAW

The Golden Grove. Selected Passages from the Sermons and Writings of Jeremy Taylor. Edited by LOGAN PEARSALE SMITH. With a Bibliography of the Works of Jeremy Taylor by ROBERT GATHORNE-HARDY. Oxford University Press, 1930. Pp. lxiii + 330. \$3.50. Mr. Smith explains the mission of his book to be the restoration of Jeremy Taylor's fame as one of the masters of seventeenth-century prose through a careful selection from his writings of those passages which are of abiding value. Extravagantly praised by Coleridge, Lamb, and Hazlitt, Jeremy Taylor has become merely a name to us, recalled only through a few purple passages in the anthologies and a few lines in the literary histories. It is impossible for the modern reader to handle even the famous devotional works; the sermons and controversial works are completely unknown. His subject matter no longer appeals to us; his enormous length appalls. But in the masses of controversy or pulpit exercises or devotional writings are passages of great beauty. These passages Mr. Smith has selected, giving them apt titles, and arranging them in larger units that constitute something more effective than the usual anthology. Prefaced is a lengthy introduction analyzing with great skill the qualities of Jeremy Taylor's style and giving us an account of the immense mass of writing from which the selections are drawn.

The result is a charming book, filled with passages of great beauty; an invaluable source for the study of a distinguished prose, and a subject matter that will appeal to thoughtful readers. The book is large enough to be truly representative, not a mere patchwork of quotation, and it brings back to us the best of one of the masters so that he need no longer be merely a name. He was no mystic, no deeply philosophical thinker. He seems to have been wholly unconscious of the way in which, in the midst of dreary prose, a divine inspiration would seize upon him and transform his words into enchantment. In such passages there is a Miltonic richness and sonority, or a magic of phrase, an illumination of vision, that explains the enthusiasm of Coleridge and Lamb for him. With Mr. Smith's book as a guide, Jeremy Taylor may become for us what Walton and Sir Thomas Browne have long stood for—a master of that rich prose which the seventeenth century contributed to our literature.

EDWIN GREENLAW

A Spenser Handbook. By H. S. V. JONES. New York: F. S. Crofts & Company, 1930. Pp. x + 419. \$2.00. In preparing this *Handbook* Professor H. S. V. Jones has performed a very real

service for advanced students of English. The volume aims to give a summary of our present knowledge of Spenser and his poetry and to take advantage of all the significant research that has been done. The opening chapter is a brief survey of the political, social and religious movements in Elizabethan society and of the international problems. Then follows a sketch of Spenser's life, and thereafter chapters on the *Faerie Queene* and the minor poems in the order of their publication, and a final chapter on the *Present State of Ireland*. If the first chapter is necessarily brief, it yet will serve the less-informed graduate student as a point of departure for building up the background in detail. The biography is a concise, conservative, and well written sketch, presenting most of the facts, though one is surprised to find that Spenser's marriage and his children are overlooked. To be sure, in the chapters on the *Amoretti* and the *Epithalamion* the poet's courtship and the date of his marriage are discussed, but the reader is left in ignorance as to the identity of Elizabeth Boyle. In the chapters dealing with the poetry, Professor Jones has maintained a careful balance between aesthetic appreciation, and the interpretation of allegory and discussion of sources. While so much of the Spenserian scholarship, especially of recent years, has been devoted to questions of influence, of hidden meanings, and of autobiographical outcroppings—and none of this has escaped Professor Jones—he does not lose sight of the poet as an artist, and his interpretations of the poetry are sensitive and felicitous. In the *Preface* the author states that "in controversial matters I have tried to be judicious where I have no space to be argumentative." This is a correct procedure in preparation of a handbook and Professor Jones has faithfully followed it. In one or two instances only—of which the historical identification of Sir Calidore is an example—does he leave the reader in uncertainty as to his own conclusions. Some readers may feel that in his professed desire to include whatever might give support to views that differ from his own, Professor Jones has been over-scrupulous, making rather more allowance for certain interpretations than they deserve. One hesitates, however, to offer even so mild a criticism of so admirable a book. Professor Jones has made every student of Spenser his debtor.

University of Washington

FREDERICK M. PADELFORD

Der Englische Frühhumanismus: ein Beitrag zur Englischen Literaturgeschichte des 15 Jahrhunderts. By WALTER F. SCHIRMER. Tauchnitz, Leipzig, 1931. Pp. 184. This learned work is the first thorough and extended study, as its author justly asserts, of its subject, the progress of English humanism before More and Colet. The general thesis that Professor Schirmer undertakes to illustrate is the same that he has maintained in a previous work, namely, that English humanism was distinguished by its practical, moral, and 'useful' purposes, and never displayed the disinterested

esthetic or cultural character that it sometimes showed in Italy and France. But the chief value of his book to students will, after all, be found in its rich display of biographical and historical facts. These he has arranged in four chapters: first 'The Prelude,' dealing with a few travelers early in the century; second 'The Period of Noble Patronage,' concerned chiefly with the activities of Cardinal Beaufort and Humphrey Duke of Gloucester as book-collectors and entertainers of Italian scholars; third 'Humanistic Seekers,' Tiptoft, Grey, Free, Flemming, and other English travelers and residents in Italy; and fourth 'The Founding of an Independent Humanism' (Selling, Grocyn, Linacre, and Latimer). The study is so full of detail, so scholarly and exact, that no one but a student as well informed as its author—if such a one could be found—would be competent to correct or find fault with it.

Princeton University

MORRIS W. CROLL

A History of Later Latin Literature. By F. A. WRIGHT and T. A. SINCLAIR. New York. Macmillan, 1931. Pp. viii + 418. \$4.75. It is a pleasant duty to make prompt mention of this excellent book, the first attempt in English to treat exclusively of Latin Literature from the fourth to the seventeenth century of our era. It is divided into six parts: I. The Age of Augustine; II. The Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Centuries; III. The Carolingian and Ottonian Revivals; IV. Medieval Prose (1002-1321); V. Medieval Verse (1002-1321); VI. The Renaissance Latinists (1321-1674). The translations, in both prose and verse, are distinctly good. The authors have packed a great deal in a small space, but evidently had to count their words very carefully toward the close. Boccaccio becomes merely a 'fellow-Latinist' of Petrarch, Pope Pius II, 'an author in many different kinds of Latin prose and verse.' Other worthies such as Marullus, Mancinellus, Palingenius, Pierre de Bur, Salmon Macrin, Lotichius Secundus, are not mentioned at all. On p. 224 the Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, who gave Geoffrey of Monmouth his 'ancient British book' is confounded with Walter Map. Geoffrey died in 1154, and Walter Map did not become Archdeacon of Oxford until 1197. P. 352, l. 8, Poliziano's *Rusticus* is hardly 'an account of the bucolic poets'; it is more concerned with Virgil's Georgics than with his Eclogues. P. 353, l. 31, 'Landino' is apparently a slip of the pen for 'Ficino.' On p. 355 the birth of Baptista Mantuanus is set in 1436. The precise date is not far from April 17, 1448. In a little poem *Vitae suae Epitome* he states that he was born in the reign of Pope Nicholas V—which means not earlier than March 6, 1447. In the dedicatory epistle prefixed to his *Adolescentia*, Sept. 1, 1498, he calls himself 'quingagenarius.' There are two good books which might have been mentioned in the bibliography: C. H. Beeson's *Primer of Medieval Latin*, Chicago, 1925, and Acton Griscom's edition of Geoffrey of Monmouth, New York, 1929.

W. P. MUSTARD

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